







THE ANTIQUARY.



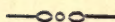
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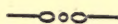
THE
ANTIQUARY:

A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO THE STUDY
OF THE PAST.



*Instructed by the Antiquary times,
He must, he is, he cannot but be wise.*

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, Act ii., sc. 3.



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The Antiquary.



JULY, 1888.

Thomas Taylor, the Platonist.

BY EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.

OUR American friends are not only book-collectors, but they sometimes read what they buy—a habit not much indulged in by us of the older stock. The herd of pretentious people who in England follow the magazines have come to certain conclusions which our Transatlantic cousins have as yet by no means accepted. We may in this country hold certain opinions, definite or indefinite, orthodox or heterodox, as the case may be, without bringing down contempt upon ourselves; but there are forms of thought, objects of interest even, which it is not safe to touch. Thomas Taylor—the Platonist, as he is called—though saturated with Greek learning, was a self-taught man, and therefore never acquired the kind of scholarship which is useful for schoolmasters and has a commercial value at British universities. His English style, too, though clear enough was not by any means bright or terse. It has therefore been the fashion during the last half-century for prigs, who find it by no means easy to stumble through a chapter in the “Acts,” to jeer at him as a man who translated Aristotle and Plato without knowing the Greek grammar. Silly as all this is, we do not well to be angry. The same young men will assure us with edifying calmness that the Pauline epistles present no difficulties to them, and that they have quite made up their minds on the question of the authorship of the “Hebrews.”

Learning in the United States is at present running in different channels from those in which it flows in this country. There the name

and writings of Taylor are held in repute. From inquiries we have made, we believe it to be the fact that there is but one library in England—the British Museum—which contains a complete set of his works. We have seen a private collection wherein not one volume was absent, many of them, indeed, been presentation copies to the owner. The possessor of that collection has, however, long been dead, and his books dispersed. We imagine that during his lifetime the public knew very little of Taylor's learned labours. His ways were not the world's ways, nor was his learning of the kind fashionable among those who really were, or pretended to be, scholars. Porson had said of him that he had “set to work to translate Plato without possessing the least knowledge of the Greek inflections.”* This was, of course, an absurd exaggeration; it probably, however, represents the current estimate. His death occurred fifty-three years ago. We have examined many of the newspapers and periodicals of the time, and have found that it attracted little notice. The *Athenæum* was an exception: it contained a long and favourable obituary, written, we believe, by his friend, the late Mr. John Inglis, wherein he was spoken of as a “laborious scholar and excellent man.” After his death he seems to have been almost forgotten. He has been often confounded with Isaac Taylor, the author of the *History of Enthusiasm*, and with Robert Taylor, who was nicknamed the “Devil's Chaplain.” Even the *Gentleman's Magazine*, a periodical in those days noted for its accuracy, speaks of him as “that accomplished Grecian, Taylor of Norwich,”† thus rolling into one the translator of Aristotle and William Taylor, the author of the *Historic Survey of German Poetry*.

Thomas Taylor was born on May 15, 1758, in a street at or near Bunhill Fields, London. His father's Christian name we have not been able to ascertain. At a very early period he was sent to St. Paul's School, where he remained for about three years; he was then transferred to the care of a relation, who held some appointment in the Sheerness dockyard. Here he studied mathematics with diligence. While yet very young he

* *Fraser's Magazine*, November, 1875, p. 647.

† May, 1840, p. 480.

became a pupil of a Nonconformist minister, Mr. Worthington, of the Salters' Hall meeting-house; it was at that period, it would seem, his intention to become a Nonconformist minister. An early and imprudent marriage frustrated this plan, and he was for some time an assistant in a boarding-school, when he suffered much from poverty. At length a more hopeful situation became open to him. He was offered the position of clerk in a bank, a post which he gladly accepted, and held for many years. Taylor from the first blended metaphysics with the study of mathematics. This led him to the study of the Greek philosophers. His devotion to them was so great that very early in his career he seems to have determined on giving to the world a complete version of all the extant writings of Plato, Aristotle, and the whole body of the Neoplatonists. It was a gigantic conception, but was destined to almost complete fulfilment. By degrees the young student became known to a few persons who were interested in Greek literature. A Mr. Meredith was one of these. Through his aid he was enabled to publish his translation of the Orphic Hymns. At length he became assistant-secretary of the Society of Arts, a post which he filled for many years. This, as well as giving him an increased income, brought him in contact with the Duke of Norfolk, at whose expense the translation of Aristotle was published.

To criticise his translations would now be useless. That they do not meet the requirements of modern scholarship will be admitted by all. It is equally evident to anyone who has read them carefully that, with some very few exceptions, they give the English reader a fair, if dull and dim, outline of the originals. Taylor was a metaphysician, not a poet—though on occasion he could write verses—he did not see very much that others have seen in the books before him, but he was an ardent enthusiast for that form of thought which we will call Neoplatonism, but which was in fact much more nearly like the beliefs of the men of the Italian Renaissance than any form of Platonic thought. With many men this has been a passing dream, a bright vision which has ere long faded into the light of common day. What he called Platonism became to him a religion. He may, perhaps,

at times have talked wildly, but his printed writings are uniformly grave and serious. It was, however, seriously believed by some who did not know him that he had returned not only to the beliefs but the ritual of heathenism. Someone or other invented a story that he had "sacrificed a ram to Jupiter in his back-parlour at Walworth"—a fable which a writer in the *Saturday Review* seems to have been sufficiently without guile as to accept seriously.*

We believe that by none of his works, excepting only the translation of Pausanias, did Taylor make any profit. It is rare in any age to find so sincere and lifelong a devotion to one object; a devotion the more remarkable as there was no outside public to admire and applaud. It is not in the translations, however, that we reach the author's inner mind; for that we must read his numerous essays, prefaces, and notes. On studying these, we shall see what in the dim, dead past had such charm for him. An anonymous writer, who has treated his memory more justly than some others who might be quoted, has said: "Taylor's deity, like that of Democritus, was the geometrical master of a most geometrical universe, and it was only by the study of mathematics that his disciple discovered him. Having a great horror of 'mechanical mathematics,' and there being no Carnot or Sir William Hamilton in those days, he was driven to the Greeks, and, while studying Plato, accidentally met with Plotinus, whose writings he accepted as a kind of revelation."† This is the truth, but there was much more. Taylor's mind craved for system and dogma; he felt as many others have done since, who have gone off in lines very far apart from one another, that if it were by any means to be had, certainty as to some of the primal convictions which are at the base of the moral fabric is above all else needful. This he thought that he found in that which he conceived to be the teaching of the two greatest of the Greeks, between whose writings he believed there was complete harmony. He was reported to have been violently anti-Christian in his feelings; but from what we have heard from those who knew him and loved him well, we are pretty sure that this is

* July 5, 1862.

† *Fraser's Magazine*, November, 1875, p. 645.

a mistake. The Christianity with which he had come in contact in his early days seems to have been of a character by no means attractive, and he did not benefit by his wider means of knowledge when the circle of his acquaintance enlarged. A Greek epigram which he composed was handed about, and had, not unnaturally, a tendency to raise prejudice against him. As far as we can make out, it has not hitherto been printed :

Πας αγαθος ἢ αγαθος εθνικος και πας
Χριστιανος ἢ χριστιανος κακος.

We have copied it from the original in his own handwriting. We may, from all we know of him, safely affirm that the Christianity of which he was thinking was not that of the Gospels. Like many other thinkers, whose lives have been self-contained, he held certain opinions which grated on the common run of his contemporaries. He would avow, for instance, that he took little thought to make his writings easy reading, for that it was the part of those who would study them to master the style in which they were written. He was also a mortal foe to Greek accents, treating them with a righteous scorn equal to that which the late Dr. Maitland poured on Hebrew points.* This opinion laid him open to the charge of avoiding accents from ignorance. This was certainly not the true reason why he hated them. It was, however, far too telling a point for popular writers to neglect. Many jeers as to Taylor and Greek accents may be found in the popular literature of his time. Christopher North (Professor Wilson), writing of some ignorant person, says, "We perceive that, like the Platonist Taylor, he puts no accents to his Greek—we fear for the same reason."†

A novel exists, entitled *Vaurien*, which has been confidently attributed to Isaac Disraeli; we have never seen it, but we believe it contains a satire on a certain Platonist philosopher, which is said to have been intended for Taylor. It is not improbable that some of his habits may be pictured there in an exaggerated form. From what we have gathered,‡ we imagine that most of the silly stories as to Taylor's "heathenism" have originated in this source.

* *Eruvin*, 1850, p. 44.

† *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1822, vol. xi., p. 242.

‡ *Fraser's Magazine*, November, 1875, p. 646, contains an amusing extract.

We have lying before us while we write a packet of letters written by Taylor to an intimate friend. We shall make a somewhat long extract from one, as it gives his experiences of Oxford, where he had gone to consult manuscripts. He was staying at New College. It is dated June 20, 1802 :

"I should have written to you before, but I have been disappointed in seeing the Dean of Christ Church* a second time till yesterday; and I was unwilling to write till I had again seen him, as I thought he might wish me to transmit some message to you. He has, however, it seems, nothing to send to you but his best compliments. I am much obliged to you for your introductory letter to him, as he received me in a very flattering manner, said he was well acquainted with my works, and professed himself a great admirer of Plato and Aristotle; and he told me yesterday that he would subscribe to my Plato. I have also received great civilities from Dr. Smith, the head of Trinity College, Dr. Winstanley, Professor of History in Corpus College; and particularly from the professors in New College, where I reside. I have, likewise, found the manuscripts which I expected to find in the Bodleian Library, to which I have the liberty of access after the usual hours. My application in making extracts from them has been so great, as my time is short, that I have injured my health by it; I must, therefore, remit my exertions for a day or two.

"I shall perhaps surprise you by saying that Oxford, independent of the Bodleian Library, has no charms for me. For though I have received the greatest civilities from the black-gowned gentlemen, yet they appear to me to be in general haughty and superficial, and they flaunt through the streets with that self-importance, as if wisdom and wit were inseparable from the robe. And as to the numerous Colleges and Halls in Oxford, these, though they may be considered as so many palaces, are to me so gloomy from their Gothic structure, that they give a melancholy aspect to the town and its vicinity. Even the trees, in which these proud edifices at a distance seem to be embosomed, appear to

* Cyril Jackson, D.D., appointed 1783; resigned 1809; died 1819.

me to lose all their verdure as the barbaric towers and spires frown above them. In short, everything is infected with monkish gloom; and I am not yet reconciled to my apartments, which are very much in the style of some of the rooms in Mrs. Radcliffe's castles. If it were not, therefore, that I consider my residence here for a short time as necessary to the accomplishment of an object to which I shall always consider everything else as secondary, whatever and wherever be my situation in life, I should leave Oxford immediately, so black is the melancholy with which it assaults me."

Taylor only gave utterance to the popular feeling of his century in what he says about mediæval architecture. We should assume, from the general character of his writings, that he knew hardly anything of the history of Europe during the middle ages. The old buildings of Oxford would bear no message to one whose natural home was the Alexandria of Plotinus and Porphyry.

Thomas Taylor died of a painful disease of the bladder, which he bore with stoical patience, on 1st of November, 1835. The year of his birth a brilliant comet was seen in the sky. A few days before his death he inquired of a friend whether he had heard that a comet had appeared. The friend replied, "Yes." "Then," said the philosopher, "I shall die. I was born with it, and shall die with it." He was buried in Walworth churchyard. No stone marks the spot, and the grave cannot now be identified. The funeral was attended by a few of his literary friends; one of these told me that he remembered Isaac Disraeli being there. His portrait was painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence. It was in the possession of Mr. Meredith, Taylor's friend and patron. I have failed to discover where it is at present. The following is, I believe, a complete catalogue of his printed works:

Elements of a new method of reasoning in Geometry, 1780.

Plotinus on the Beautiful, 1787.

Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries. The British Museum copy has the following in Taylor's hand-writing: "Presented from the author, Tho^s. Taylor, to the British Museum, Oct^r.

26, 1792. Manor Place, Walworth.' It is said in the title-page to be printed at Amsterdam. Lowndes says that it was printed in London, in 1791. The British Museum Catalogue gives 1790 as the date. It was reprinted in Nos. 17 and 18 of *The Pamphleteer*.

Proclus on Euclid, 1788-1789.

A vindication of the rights of Brutes, 1792.

A satire on *The Rights of Man*. The British Museum copy contains the following manuscript note: "By Thomas Taylor, the Platonist, as he himself informed me. T. R."

Hymns of Orpheus, 1792. A second edition, with additions, 1824. In Walsh's list of Taylor's works, and the *Penny Cyclopædia*, an edition of 1787 is mentioned. This may be a mistake, or there may have been an earlier edition, of which that of 1792 is a reprint, or the same edition with a new title-page.

The Phœdrus of Plato, 1792.

Sallust on the Gods, and the World, and the Pythagoric sentences of Demophilus, 1793.

The Cratylus, Phædo, Parmenides and Timæus of Plato, 1793.

Two orations of the Emperor Julian to the Sovereign Sun, and to the Mother of the Gods, 1793.

Pausanias, Description of Greece. 3 vols., 1794. Second edition, 3 vols., 1824.

Plotinus on Felicity; on the nature and origin of evil; on providence; on nature; contemplation and the one; and on the descent of the soul, 1794.

Apuleius, Cupid and Psyche, 1795. Some copies have at the end three unpagged leaves of expurgations.

Aristotle, Metaphysics, 1801. Some copies are dated 1806.

Hederic, Greek Lexicon, 1803. Taylor edited this edition, and, according to Walsh, added many words "not found in other modern lexicons, and an explanation is given of some words agreeably to the Platonic philosophy."*

Maximus Tyrius, dissertations of, 1804. 2 vols.

* *Brief Notice of Th. Taylor, with complete List of his published Works*, by J. J. W., 1831, p. 14. This list is not complete.

An answer to Dr. Gillie's supplement to his new analysis of Aristotle's works, in which the unfaithfulness of his translation of Aristotle's ethics is unfolded, 1804.

Plato, works, 1804. 5 vols. The work includes the fifty-five dialogues and twelve epistles. Some of the dialogues were translated by Floyer Sydenham.

Demophilus, Pythagoric sentences of, included in William Bridgman's translations from the Greek, 1804.

Miscellanies in prose and verse, 1805. According to Lowndes, there are copies dated 1806. Second edition, with additions, 1820.

Collectanea, 1806.

Aristotle, History of Animals, 1809.

The Emperor Julian's arguments relative to the Christians, 1809.

Elements of the true arithmetic of infinities, 1809.

Aristotle, works, 1812. 9 vols.

Dissertation on the philosophy of Aristotle, 1812. There are three copies of this in the British Museum. The title-pages of two of these copies differ. This book was intended to form an introduction to the translation published the same year.

Proclus, the six books of, on the theology of Plato, 1816. 2 vols.

Theoretic Arithmetic, 1816.

Plotinus, select works of, 1817.

Iamblichus, Life of Pythagoras, 1818.

Iamblichus on the mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians, 1821.

Proclus, commentaries on the Timæus of Plato, 1820.

Hierocles, Political, Pythagoric Fragments, and Ethical Fragments, 1822.

Apuleius, the metamorphosis or golden ass, and philosophical works, 1822. Some copies contain four unpagged leaves of suppressed passages, printed on one side of the paper only, and one other leaf printed on both sides.

Porphry, select works of, 1823.

Elements of a new arithmetical notation, 1823.

Proclus, the fragments that remain of the lost writings of, 1825.

Celsus, Arguments against the Christians, 1830.

Ocellus, 1831. Part of this was published in the *European Magazine*, May, 1782.

Proclus, two treatises of, 1833.

Plotinus and Olympiodorus on suicide, 1834.

Taylor was a frequent contributor to the *Classical Journal*; he also wrote occasionally in the *Gentleman's*, the *Monthly*, and the *European Magazines*, and probably elsewhere. His library was sold after his death. A copy of the catalogue is in the British Museum. Mr. Kerslake, of Bristol, writing to me some years ago, said, "I had a series of 21 vols. 8vo. and small 4to., uniformly bound in old calf, all in his handwriting, in Greek and English, but I have no particulars of their contents." His manuscript collections were very voluminous. It is probable that other volumes exist still in the libraries of collectors.



Master Dallam's Mission.

BY J. THEODORE BENT, F.S.A.



DIARY of travel is before me as I write, recording a journey, full of incident, which was undertaken, at the command of Queen Elizabeth, by Master Thomas Dallam, organ-builder, the object of which journey was to convey to the Sultan of Turkey a new and elaborately constructed organ as a present from her Majesty. Master Dallam's diary has not seen the light of day, and, perhaps, if published at full length would occasionally be wearisome. I only propose to abstract from it such points as will illustrate life and travelling three hundred years ago, and the central feature of this expedition, the presentation of the organ to the Grand Signor of the Turks.

Hurriedly receiving orders to start, Dallam got together his kit, which, for the benefit of future travellers, he sets down on the first page. He possessed himself of "one suite of sackcloth to wear at sea," which cost him £1 2s., also various other articles for "his chest," and a pair of virginals for which he

paid £1 15s., "which the merchants did allow me for my exercise by the way."

The ship *Hector*, which was to convey him and his organ to Constantinople, lay at Gravesend, "so I departed from London in a pair of oars with my chest the month of February, 1598, being Friday;" but as the *Hector* was not ready to start, he took lodgings in the town, "till the last day of the month at evening-time the anchor was weighed."

Deal Castle was the first halting-place, as the wind was not fair for the Channel, so they tarried there four days, and went into the town "to make ourselves merry." "When the wind came fair it was in the night, and divers of us that were passengers, and also some sailors, were in the town of Deal, where some of the company had drunk very much, especially one of the five trumpeters, who, being in drink, had locked his chamber door, and when they came from the ship to call us," he behaved in such a disgraceful manner "that we went all away aboard the ship, and left that drunkard behind."

The ship *Hector* sailed "merrily past Dover," but met with "a marvellous great storm" in the Channel. "In the night we did not only lose the pinnace, the *Lanerett*, which was to go with us to the Gulf of Venice, but we also lost ourselves," and after much trepidation they found themselves just off Dartmouth, which port they entered, and there also tarried four days; and in the meantime the merchant sent posts about to all the haven towns upon the coast to inquire about the pinnace, and heard that she had gone to Falmouth, and had there gotten a new top-mast, and that she would meet them in Plymouth, where also they tarried seven days.

On March 16, "with icy cold weather and a fair wind," just as they were starting, a small boat came in and warned the captain of the *Hector* not to start without "a good store of company," as a French man-of-war "with seven sails," from Dunkirk, was on the lookout for them; their ship had been captured, "some had been put to death, and what they did with the rest they could not say; but they, six in number, had been sent off in a small boat." In spite of this alarming

news, the captain refused to stay "for any more company than God already had sent him, the which was only our pinnace and two ships that were going for Newfoundland;" and sure enough, shortly after leaving Plymouth, the French man-of-war was sighted; but when she saw that they were prepared to fight, she thought better of it and sailed away, leaving "our company to proceed peacefully on our voyage."

Thus writes Master Dallam in his log book:

"20th of March.—We entered the bay of Portingale."

"24th.—There came an infinite company of porpoises about the ship, the which did leap and run marvellously."

"25th.—We saw 2 or 3 great monstrous fishes or whales, the which did spout water up into the air, like as smoke doth ascend out of a chimney."

On March 27 they entered the Straits of Gibraltar, about which Dallam draws for us the following quaint little sketch:

"At entry it is but 3 leagues at most from shore to shore. On Spain's side we did see a very fair city called Tarifa, the which stood very pleasantly close to the sea. On Barbary's side there is a mighty mountain, the which they do call Ape Hill. Further on on Spain's side there is a very strong town called Geblatorre: this town lay very fair to our view; it is very well fortified and of great strength; there doth also lie a great number of the King of Spain's galleys and men-of-war to keep the Strait. On the east side of the town there is a great mountain, whereon a great part of the town doth stand. This mountain is very upright on both sides."

The first port that the *Hector* put into after leaving Plymouth was Algiers, where Dallam went ashore, and speaks of all he saw with great delight: "the market of greens, though it was yet winter;" "the partridge sold for less than a penny, and two quails for the same price;" "there be also great stores of hens and chickens, for they be hatched by artificial means in stoves or hot-houses, without the help of a hen; the manner of it I cannot plainly describe." The camels, the Christian slaves—everything, in fact, that he saw was an object of intense delight to Master Thomas Dallam.

"The King of Algiers, on the day after we arrived, sent word to our captain that he should come unto him, and bring him the present which he had to carry to the Grand Signor; so the captain went unto and told the King that the present which he carried was not only a thing of great substance and charge, but also it was difficult to undo, and would also take a long time to put together, and make fit to be seen. When the King understood what the captain had said, he would give no credit unto his word, but kept him as prisoner, and caused me and my mate to be sent for; when we came before him and were examined, and when he found us to be in the same tale that the captain had told, then was the captain released and discharged; and the King sent the captain for a present aboard two bulls and three sheep, the which were very lean, for they do think the worst thing they have is too good for Christians."

Just one remark from the diary anent the women of Algiers: "The Moorish women do always in the street have their faces covered, and the common report goeth that the women have no souls, and I do think that it were as well for them if they had none, for they never go to church or offer prayers as the men do; and the men are very religious in their kind, and have very fine churches which they do call mosques." After leaving Algiers on the 4th of April, we are told "of the further procession of the navigation" along the coast of Africa, how they passed a famous island called Sicilia, and how a little before reaching Malta they gave chase to a ship (April 15th), concerning which event Master Dallam tells us the following curious incident in the maritime code of honour of the period: "After the master of that ship perceived by our flag what we were, he did see that such as himself was unable to contend with us, so he cast out his boat and came aboard us, and brought with him for a present divers commodities—some Turkish carpets, some quilted coverings of silk, and great pieces of salt-fish, the which we never tasted, for after a talk with our captain, he got leave to return and take his presents with him. For though the ship had ten thousand dollars' worth of goods on it, our captain could not take anything, as it came from Scio, where Mr. Wm. Aldridge was consul."

The British tourist of the day is presented to us in the account of their next halt at the island of Zante. Three centuries have passed over since Dallam put his thoughts on paper; but somehow, except for the quaint language, they might have been penned by an ardent sightseer of to-day. The *Hector* had to stay in quarantine off Zante for five days, as they had come from a Turkish port, and consequently had no bill of health. "This time I occupied in taking great notice of a pleasant green mountain, from which a good view of the island could be obtained, and I took such pleasure in beholding this hill, that I made a vow or promise to myself that as soon as I set foot on shore, I would nothing eat or drink until I had been on the top thereof." He made two other men take the same oath, "Michel Watson, my joiner, and Edward Hale, a countryman," and having been rowed straight to the foot of the hill, they commenced to ascend. Having come across a shepherd "with a great staff having a clubbed end, and on his head a cap which seemed to us to have five horns," Michel Watson grew frightened, and thought it was the devil, and refused to go any further. When near the top, the two Englishmen met a horseman. "Quoth I to my fellow Ned Hale, 'We shall see by this man what people they be that inhabit here.' When this man came up to us, he lay his hand upon his breast and bowed his head with a smiling countenance, and passed on." Nevertheless Ned Hale grew anxious, and was for turning back, but Dallam said it would not be consistent with his oath, so they went on.

At the top they found a house, and Dallam, who was thirsty and of an adventurous spirit, asked for a drink; but Ned Hale would not approach until Dallam cried out, "A carrouse to our friends in England; this is the best Revola wine I have as yet tasted." The friend who gave them the wine refused remuneration; but Dallam remembered that he had "several knives in my pocket. I took one of them and gave it him; the haft of it was mother-of-pearl, and the blade gilded and graven."

Then they proceeded to visit a monastery there was at the top, and in the chapel of this they heard High Mass; and Ned Hale, "by mistake, knelt amongst the women, who laughed at him, as indeed they might, for he

behaved himself very foolishly," and they were afterwards regaled by certain women, who are always found about a Greek monastery—"very fair women, and rightly apparelled, some in red satin, some white, some in damask, their heads very finely attired, with chains of pearls, and jewels in their ears." They gave them Easter eggs to eat "coloured like a damask rose." Dallam again felt in his pockets and produced another knife, "which I gave to a gentlewoman, and then we set off home right merrily, and found Michel Watson on the way, who all the while had layen in the bushes. When we told him the wonders we had seen and of the kind entertainment, he would not believe us, for he was ashamed, and desired us to make haste to the town that he might get some victuals."

On reaching the town they found the ship's company established at the sign of the White Horse, and when they heard our story, "nine of these gentlemen would needs go presently together, and got them a guide;" and late in the evening when they returned, "they gave me thanks for that which they had seen."

May 1.—Zante was *en fête*—"all able men of the Greeks with their best horses and artillery, which is nothing but staves, met together to run at the rings. They borrowed our five trumpeters to sound."

May 2.—The *Hector* left Zante, and sailing past Cerigo, Crete, and Cyprus without any special adventure, they reached the port of Scanderoon, "where the ship was unladen of the goods which were to go to Aleppo." This had to be done very cautiously, as many Turkish soldiers were encamped near on their way to Damascus, "and if they did find anything on the road that did like them, they would take it as their own."

One day, whilst waiting at Scanderoon, Dallam learnt from the Greeks that the place where Jonas was cast out of the whale's belly was near, so he and his friends were rowed to "that very place, and we gathered and filled a sack full of some pears which did grow upon those rocks."

The *Hector* did not get away from Scanderoon till the 20th of June, and coasting along Asia Minor, they came to Rhodes, where they stopped for water. "We were no

sooner come to anchor, but the Turks began to come aboard us, so that the very first day there came aboard us not so few as 500 rude Turks, and likewise every day that we stayed there they ceased not."

June 28.—The Capitan Pasha being absent, his deputy came aboard to see the ship, "and she was trimmed up in as handsome a manner as we could for the time. Our gun-room was one of the fairest rooms in the ship, and pleasant to come into. In the gun-room I had a pair of virginals, the which our master-gunner, to make the better show, desired me to set open. When the Turks and Jews came in and saw, they wondered what it should be; but when I played on them, they wondered more. Divers of them would take me in their arms and kiss me, and wish that I would dwell with them."

Before leaving, the captain of the *Hector* presented his distinguished guest with "as much broadcloth for a present as would make his captain a vest and gown after the Turkish manner," and after they had all departed, Dallam and his friends went ashore to inspect the town. Passing up "a marvellously fine street," *i.e.*, the Street of the Knights, they came to the ramparts, and saw "mighty great ordnance both of brass and iron, the which were made by the Christians, some so big that two men might creep in both at once. A Greek that guided us about the walls told us that one of these pieces being once discharged, could not be charged again and be made ready in less than two hours."

As they were returning to the ship, they met a boat coming to the shore with "Mr. Mayo, our preacher, and one that was appointed to be the Ambassador's under-butler, in it. Quoth Mr. Mayo, 'Come back as far as the gate that I may read the inscription over it,' and we went. Quoth Mr. Mayo, 'Let us go on as far as that fountain, for I sorely desire to drink, and as we drank a kindly Turk who had seen me play my virginal and kissed me aboard, beckoned to the gate and advised us to be gone. So to the gate we went, I as fast as I could trudge, and the rest of my company, leaving Mr. Mayo and the butler talking to a Turk, for they two could speak Italian a little and so could none of us, and we looked back at the gate and saw no one at the fountain, for the Turks

had carried Mr. Mayo and the butler to prison."

Dallam and his friends hurried to the boat, and went on board as quickly as they could to inform the captain, who thought it was "because we Christians had visited the walls that those men were taken prisoners. What word did pass between our master and myself, I will omit till God sends us into England."

The following day was passed without any communication from the shore; but on the next a small Greek boat brought a letter from Mr. Mayo, "written so pitifully as if they had been prisoners there seven years, showing how they were taken from the fountain, and coupled together like as they had been two dogs, with a chain of cold rusty iron, and led into a dark dungeon, and there fastened with a staple into a post, where they must continually stand, and neither sit nor kneel, and every two hours were shaken over them whips made of wire, threatening most cruel punishment."

The captain and five merchants forthwith went ashore, and one, who spoke Italian, represented the case to the Governor, and the importance of the men whom they had taken prisoners. His reply was, Dallam tells us: "Yesterday I was aboard your ship, representing my captain's person in his absence; you gave me not such entertainment as my place did require; you made me no good cheer, neither did you give me a present for my captain," whereupon it was explained to him they were at the end of their voyage, and had no good cheer left, and that he had been given broadcloth for his captain. "But," replied he, "I had then none for myself, and one will I have before you have your men," and here the quarrel was ended.

The next day the *Hector* left Rhodes, and passed through "a marvellous company of little islands." At Samos the natives took them for pirates, and they saw them drive their cattle up into the hills; and at Chios they went ashore for food and water, "for we had eaten nothing but rice boiled in stinking water for three days, but being Sunday we could only get a bushel of garlic, with the which we had to be satisfied." The captain would not put in to the chief town of Chios, where abundance of provisions could

be obtained, and where Mr. Aldridge was consul, "for fear of the charges."

When off Tenedos, they saw a lot of Turkish galleys coming by, some rowing and some sailing; and "because they should not come aboard us, our master caused anchors to be weighed." When they neared the "mouth of the river Hellespont," they met a Turkish fleet bound for the wars, with the Turkish admiral on board, which Dallam thus describes: "The sight of those galleys, to our thinking, was a marvellous gallant show; they were so curiously painted with fair colours and good varnish. The slaves that were in them rowing sat all naked. As they were rowing towards Tenedos, the wind came fair for them, and then they set their sails, and the slaves were covered with a piece of canvas, that overspread them all. When the galleys were under sail, they showed much better than they did before, for the sails were made of cotton-wool, and one cloth was very white, and another very blue, and the masts of the same colour."

The captain of the *Hector* gave them three pieces as a salute, which was very badly done, and the admiral sent a galley to demand his present, and to ask why they had not saluted him better. To which the captain replied that the admiral's present was under the hatches, nor did he know what it was till he reached the Ambassador's at Constantinople, and that if he had known the admiral had been on board the fleet, he would have given him all the ordnance in the ship. The captain of the boat said he durst not return without some present, so "our master made diligent search, and found two Holland chests, which he sent, and the captain of the boat asked for a present for himself, and our master said he had nothing; then he desired to have some tobacco and tobacco pipes, the which in hand he had, and then he sailed away."

They had to wait a long while at Gallipoli for a wind to take them up the Dardanelles, and the Ambassador at Constantinople, learning of their arrival, sent a boat for letters, and Dallam, together with Mr. Mayo, Mr. Glover, and sixteen others, went off in her, hoping to reach Constantinople the sooner, and on the way they met with sundry and amusing adventures. The first night, they went ashore, and lit a fire with a hedge they

pulled down, and with it roasted one half "of a mutton we had bought, and boiled the other, which ate we both merrily and sweetly; our fire was so large that we had heat enough."

Another time there was so much wind that they had to go ashore, and "divers of our party entered a vineyard to gather grapes, and were pursued by Greeks, and were in danger of losing their garments. Cuthbert Bull lost his cloak, and one that went as the Ambassador's cook was pinioned, and his girdle and his knives taken away; but one, Mr. Goznalo, a very stout man, redeemed these things, and made the Greeks run away." The Greeks thereupon complained to the governor of the town, a Turk, who made them all friends again, and whom Dallam thus quaintly describes: "He was a very stout and strong man of his person, but of activity he had none, for some in our company did prove him many ways; he could neither run, leap, wrestle, pitch the bar, the stone upon the hand, throw the sledge, neither any defence with the sword or cudgel, but if he did catch a man in his arms, suddenly he would crunch him so that he would make his heart ache."

Next day they journeyed by land, towing the boat, as the wind was contrary. They tarried at a town called Camuosso, for the wind was high, and Mr. Glover, who was the captain, "when he had well viewed the town, and saw that the condition of the people was not to our liking, made choice of a house for us to lodge in that was next to the sea. The town stood upon a hill, and the house upon the very brink or end of the hill, being the height of St. Paul's Church above the sea." They had to lie on the bare boards, for during this journey they had found no beds. "In this room there was not so much as a stone or form to sit upon, and no window to give light, but one little hole through a stone wall."

Whilst out for a walk they found a weed, thick and soft. Every one of them gathered "a bundle to lay under his head. When we had lain half an hour, we that had the weeden pillows were suddenly tormented with a vermin that was in our pillows, the which did bite far worse than fleas, so that we were glad to throw away our pillows, and

sweep the house clean, but we could not cleanse ourselves so soon." It was an awful night they spent, expecting attacks from the natives, and tormented with vermin within. Each man slept with his sword by his side, and they kept watch in turn.

(To be concluded.)



Finger-Rings.

BY THE LATE HODDER M. WESTROPP.

(Continued.)



WE will now give a short description of some of the most remarkable rings, and particularly of those known for their historical interest.

The most ancient and most wondrous in the long catalogue of famous rings recorded by the writers of antiquity, is that of Gyges. The Lydian Plato relates in his *Republic* how he, when a mere shepherd, espied in a chasm opened by the winter rains a monstrous horse of brass, which served for the sepulchre of some giant of old, which chamber of death he boldly entering, took off the skeleton's finger a ring. Returning to his brother shepherds, he found accidentally that by turning the face of this ring inside his hand he became invisible, whereupon, profiting by its mystic power, he murdered his master, King Candaules, and took possession of his Queen and kingdom, the most beautiful woman and the wealthiest region of all Asia. The crime was, after the Eastern fashion, visited upon the head of his innocent descendant.

Another mythical ring was that of Solomon, which, it is said, among its other marvels, had the power to seal up refractory Jews in jars and cast them into the Red Sea.

Next comes the love-inspiring ring, worn by Helen as a signet, with the fish, called Pau, engraved on it.

But to descend from the regions of fable into those of authentic history, we come to the strange, yet probably true, story about the ring of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, so particularly described by Herodotus. This too successful tyrant and pirate being himself alarmed by his own vast and unbroken pros-

perity, took counsel of the sage Amasis, the Egyptian, and, following his advice, propitiated Nemesis by throwing into the sea his signet, which he regarded as the most precious of his treasures, thinking by the sacrifice of this one object he had amply, as Pliny expresses it, compounded for all the other favours heaped upon him by capricious Fortune. But the ring was swallowed by a fine fish, which, being caught the same day, was brought by the captor as a present to his prince, the ring found in its belly, and restored to its astonished owner. But his end verified the predictions of the Egyptian King, atoning once for all, and more than amply (as is Fortune's rule in such cases), for his past felicity; for, betrayed into the hands of the Satrap Orcetes, he closed his career by impalement, his first sacrifice of atonement having been rejected and thrown upon his hands by the ruler of events.

A description of the perfumed ring has been handed down by Herodotus, who describes it as a signet of emerald, set in gold, the work of Theodorus of Samos. Pliny, however, records a curious fact, that in his time the pretended signet of Polycrates used to be shown in the shape of a sardonyx, not engraved, set in a golden cornucopia in the Temple of Concord, and holding there but the last place amidst a multitude of other gems, all preferred to it as of higher value.*

We now come to more certain and more authentic examples of historical rings.

The first we take in chronological order is that of Childeric, the great founder of the Merovingian dynasty, the father of Clovis, who died in 482. This signet-ring—found with other treasures in his tomb at Tournay, when accidentally opened in 1654—is not set

with a gem, but has an oval bezel in the gold of the ring, engraved with his bust in front face, holding a spear. He conspicuously wears the long hair of the Merovingian line.



RING OF CHILDERIC.

Traces remain of the legend *CHILDERIC REGIS*. Most unfortunately this invaluable signet has disappeared with the jewels stolen from the Bibliothèque in Paris in 1831.

The next ring is an English one, an historic relic of singular interest, and a remarkable work of early art. It is the ring of Ethelwulf, King of Wessex (the father of Alfred the Great), who reigned A.D. 816-838, and bears the royal name upon it. It was found in the parish of Laverstock, Hants. The form is remarkable, the front rising



RING OF ÆTHELVV.

* In later times another legend has been told of a fish and a ring to explain the armorial bearings of the city of Glasgow: the stem of a tree crossed by a salmon, bearing in its mouth a ring. The legend attached to this is related in Jocelin's *Life of St. Kentigern*. In the days of this saint, the Queen of Cadrow having lost her wedding-ring, it stirred up the jealousy of her husband, King Roderic, to allay which she applied to St. Kentigern, imploring his help for the safety of her honour. Not long after, as the holy man walked by the river, he desired a person who was fishing to bring him the first fish he could catch, which was accordingly done, and from its mouth was taken the Queen's ring, which he immediately sent to her, to remove her husband's suspicions.

pyramidically. Two birds, of conventional form, face each other, a flower-ornament dividing them. These decorations are relieved by a ground of glossy bluish-black enamel. This ring is of gold, weighing 11 dwts. 14 grains. It is now preserved in the British Museum.

Especially noteworthy is the ring of Æthel-swath, wife of Burgud, King of Mercia, and sister of Alfred the Great, the property of the Rev. W. Greenwell. Apart from all historical associations, it is one of the finest Saxon rings

which are known to have come down to our times. It was found in Yorkshire. It is of gold, weighing 312 grains. The outer surface is engraved, and partly filled with niello. In the centre of the bezel is the Agnus Dei, accompanied by the letters A. D. In the half-circle on each side are conventional animals, or monsters; the whole is surrounded by a border of dots, much worn in places. Within the ring is an inscription, in letters large in proportion to the surface they occupy, and which read EATHELSVITH REGNA.

The ring of St. Louis, of France, which was formerly kept in the treasury of St. Denis, is now in the Musée des Souverains, at the Louvre. It is described in *Le Trésor Sacré de Saint Denis* (1646) as "a ring of the glorious King Saint Louis." It is of gold,

CEST-LE-SINET-DYROI

SANT-LOUIS-



RING OF LOUIS.

covered with fleurs de lis, ornamented with a large square sapphire, on which is engraved the image of the saint, with the letters S. L., which mean *Sigillum Ludovici*. Around the ring outside are engraved the words, "Cest-le-sinet-du-roi-Sant-Louis," which were added after his death.

In the Marlborough collection is a ring with a spinet engraved, with a youthful head in front face wearing a crown of three fleurs de lis. The ring is of massive gold, ribbed longitudinally, and chased with flowers. Around the head a motto is engraved: "Tel il nest" ("There is no one like him"). Mr. Albert Way conjectures that this ring, a lady's from its small dimensions, may have belonged to Margaret of Anjou, and that the head is that of Henry VI., from its resemblance to his portrait upon his great seal.

In the library of the Cathedral of Chichester is the episcopal ring of Seffrid, Bishop of

Chichester (d. 1159). It bears the figure of a Gnostic deity, the serpent-legged Abraxas, rudely engraved in jasper, evidently adopted by the Bishop for the supposed virtue attached to these stones in mediæval times. The ring was on the hand of the Bishop's skeleton upon the accidental discovery of his stone coffin.

In the Waterton collection is a ring assumed to be the wedding-ring of Catarina de Raselli, the wife of Nicola Rienzi, the famous tribune of Rome. "The ring," writes Mr. Waterton, "was purchased for me in Rome, for a trifling sum, at one of the periodical sales of the Monte de Pieta, and I had it for several months before I discovered certain facts, which many archæologists consider to be corroborative of my supposition that this ring was the nuptial ring of Cola di Rienzi. Its style, when compared with other objects of the period, enable us to ascribe its date to the first half of the fourteenth century. The bezel is an irregular octagon. In the centre there is cut, signet-wise, a device—two stars divided per pale. Around this are inscribed two names—Catarina Nicola—the interstices filled up with niello. These names are written from left to right, and not reversed. The ring is an elegant specimen of Italian workmanship, and I consider it to have been produced by a Florentine artist. The reasons for believing that this may have been the *fiancial* ring of Rienzi and his wife are the following: (1) The two names Nicola (di Rienzi) and Catarina (de Raselli); (2) The date of the ring, which we may assign to 1320-1340, the time when Rienzi lived; (3) Neither Rienzi nor his wife had any armorial bearing, and having great faith in his destiny, he is stated to have selected a star for his device. The two stars divided per pale were interpreted by an eminent Roman archæologist to be significant of the star of Rienzi and that of his wife."

There was discovered, fourteen years ago, on a hill at Montpensier, a gold ring believed to have belonged to the Black Prince. It weighs 13 grammes, is set with a ruby, is inscribed *Sigillum Secretum*, and has a Latin device round the circle. A woman, a rag-collector, discovered it, and alleged that the mayor gave her 40 francs on account, promising to divide the proceeds between her

and the Commune. The mayor having sold it in 1876 for 8,600 francs to Baron Jerome Pinchon, she claimed half the price, but the tribunal nonsuited her, holding that she sold the ring for the 40 francs.

A most interesting relic is the betrothal ring of Martin Luther. Renouncing the faith of Rome, he revoked his vow of celibacy, and completed his total severance from its creed by marrying a lady who had been once a nun, named Catherine Boren. The ring



BETROTHAL RING OF MARTIN LUTHER.

used for his betrothal is of elaborate design and execution. A group of emblems of the Saviour's passion, the pillar, the scourge, the spear, and various other objects, combine with a representation of the crucifixion, a small ruby being set in the centre of the ring above the head of the Saviour. On the inside of the ring, the inscriptions are still perfect. They contain the names of the betrothed pair, and the date, in German: "D Martino Luthero Cathenais Boren, 15 Juni, 1525." This ring belonged to a family of Leipsic as late as 1817, and is doubtless still preserved with the greatest care as a national relic.

Another interesting relic is the marriage-ring worn by Luther. It is an ingeniously contrived double ring, made so as to form



LUTHER'S MARRIAGE RING.

two complete rings, but which cannot be separated from each other, as they are linked together. The motto engraved within them is: "Was Got zussamenfujot soll kein

Mensch scheiden"—"What God doth join no man shall part." The bezel of the ring is in two parts. On one are the initials of Luther, followed by a B, marking his academic title, M.L.B; on the other, those of Catherine von Boren, C.V.B. When the rings are closed the initials lie close together. These rings were, it is supposed, designed by the celebrated painter and goldsmith, Lucas Cranach, who was a friend of Luther's.

"Of signet-rings known in modern times, writes Mr. King, "none has enjoyed so lasting and high a reputation as the so-called 'Seal of Michael Angelo,' preserved for the last two centuries in the French cabinet, into which it passed with the other antiquities of Lauthier, a distinguished antiquary of Aix, in Provence, under Henri IV. Then and for many years it was received for the undoubted work of Pyrgoteles, and the design as commemorating the birth of Alexander the Great. The value, consequently, was estimated at £2,000; for in addition to these high recommendations, its interest was enhanced by the fact that it had been the favourite ring of Michael Angelo himself."

More accurate criticism has, unfortunately, now stripped it of its *antique* glories, and pronounced it to be merely a work of the Italian school, as its whole character unmistakably betrays. It is a sard engraved with a fine composition of many figures. The subject is a vintage and Bacchic festival. In the exergue is a boy fishing. Those who believe it to be antique, consider the boy fishing as the symbol of the Greek engraver ΑΛΛΙΩΝ; others, on the other hand, deem it a rebus upon the name of the artist, Gio. Maria da Pescia, the celebrated engraver and friend of Michael Angelo. That the ring once actually belonged to the great Florentine seems to be a matter beyond dispute. Of this relic the following curious story is told by the witty President, Des Brosses, in his *Lettres sur l'Italie* (ii. 27): "Early in the century, as the academician, Hardion, was exhibiting the treasures of the Bibliothèque to that celebrated amateur, the Baron de Storch, he all at once missed this very ring; whereupon, without expressing his suspicions, he privately despatched a servant for a strong emetic, which, when brought, he insisted upon the Baron's swallowing then and there,

and in a few minutes he had the satisfaction of hearing the ring tinkle into the basin held before the unlucky and unscrupulous gem-collector."

In the British Museum is the gold signet-ring of Mary Queen of Scots. Upon the face is engraved the royal arms and supporters of Scotland, with the motto *IN DEFENS*, and her initials *M R*. But the most curious portion of the ring is the inner side of the seal, where a crowned monogram is engraved, which might have been an unsolved enigma, but for the existence in our State Paper Office of a letter written by Mary to Queen Eliza-



MARY'S RINGS.

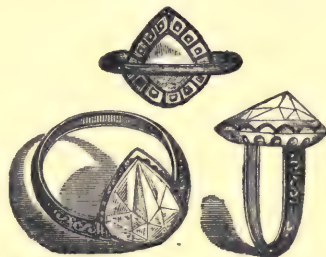
beth, in which she has drawn this identical monogram after signing her name. Sir Henry Ellis, who first traced out this curious history, says: "It is clearly formed of the letters *M* and *A* (for Mary and Albany), and gives countenance to the opinion that the written monogram was intended for Elizabeth and Burleigh to study; the subsequent creation of the title of Duke of Albany in Lord Darnley ultimately opening their eyes to the enigma."

Another interesting relic of Queen Mary is in the Waterton collection at South Kensington. It is a ring of Henry, Lord Darnley, husband to Queen Mary. On the bezel it bears the two initials *M H* united by a lover's knot, and within the hoop the name engraved of *HENRI . L . DARNLEY*, and the year of the marriage, 1565.

A tragic story of a ring is told in connection with Queen Elizabeth and her unfortunate favourite, the Earl of Essex. The narrative may be briefly told as follows: It is said the Queen, at a time when she was most passionately attached to the Earl, gave

him a ring, with the assurance that she would pardon any fault with which he might be accused, when he should return that pledge. Long after this, when he was condemned for treason, she expected to receive this token, and was prepared to have granted the promised pardon. It came not. The Queen was confirmed in the belief that he had ceased to care for her, and pride and jealousy consigned him to the death of a traitor. But the Earl had, in the last extremity of despair, entrusted the ring to the Countess of Nottingham, wife of the Lord High Admiral, an enemy to the unfortunate Essex, who forbade his wife to take any proceedings in the matter, but to conceal the trust entirely and secrete the ring. When the Countess lay upon her death-bed, she sent for her royal mistress, for the first time told her guilt, and humbly implored mercy from God and forgiveness from her earthly sovereign, who did not only refuse to give it, but having shook her as she lay in bed, sent her, accompanied with most fearful curses, to a higher tribunal. The words used by Queen Elizabeth in her agony and despair were: "God may forgive you, but I never can!" It was the death-blow to the proud old Queen, whose regret for the death of Essex could not be quenched by her pride and belief in his ingratitude. A confirmed melancholy settled upon her; she died lonely and broken-hearted.

There are three rings which lay claim to the distinction of being the genuine ring: one in the possession of Lord John Thynne, another which belongs to Captain Warner,



ESSEX RING, BELONGING TO LORD J. THYNNE.

and another in the possession of Mr. Sotheby, of Bloomsbury Square. The ring in the possession of Lord John Thynne is of gold, of extremely delicate workmanship throughout, and a cameo head of the Queen is cut

on onyx and set as its central jewel; the execution of this head is of the highest order, and may possibly have been the work of Valerio Vicentino, an Italian artist who visited England, and cut similar works for Elizabeth and Burleigh. It is one of the most minute, but the most striking likeness. The hoop of the ring is enriched with engraving, and the under surface decorated with floriated ornament, relieved by blue enamel. This ring is said to have been the property of Lady Frances Devereux, daughter of the Earl of Essex, and afterwards Duchess of Somerset, and to have passed from mother to daughter until it came to Louisa, daughter of John, Earl of Granville, who married Thomas Thynne, second Viscount Weymouth, great-grandfather of the present owner. It has been stated by Captain Devereux that no mention of the ring in question is made in the elaborate will of the Duchess of Somerset; and we may remark that it is not at all likely that the Essex family would have got back the ring from the Countess of Nottingham.

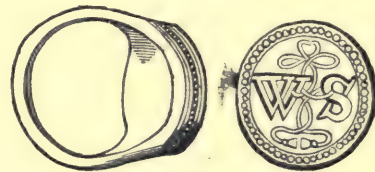
The other ring which sets forth a rival claim to be the identical ring given to the Earl of Essex, is that in the possession of C. N. Warner, Esq. This ring is said to have been given by Charles I. to Sir Thomas Warner, with other marks of distinction, in remuneration of his extensive discoveries in the West Indies in 1629. The ring is formed of a single diamond, cut in the shape of a heart. It is very likely that Queen Elizabeth would have demanded back the ring from the Nottingham family, in which case it would be among her jewels at her death, and would have come into possession of King James, from whom they passed on to King Charles I.

Another narrative of historical interest is told in connection with a large sapphire set in the centre of a diamond star, and now in the possession of the Countess of Cork and Orrery. This sapphire, set as a ring, was worn by Queen Elizabeth, and was immediately after her death, when all the doors were closed by order, taken off her finger and thrown out of a window by Lady Scrope to her brother, Robert Carey, son of Lord Hunsdon, and, later, Earl of Monmouth, who at once took horse to Scotland, and presented the token to James VI., in

proof of the truth of that fact, of which he brought the first tidings. This ring is mentioned in Robertson's *History of Scotland*, etc. It was afterwards given to John, Earl of Orrery, by the Duchess of Buckingham, natural daughter of James II. The ring is thus mentioned by Robertson: "Sir Robert Carey, Lord Hunsdon's youngest son, setting out a few hours after Elizabeth's death, arrived at Edinburgh on Saturday night, just as the King had gone to bed. He was immediately admitted into the royal apartment, and kneeling by the King's bed, acquainted him with the death of Elizabeth, saluted him King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; and as a token of the truth of the intelligence which he brought, presented him a ring which his sister, Lady Scrope, had taken from the Queen's finger after her death."

The ring of Sir Walter Raleigh, which he wore at his death, is said to be in the possession of a member of the Blanckley family, being an heirloom; the Blanckley family being directly descended from Sir Walter, and having several interesting relics of their distinguished ancestor.

A ring has been lately discovered which would be of the greatest interest if it could be proved to be the identical ring to which a claim has been made for it. It is supposed to be the seal-ring of William Shakespeare, and was found March 16th, 1810, by a labourer's wife in the mill close adjoining Stratford-on-Avon churchyard. It passed



SHAKESPEARE'S RING.

into the possession of R. B. Wheler, Esq., the historian of the town; and his sister, at his death, presented it to the museum of Shakespearian relics formed in the birthplace of the poet. It is of gold, weighing 12 dwts., having the initials W. S. linked together by a tasselled cord; the only other ornament upon the ring being a band of pellets and lines on the outer edge of the bezel.

"Is it Shakespeare's?" writes Mr. Fairholt. "It is evidently a gentleman's ring, and of the poet's era. It is just such a ring as a man in his station would fittingly wear—gentlemanly, but not pretentious. There was but one other person in the small town of Stratford at that time to whom the same initials belonged. This was one William Smith, but *his* seal is attached to several documents preserved among the records of the Corporation, and is totally different. Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, in his *Life of Shakespeare*, observes that 'little doubt can be entertained that this ring belonged to the poet, and it is probably the one he lost before his death, and was not to be found when his will was executed, the word *hand* being substituted for *seal* in the original copy of the document.'"

In the Crown-room, in Edinburgh Castle, among the regalia, is a ruby ring set round with diamonds, worn by Charles I. at his Scottish coronation.



In the possession of Miss Gerard is a gold ring, the bezel hexagonal, with a death's-head in white enamel on black ground, surrounded by the legend, BEHOLD THE ENDE. Round the edge is the motto, RATHER DEATH THEN FALS FAITH. At the back the initials M. and L., tied with a mourning ribbon. This ring is stated to have been given to Bishop Juxon by Charles I., on the scaffold; since which period it has been preserved as an heirloom in the family of its present possessor.

In her Majesty's collection of gems is preserved the signet-ring of Charles II., when Prince of Wales, having for device the ostrich plumes between the letters C. P., very neatly cut upon a large yellow diamond, a table $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{7}{8}$ inch in dimensions, quaintly fashioned into a heater-shaped seven-sided shield.

Another ring of historical interest is a silver one, set with a yellow tapering diamond

and a small ruby. It has been preserved in the Penderell family as that given by King Charles II. in token of gratitude for the fidelity which saved him in the oak at Boscobel, after the battle of Worcester. It now belongs to Mrs. Whitely, of Beckington, Somerset, fifth in descent from Penderell.

In the possession of Lord John Scott are several relics of the House of Stuart. They were purchased by him on the death of the late Cardinal York, at Rome. Among the most important are the ring worn by the Pretender—James III., as he was styled abroad—on his marriage with the Princess Clementina Sobieski; the marriage ring of his son, Prince Charles Edward, enclosing a beautiful little miniature; and a gold ring with a white rose in enamel, worn by King James II. and his son.

A ring of the greatest interest for its artistic merits is that in the possession of Count Silver, of Milan. It is of silver, set with a diamond, on which is engraved the head of Numa, by Giacomo da Nerro.

Amongst some of the most magnificent rings of modern date are those of Tippoo Sahib, and of Jehanghir, son of Akbar, Emperor of Delhi. The magnificent jewel which once belonged to Tippoo Sahib has a plain gold hoof, with the entire surface set with rubies; on the centre is perched a large bird, apparently intended for a hawk, made of gold and beautifully executed, with the plumage composed completely of precious stones—the diamond, emerald, ruby, and sapphire. In the beak are two small ruby drops, a single emerald in the crest, and rubies for the eyes; a single row of nine sapphires encircles the throat, and 139 rubies, including those in the hoop, fourteen in number, with twenty-nine diamonds, some of them very large, and all set flat, cover the rest of the neck, breast, back, and tail. This unique and interesting ring was brought from India at the time of the capture of Seringapatam, 1792, under the first Marquis Cornwallis, and presented to his family, by whom it has been preserved, and descended as an heirloom through his eldest grandchild, the late Lady Braybrooke. It is now in the collection of Lord Braybrooke. It is said that Tippoo was in the habit of wearing it when he went out hawking.

Mr. King describes the ring of Jehanghir as an unparalleled specimen of Oriental caprice and extravagance. It is cut out of a solid piece of emerald of remarkably pure quality, with two emerald drops, and two collets set with rose diamonds, and ruby borders in Oriental mountings. Its diameter is $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This ring was presented by Shah Soojah to the East India Company, and was purchased by the late Lord Auckland, when Governor-General of India. It is now in the possession of the Hon. Miss Eden.

I shall bring this short treatise to a close by giving a curious story of a ring of the Countess of Douglas.

Visitors to the Castle of Edinburgh are familiar with the ancient piece of ordnance, styled "Mons Meg," standing on St. Margaret's Battery, with its big granite shot piled beside it. According to an inscription cast on its iron carriage, it is stated to have been cast, or rather built (for it consists of parallel bars of iron, with hoops of iron welded over them), at Mons in Belgium, in 1486. But the tradition in Galloway has always been that it was made by John McKim and his two sons at Castle Douglas, in order to enable King James IV. to reduce Threave Castle, one of the strongholds of the Earl of Douglas, then in rebellion. The local tradition went further, to say that only two shots were fired at the castle; the first, passing through one of the windows of the principal hall, carried off the hand and arm of the Countess of Douglas, who was in the act of raising a glass of claret to her lips; the second, making a breach in the keep or donjon of the castle, caused the fortress to surrender. This tradition long passed current without any value being attached to its accuracy, but it subsequently received remarkable confirmation. One of the granite balls was found a few years ago when clearing out the court-yard of this ancient feudal structure; and in cleaning out the principal draw-well the other ball was found, and in immediate proximity a gold finger-ring, having the Douglas cognizance of a heart, and the initials of the Countess of Douglas to whom the tradition referred. An examination of the granite shot, piled on the battery beside this famous old cannon, showed

that they were composed of the granite of the Galloway district.

The Castle of Threave, which stands on an islet of sixteen Scottish acres, in the river Dee in Kirkcudbrightshire, passed from the Douglasses to the Maxwells. It was garrisoned with eighty men by the Earl of Nithsdale (Maxwell) for Charles I.



Parish Registers in the Urbridge Deanery.*

By J. H. THOMAS, M.A., Rural Dean and Vicar of Hillingdon.

MY LORD BISHOP,—I take for granted that many a layman on glancing over the subjects to-day must have felt that parish registers were unspeakably dry and forbidding. If he is married, he only remembers them as containing certain formal, dreary-looking spaces, to be filled with dates, names, residences, and professions; to these he and his bride affixed their signatures, and escaped from the vestry as soon as possible. But tiresome as it all seemed, he was making history, *i.e.*, adding an item for other generations to know whether old names continued in a parish or new ones took their place; he was an involuntary witness to the progress of education, signing his name instead of making his mark, as he might have done if he had lived two or three hundred years ago. Not being a clerk in holy orders, whose writing is mostly worse now than in the time of Henry VIII., he may at least congratulate himself upon writing a better hand than his forefathers, who, even if they were churchwardens—as we see, three hundred years ago, at West Drayton—made their mark on page after page of a register, certifying the accuracy of entries which they probably could not read; or his signature may form material for an important part of a pedigree in a lawsuit two hundred years hence.

Let us be grateful, then, to Thomas Cromwell,

* A paper read at the Bishop of London's Conference with the Clergy and Laity of the Uxbridge Deanery, Dec. 30, 1887.

Chancellor and Vicar-General of Henry VIII., for this at least, that he provided for the entries of "every wedding, christening, and burial" throughout the country, and for their preservation in "one sure coffer with 2 locks and keys" by the minister and churchwardens of each parish. And later on, in the reign of Elizabeth, the clergy of Canterbury in convocation laid down minute regulations on the subject, which were afterwards embodied in the 70th canon of 1603.*

All provision was, indeed, made both for entries and safe keeping, yet there are numberless instances throughout the country in which either the registers were not cared for properly, or were lost, or so defaced by damp and neglect that they were unreadable. Instances are mentioned within the last forty or fifty years in which the vellum pages were cut to pieces for labels to game-hampers, or for patterns by tailors and lacemakers, mutilated by collectors of autographs or converted into kettle-holders.

Now, it is impossible to take the most rapid glance at the registers in this Deanery without seeing that at times many of them fell into very bad hands indeed. At Uxbridge the books must have been for long years in the custody of some illiterate person, who acted as clerk and made the entries; for although such variations of the name of Alice as Alys, Alis, Alse—the original of our Elsie—are pretty enough at Ickenham, yet Danill and Nathainiell, at Uxbridge, cannot possibly result from anything but ignorance, and in several of the books pages have been cut out from time to time. The Deanery registers are now for the most part carefully preserved, although there are instances in which a few shillings spent in rebinding, or a morning in pasting in loose pages, would be well bestowed. It is indeed most desirable, for the old books possess an interest which, according to our present system of bare names, etc., never can recur. The injunction, indeed, of Henry VIII. does not require

so much as the modern Acts; but, as a matter of fact, each incumbent of old had a book with blank pages given him, upon which he wrote whatever he liked. And his remarks were often of value, although, as we shall see, not always discreet or justifiable. These blank pages continued from 1538 to the passing of Lord Hardwicke's Act in 1753. And it happens that in the three adjoining parishes of Ickenham, Hillingdon, and Hayes, we have registers of singular interest for the beginning, middle, and end of this period. The first volume of the Ickenham registers is well worth careful inspection, as the entries actually begin in 1538, the year of Cromwell's injunction, on the original paper sheets. These are preserved in very few parishes indeed. Numbers are reported to be of this early date, but on examination it will be found that until 1577 they are merely copies into the vellum books which were then ordered, the originals having been usually cast aside.

The Uxbridge registers also commenced in 1538, but the so-called copies were not made until 1601, when the paper originals must have been destroyed. The names and dates are frequently omitted where it pleased the copyist, or there was the slightest difficulty in making them out.

At Ickenham we have both the old paper entries, clear and beautiful as if they were of yesterday, and the copies on vellum, in which the transcriber saved himself trouble, giving only bare names, without the rector's comments, which are a special charm in some of the earliest books. At Ickenham, in the paper books, the names of sponsors at baptism are entered. It appears that an order to that effect was issued in 1555; but the practice begins at Ickenham in 1538, and continues with an occasional gap to the end of the paper sheets in 1577. The copyist, however, in the vellum book contents himself with inserting the christenings without mentioning the sponsors. By the way, it may be suggested that it is possibly a relic of the practice of inserting them which makes sponsors now so often ask if their names are to be put down.

Passing on to the seventeenth century, we have interesting notices in all the books of that date which have been preserved. At Ickenham, from 1698 to 1705, there is a curious

* See *Parish Registers in England*, by R. E. Chester Waters (Longmans, 1887). Anyone wishing to follow the attempts of Church and State to secure accuracy in the returns required, and to see the way in which such attempts have been helped or hindered by clergy, parish clerks, and diocesan registries, should read Mr. Waters' book, which also contains most interesting and amusing details.

entry about people's incomes, which were supposed to guide the fees they paid. A child is baptized, and it is noted of the father, "The said James Gladman has not £50 per annum, nor £600 personal estate." Sometimes there is a note of suspicion: "Hath not, as he saith, £50 per annum." Next, perhaps, comes an entry of "a day labourer, a poor man," and only two or three times it is said "he hath" or "is worth £50." Duties were also imposed on bachelors of twenty-five years of age, and on widowers, if without children, so long as they remained unmarried. But the Act was only in force seven years. There are similar notices in the West Drayton and Hayes registers.

At Harefield, the first pages of one of the registers are devoted to the list of those who were excommunicated by the chaplain of the Countess of Derby, the lady of the manor, whose private chapel afterwards developed into the church as it is. He was also parish priest for the surrounding districts. The excommunications were pronounced in the church. The entry is "propter contumaciam," with the names; but only four or five remain, the others being cut out, doubtless, either by the excommunicated persons themselves or their relations.

There are similar notices in one or two other parishes, and one at Uxbridge, as late as 1726, of a woman who "did penance at morning service for May 26th," when the baptism of an illegitimate child is recorded.

In several of the old books there is notice of a voluntary reparation fee, called a "Mortuary." This was left as a legacy to satisfy for tithes unpaid in lifetime. At Uxbridge an executor gives "£20 in money, one fyne towell, two pair of fyne sheets, and a pent-house beeve."

Another offering was the "Chrisom," frequently mentioned in the Hayes and Hillingdon registers. The form of entry is generally "Chrisom," sometimes "a Chrisom child." The notices end with 1670. It was ordered by the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., 1549, that "the godfathers and godmothers should take and lay their hands upon the child, and the minister put on him his white vesture, commonly called the Chrisom, and say, Take this white vesture for a token of the innocency which by God's grace in this Holy Sacrament

of Baptism is given thee; and for a sign whereby thou art admonished, as long as thou livest, to give thyself to innocency of living, that after this transitory life thou mayest be partaker of the life everlasting." Some of us may be reminded of Keble's lines in the *Lyra Innocentium*, page 175:

Radiant may be her glance of mirth,
Who wears her chrisom-vest
Pure, as when first at her new birth
It wrapt her tender breast.

Then, again, there is often special notice of benefactions to the church, as in 1680, at Hillingdon, of the flagon and other sacred vessels; at West Drayton, in 1729, of a new pulpit and desk. Notes are carefully made about churchyards, as at Uxbridge, in 1576, when the first burial takes place in "the new churchyard;" boundary walls are mentioned, and the parties responsible for keeping them up. At Cowley, in 1728, a new gate is placed at the north corner; at Hillingdon, in 1680, the wall was divided out for repair to different persons at every few yards; at Harlington, in 1698, "the Churchyard was in kindness to the Parish railed in by the Rector," who explains that he is not obliged to keep up the fence, nor is this his benefaction to be alleged by his successors as a precedent, obliging them to do the same.

Burials in woollen are often mentioned. The Act directing it was passed in Charles II.'s reign, and was intended to encourage the woollen manufacture by preventing linen from being bought or imported. "No person shall be buried in any shirt made of or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or silver, or other than wool only, on pain of forfeit of £5." This explains the constant entry "affidavit" after that of burial. But many despised the homely woollen for their friends and paid the fine.

At Harmondsworth, in 1726, it is noted that six guineas and fifty shillings were given to the poor for a burial in linen. At Hayes, that an informer (who would have half the fine) gave sworn information of one who had been buried in a coffin fitted with velvet; of another, that she left in her will that she should be buried in linen, and had her desire.

Then in the parishes of Hayes and Hil-

lingdon, and in the township of Uxbridge, which lie on the highroad from London to Oxford, there are some special entries of travellers, such as "a poor young man, a stranger, who died on the road," "a foreigner," "a wanderer," "a stranger that died in a waggon," "a soldier buried," "a poor travaillinge woman." Out of twenty-seven burials at Hillingdon in 1667 and 1668, nine are described in this indefinite manner. Besides these, the insecurity of the road is shown: "*November 13, 1702.*—Will Harrison, Postman, murdered near the great Bridge between Hillingdon and Uxbridge." "*November 28.*—Edward Symonds, Drover, murdered at the same time, and about the same place, and by the same hands."

In Hayes and Hillingdon the burial register of 1664 is increased by the plague. In Hillingdon there are eleven entries of plague between August and January, some of which are marked "suspected;" but usually the whole district was evidently a sanatorium for London, in days when the sea was considered to have pestilential vapours, and there was therefore no thronging to the coast for health. West Drayton and Harmondsworth were particularly distinguished as health resorts from 1680 to 1720. The visitors are generally noted as "Londoners," sometimes more fully; one "came to take the air, in hope of longer life, but found death instead of life, showing how vaine the hope of mortal man is." Another was "Barber-chirurgion of the Parish of St. Dunstan's in the West."

The first volume of the Hillingdon register begins in 1559, the year after the accession of Queen Elizabeth. From 1644 to 1649, during the latter years of Charles I., there are no records; this was, however, very common in that troublous reign. It was on January 30, 1645, that the discussion took place at the Treaty House in Uxbridge, between sixteen commissioners from the King and sixteen from the nation, on the grievances of which each party complained. It is said that "the principal subjects of conference were religion, militia, and Ireland." Knotty questions these—perhaps hardly solved yet.

But to return to our registers. From 1649, the first year of the Great Rebellion, there are four leaves of births, baptisms, marriages, and burials, mixed in uttermost confusion;

but at one end of our second volume (beginning with 1653) we find a registrar* appointed by the parish, and then a careful record of births (not baptisms).

The same registrar is appointed for Uxbridge, and he records that there had been considerable neglect in the parents of some children born years before the register was in being. They came in to the census "in great numbers," and the fee for registration was fourpence each. We must not, however, be misled into supposing that because baptisms among the Puritans were not always registered in the church books, there were none. Dr. Stoughton, the eminent Congregationalist, informs us that they were administered at "the monthly meeting, and not in church" (*Church and State 200 Years ago*, page 7). At Harlington, however, as well as Hayes and West Drayton, they were solemnized in church and registered.

At the other end of our book is a double column containing certificates of banns and of marriages. Here is a copy of the first:

PUBLICATIONS. 1653.

A contract of matrimony between Robert Flood and Elizabeth Howard, both of ye parish of Hillingdon in the County of Midd, was published in ye same Parish Church of Hillingdon on three severall Lords daies, viz., the 25th of December, ye 1st of January, and ye 8th of January, in ye year 1653, at the close of the morning exercise, according to an Act of Parliament in that case provided.

Marriage had become a mere civil contract; no blessing of the Church was given, but the ceremony was performed by a registrar in the presence of a magistrate. Banns were published as above, "at the close of the morning exercise" in the church, but the marriage itself was a purely secular proceeding.

(To be concluded.)

* Mr. Waters says the word "registrar" is a "solecism of modern invention," taking the place of the ancient "register;" but I venture to use it as a convenient and harmless innovation, distinguishing a man from a book, sometimes in the same sentence.



Notes on Early British Typo-
graphy.

BY W. CAREW HAZLITT.

JOHN DAY.

(1546-1586.)



EE Machyn's *Diary*, pp. 72, 340,
and *Zurich Letters*, Parker Soc.,
2nd Series, p. 183.

1549-50. Bishop Latimer's Sermons. Duo-
decimo or small octavo.

There were three impressions of the second and
remaining sermons, if not of the whole volume. In
the Huth copy the date is given in Roman capitals,
and there are marginal notes throughout. It is
probably the third issue.

1572. De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ.
Folio.

This book makes Lot 364 in Tutet's Catalogue,
1786, where an elaborate collation is given. It
sold there for £4 4s.

1574. A Proclamation concerning the Plague.
A broadside.

Reprinted in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, 2nd
edition, i. 350-1.

1577. The Testament of the Twelve Patri-
archs. Octavo.

A copy was sold among Mr. Inglis's books in
1826; but it does not seem to have recurred, and I
do not know a second.

WILLIAM SERES.

(1550-1580.)

See the *Egerton Papers*, Camd. Soc., pp.
138-43. Nearly all the books cited by
Herbert from the Stationers' Register are
now known. Two or three small tracts at
Lambeth with his initials only, and described
by Maitland as having no note of the press,
belong to him. They are all probably cata-
logued by myself.

NICHOLAS HILL.

(1550-1560.)

1550. Bishop Hooper's Declaration of the
Ten Holy Commandments. Oc-
tavo.

Two editions the same year, with date 1548
or 1550 retained in editions published at a later
time. Lowndes quotes an impression of 1550 by
Robert Waldegrave, which appeared about 1590.

RICHARD JUGGE.

(1550-1570.)

1559. The Book of Common Prayer. Oc-
tavo.

The late Mr. Henry Pyne had a copy wanting
the first title-page. It is the first octavo edition of
Elizabeth, and a volume of the highest rarity. The
late Lord Ashburnham desired to see the Pyne
copy; but I understood Mr. Pyne to say that he
had not sent it to him.

JOHN WALEY.

(1550-1560.)

No date. The Treasure of Poor Men. J.
Waley, in Foster Lane. Octavo.
Mentioned in Thoresby's Catalogue.

HUGH SINGLETON.

(1550-1590.)

1579. A Godly Treatise, etc. Maunsell's
Cat., p. 63. *Herbert*.

A small fragment is among Douce's books at
Oxford.

— The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf, by
John Stubbs. Octavo.

See *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 1804, i. 143.

ANTHONY SCOLOKER.

(1550-1570.)

No date. A book made by John Frith.
Duodecimo.

Bibl. Heber., Part 2, No. 2105.

ROBERT CROWLEY.

(About 1550.)

See Machyn's *Diary*, 215, 376, 406.

1551. The Fable of Philargery. Octavo.

The late Mr. Henry Bradshaw seemed to recol-
lect that he saw this in the collection of Mr.
Maurice Johnson, of Spalding; but, at any rate, he
neglected to take a note of it. The water comes
up into one's mouth when one hears of such things.

JOHN TURK.

(About 1550.)

No date. The Ryght and Trew Vnderstand-
ynge of the Supper of the Lord.

A copy of this volume is in the library of
Worcester College, Oxford, according to Mr.
Daniel's Catalogue, 1874, p. 15.

Mr. Bradshaw mentioned to me, in conversation
at Cambridge, a broadside ballad printed by him;
but I did not see it.

THOMAS MARSH.

(1557-1585.)

1557. *Beso los manos.* Quarto.

The last time I met Mr. Bradshaw in London, he informed me that the unique copy described by Hartshorne as in the library of King's College, Cambridge, had been at last found, and that he would on his return have the particulars sent to me, which he did not do.

ANTHONY KITSON.

(1550-1570.)

This printer may have been related to Thomas Kitson, mentioned in *Rutland Papers*, Camd. Soc., p. 88.

THOMAS POWELL.

(1550-1565.)

1562. *The Book of Friendship [Cicero de Amicitia].* Duodecimo.

See *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 1804, i. 135.

OWEN ROGERS.

(1550-1565.)

1561. *John Heywood's Dialogue.* Octavo.

The only copy which I have seen of this date has the year only on the title, but wants the end, probably with the printer's name.

JOHN AWDELEY.

(1560-1575.)

1565. *The Fraternity of Vagabonds.* Quarto.

I wait to see a copy of this date; but as it is referred to by Harman in 1566-67, there can be no doubt that it, at any rate, preceded his *Caveat*.

Herbert does not mention *The Description of Vagabonds*, licensed to Awdeley in 1560-61, and perhaps suggestive of the prose treatise.

1569-70. *A Sermon preached before the Quenes Maiestie, by Maister Edward Dering, the 25 day of February, Anno 1569.* Imprinted at London by Iohn Awdeley. Small octavo. A—F 2 in half-sheets.

A fuller account from the tract itself.

1571. *A Sermon by Henry Bedel.* Octavo.

The edition of 1573, referred to by Herbert, is a small octavo, making A—E in eights.

1574. *A Sermon preached by William Fulke.* Imprinted at London by John Awdeley, 1574. Small octavo. A—H 3 in eights. Octavo.

THOMAS HACKET.

(1560-1590.)

1585. *An Extract from Pliny.* Quarto.

Not the work of Solinus, as conjectured by Herbert, but the tract described by me in *Collections and Notes*, 1882, p. 480.

1600. *England's Parnassus.* Octavo.

The *T. H.* of the imprint is Thomas Hayes or Heyes, not Hacket (as supposed by Collier in his *Bibl. Cat.*). In my copy, formerly T. Warton's and Colonel Stanley's, the name of Hayes is printed at length. In others only his initials occur.

RALPH NEWBERY.

(1560-1580.)

1579. *A Treatise touching the Liberty of a Christian Man.* Octavo.

Two editions the same year.

WILLIAM GRIFFITH.

(1553-1570.)

Griffith appears to have been in business much earlier than Herbert imagined. Herbert's list is strangely imperfect; but at the same time many of the productions of this press were of a fugitive character, and copies have only been recovered of late years.

HENRY DENHAM.

(1560-1585.)

1583. *The Psalter.* Quarto.

The date is found by the Almanac for ten years, commencing with 1584, and by the second title dated 1583.

1584. *An Abstract of certain Acts of Parliament.* Quarto.

Two issues the same year, seeming to vary only in preface and imprint. The one not described by Herbert has the former in black-letter, and the name of Chard only as the printer on the title.

— *A Handfull of holsome (though homelie) Hearbes, gathered out of the goodlie Garden of God's most holie Word.* Duodecimo or small octavo. Printed within borders.

By Anne Wheathill. The only copy which I have ever seen noticed was in one of Lilly's later Catalogues, unknown to Herbert, except from the registration at Stationers' Hall.

HENRY BYNNEMAN.

(1566-1580.)

1573. *De Furoribus Gallicis.* Quarto.

Two editions the same year. This book was published by Theodore de Beze, under the pseudonym of Varamundus.

RICHARD JONES.

(1564-1600.)

1588. The English Ape, etc., by W. R. Quarto.

I have seen no copy with the name of Jones in the imprint, nor does Herbert, who mentions it, appear to have had such an one under his eyes.

HENRY MIDDLETON.

(1570-1580.)

1575. The true and perfect copie of a godly Sermon, preached in the Minster at Lincolne, by the reuerend Father in God, Thomas L., Bishop of Lincolne, the 28 of August, Anno 1575. Imprinted at London by Henrie Middleton for Rafe Newberie. . . . Octavo. Black-letter. A—E in eights, last three leaves blank.

THOMAS VAUTROLLIER.

(1570-1590.)

- 1583-4. *Justitiæ Britannicæ [The Execution of Justice in England]*. Quarto.

Strype says that he had seen the original English work in Burleigh's own handwriting. A French version was issued by Vautrollier, 1584, octavo.

1586. A Proclamation concerning the sentence against Mary Queen of Scots. A sheet.

The full text is in Kempe's *Loseley MSS.* p. 493.

JOHN CHARLWOOD.

(1560-1592.)

Charlwood appears to have borrowed, or inherited, from Rowland Hall the sign of the Half-Eagle and the Key, the arms of the Canton of Geneva. Charlwood carried on business in Barbican. Hall was, in 1563, in Gutter Lane. Perhaps Charlwood took over his business.

1582. A Short Catechism for Householdiers. By John Stockwood. Small octavo. Black-letter.

See it in 1584 in *Bibl. Coll.*, 1882, v. STOCKWOOD.

WILLIAM HOSKINS.

(1580-1595.)

1591. A Frvritfvll Sermon. . . . By Henrie Smith. Octavo.

A copy before me, otherwise correspondent with Herbert's account, has at the foot of the title: At London, Printed for Nicholas Ling, 1591.

THOMAS DAWSON.

(1580-1613.)

1580. A Sermon preached in S. Peters chvrch in Exceter, the 6. day of December last wherin is intrated of the second coming of Christ vnto iudgement, & of the end of the world. By John Chardon, maister of Art, and preacher of the word of God. Imprinted at London at the three Cranes in the Vintree, by Thomas Dawson, 1580. Octavo. Black-letter. A—D in eights, D 8 blank. Dedicated to Sir Gawen Carew, knight.

1591. The Grounds of the Longitude. . . . Written by Simon Forman. Quarto.

Herbert knew of this tract by the celebrated astrologer from its registration; but a copy is bound up with one of Ashmole's MSS. The imprint is: Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson. 1591.

HUGH JACKSON.

(1575-1606.)

A John Jackson was in business as a printer in 1640. He may have been a son of the John Jackson who printed the *Phoenix Nest*, 1593.

ROBERT WALDEGRAVE.

(1580-1600.)

He also lived at one time at the Crane in St. Paul's Churchyard.

GEORGE BISHOP.

(1575-1605.)

1598. Chaucer's Works. Folio.

This was, in fact, a trade edition. Some copies purport to be printed by Bonham Norton, others by Edmund Bollifant.

JOHN HARISON THE ELDER.

(1580-1600.)

1583. Fenner's Answer to Nichols. Quarto.

Herbert gives the imprint and collation incorrectly. The book was A—C c in fours and the title, or 104 leaves. The imprint is: London. Imprinted by Iohn wolfe for Iohn Harison and Thomas Manne, dwelling in Pater noster rowe, and are there to be solde. 1583.

ABEL JEFFES.

(1580-1595.)

1591. The Wedding Garment. . . . By H. Smith. Small octavo. *Herbert.*

But Herbert was unaware that there was an earlier edition: London. Printed for W. Wright. 1590. The notice about false copies occurs in a preface.

PHILIP SCARLET.

(About 1597.)

Herbert does not mention this stationer. I have seen no book with his name at the foot of the title, except *The Trimming of Thomas Nash, Gentleman*, by Gabriel Harvey. Quarto. 1597.

THOMAS SCARLET.

(1589-1595.)

1589. *The Christian's Sacrifice*. By H. Smith. Octavo. *Herbert*.

But a copy before me has this imprint: Printed by Thomas Orwin for Thomas Manne, 1589.

EDWARD AGGAS.

(1575-85.)

1578. *Politique Discourses*. . . . Translated by Ægremont Ratcliffe. Quarto.

This Ratcliffe I conclude to be the same person who has written his name on the wall of one of the prisons in the Beauchamp Tower at the Tower of London.

JOHN WOLFE.

(1580-1600.)

1586. *Tichborne's Elegy*. Quarto. *Herbert*.

This is only part of the tract entitled *Verses of Praise and Joy*, etc., reprinted in my *Fugitive Tracts*, 1875, 1st Series.

JOHN WINDET.

(1590-1610.)

1587. *A Defence of the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots. The Blessedness of Britain*. Quarto. *Herbert*.

Herbert has made two books into one. He had apparently seen neither.

1597. *Terentii Comædiæ*. Duodecimo.

Omitted by Herbert.

THOMAS ORWIN.

(1590-1595.)

1591. *A Preparatiue to Mariage*. The summe whereof was spoken at a Contract, and enlarged after. Whereunto is annexed a Treatise of the Lords Supper, and another of vsurie. By Henrie Smith. Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin for Thomas Man. . . . 1591. Roman letter. A—H in eights; A—I 2 in eights; A, 2 leaves; B—F 4 in eights. Octavo.

JOAN ORWIN.

(About 1595.)

1595. *The Arraignment . . of vsurie*. . . . Quarto.

Maunsell is quite correct in quoting a copy printed for T. Man. I have seen one myself. It was in a bookseller's catalogue for January, 1872, and I inspected it.

GABRIEL SIMSON AND WILLIAM WHITE.

(1595-1600.)

1596. *Broughton's Consent of Scripture*. Quarto.

Tutet, 1786, printed on vellum, 22s.

JOHN DANTER.

(About 1595.)

Harvey, in his *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, calls Nash "Danter's gentleman," because his literary opponent had two or three of his books printed by Danter.

THOMAS CREEDE.

(1590-1600.)

1599. *A Treatise of the Nature of God*. Octavo.

See it described in Huth Catalogue, p. 1001. A second copy, however, purports to be printed by Thomas Creede for *Ralph Jackson*, to whom, indeed, it had been licensed in 1598.

FELIX KINGSTON.

(1598-1640.)

The latest book of his printing which I have seen is *Ley's Pattern of Piety*, octavo, 1640. Herbert merely says that "he printed after 1600." But perhaps there were, as in other cases, two persons of the same name—father and son.

JOHN NORTON.

(1600-1640.)

See *Egerton Papers*, Camd. Soc., p. 373.

RICHARD BRADOCK.

(1590-1610.)

1584. *Bastard's Chrestoleros*. Octavo. *Herbert*.

There is no such book. An error for 1598.

NICHOLAS ENGLAND.

The Almanac by *Mons. Lady*, said by Herbert to have been licensed to England in 1560, was really an almanac by Alexander Mounslowe, author of other ephemerides of the same character. Herbert often strangely misread the entries in the Stationers' Register.

ELIZABETH PICKERING.

(About 1540.)

In the library of Worcester College, Oxford, is a book printed by her in that year. See Daniel's Catalogue, 1874. She was the wife of Robert Redman, and in *The Maner of Kepyng a Court Baron and a Leete* she describes herself as "Elizabeth Pickering, widow, late wife of Robert Redman."

HENRY COCKYN.

(About 1575.)

A person of this unusual name, at all events, appears to have been an inmate of the Beauchamp Tower in 1574.

NICHOLAS LING.

(1580-1610.)

1600. England's Parnassus. Octavo.

Herbert says that "there were three or four editions of the book about this time." But the truth is, that there was only one at any time, copies differing, however, in the imprint, as elsewhere stated.

HUGH ASTLEY.

(1588-1603.)

Herbert cites nothing by him till 1596. But I notice a little volume *published* by him in 1588. He was not a printer.

PRINTING AT OXFORD.

THEODORE ROOD.

(1480-1485.)

The late Mr. Henry Pyne, my respected acquaintance, and the furnisher to me of much interesting information and valuable help, bought of a bookseller at Bristol, in 1871, two leaves of a grammatical work supposed to have been printed by Rood in 1482. Was this the fragment of John Anniquil's *Grammar*, shown to me at Cambridge in 1876 by the late Mr. H. Bradshaw, and described by me in *Collections*, 1876, p. 474?

In the following year (1872), among the books of Sir W. Cope, of Bramshill Park, Hampshire, a fragment of another book from the same press was found, according to the *Athenæum* for April 6, 1872.

It is probable that we shall discover by degrees that the first Oxford press was much more prolific than our earlier bibliographers even of the present epoch imagined or hoped.

JOSEPH BARNES.

(1580-1595.)

1585. A Booke of Christian Exercise. By Robert Parsons. Twenty-fours.

In a copy of this very book, printed by Barnes in 1585, the title varies considerably from Herbert's description, and the first part ends on p. 191, and not 193; and the second on p. 491, not 493. The title to the *Treatise* also differs sufficiently to make it probable that the edition is not the same, or that Herbert was less accurate than usual. The *Treatise*, however, has nevertheless 140 pages.

BOOKS PRINTED AT CAMBRIDGE.

As regards the work given to Benet College (now Corpus Christi), Cambridge, written by the Minorite, Frater Gulielmus de Saona, see Blades, ii. 76. The book appears to have been executed neither at Cambridge nor at St. Albans. Linacer's translation of two treatises of Galen, printed by Siberch at Cambridge in 1521, was reproduced in facsimile in 1881. See the *Daily News*, December 29, 1881.

BOOKS PRINTED AT YORK.

1509. The Pica of the Church of York. Octavo.

The late Mr. Robert Davies, in his account of the York press, 1845, says that since Ames's time the copy described by him has lost the colophon, and that that in York Minster is likewise imperfect.

1530. Processionale ad usum ecclesie Eboracensis. Octavo.

Bandinel, 1861, £86, now in the British Museum

BOOKS PRINTED AT HEREFORD.

1517. Ortus Vocabulorum. Quarto.

A copy of this alleged Hereford impression was bought by Mr. Kerslake, of Bristol, from the library at Hengwrt, and is described by Mr. Way in his edition of the *Promptuarium Parvulorum*, 1865. It is seemingly the Rouen book, with Hereford in the colophon.

BOOKS PRINTED IN SOUTHWARK.

PETER TREVERIS.

(1515-1530.)

1516. The Great Herbal. Folio.

Printed again, says Herbert, in 1529, and frequently. Only, however, in 1526, 1539, and 1561. That of 1526 is in the Ashburnham Catalogue, 1864. I have never seen the reputed *editio princeps* of 1516.

But it may be said that we have already brought to light many remains of the Treveris press, previously unknown, and we may yet fall in with the *Herbal* under the date mentioned.

JAMES NICHOLSON.

(1530-1540.)

1537. The Exposition of the Canonical Epistles of St. John. Octavo.

There is also an edition of this printed abroad, perhaps by Hans Lufft at Marburg, octavo, black-letter, of which I once saw a copy ending imperfectly on S 4. There was no clue on the title to the printer's name. It had the passage about Wolsey's death. See the Parker Society's reprint, p. 174.

BOOKS PRINTED AT CANTERBURY.

JOHN MICHELL.

(About 1540.)

He printed several books unknown to Herbert, and described by myself. He is doubtless the same person who printed at one time in London; but I have never seen more than a single example of his press in the Metropolis.

BOOKS PRINTED AT NORWICH.

1579. Chronyc. Histori der Nederlandscher Oorlogen . . . Gedruet tot Noortwitz, 1579. Octavo.

Ellis and White's Catalogue, 1875, No. 35, Lot 406.

SCOTLAND.

Several books enumerated by Herbert as having been printed in Scotland were really executed abroad or in England, or not at all, viz. :

Episcoporum Murtblacen. et Aberdonen. per Hectorem Boetium Vitæ, 1522. Quarto. *Printed abroad.*

Ejusdem Scotorum Historiæ (1527). *Printed abroad.*

Alexandri Alesii Epistolæ. Sixteens. Not printed in Scotland.

The Works of David Lyndsay, 1540. *No such book known.*

The Tragical Death of David Beaton, 1546. Octavo. *Printed at London by John Day.*

Tileni Parenesis ad Scotos, 1570. Octavo. Not printed till 1620, and not in Scotland.

These samples are quite sufficient to shew how cautiously a book like that of Herbert, superior as it is in many respects to the bibliographical work of that day, ought to be consulted and cited.

1572. A Sermon preached by David Ferguson, 13 Jan., 1571-72. R. Lekprevik, 1572.

Reprinted for the Bannatyne Club, 1860.

1574. The Catechism in two parts. Sixteens. See Dr. Laing's reprint of the Dundee Psalms 1868, p. 223. It appears that no copy of this impression has so far been recovered.

1576. The Bible. Edinburgh, T. Bassandyn. Folio.

Only the New Testament bears Bassandyn's name. See Huth Catalogue, pp. 144-5, as well as for Arbuthnot's Bible, 1579.

1594. Alexander Hume, Scot, his Treatise of Conscience. Octavo.

This and Hume's other volume, same size and date, occurred in Ellis and White's Catalogue, 1880, Nos. 444-5.

IRELAND.

1572. John Vowell *alias* Hooker's Order of Keeping of Parliaments in England. Quarto.

Herbert's copy wanted the *Description of the City of Exeter*, as mentioned in Davidson's *Bibliotheca Devonensis*. Sir Mark Sykes's copy of the first portion differs in the title from Herbert's account, and announces the Description of Exeter as to follow. It also contains, exclusively of the latter, J in fours.

I have followed Herbert, p. 1526, in placing this book under Ireland; but I cannot say that I think it likely that it was printed there, or, as the new British Museum Catalogue suggests, at Exeter.

GENERAL HISTORY OF PRINTING.

1471. A Book of Nobles.

This, which Herbert cites as if it had been an early-printed book, is a MS., and was first printed for the Roxburgh Club by Lord Delamere in 1860.

1534. The New Testament. Octavo.

In the *Retrospective Review*, xvi. 101, it is said that a copy of the first edition of this date is in Lord Pembroke's library. Large editions in each case appear to have been taken off.

1552. Il Pellegrino Inglese. Octavo.

In *Collections*, 1887, in v., I notice this Italian translation; but I was not then aware that it was a translation, or that the original was by William Thomas, author of the *History of Italy*, 1549, etc. A quarto MS. of the English is to be sold among the books of the late Mr. R. S. Turner. It is not known to have passed the press.

1580. A brief discourse containyng certayne reasons, etc. Octavo.

Seventy leaves, says Herbert. But the volume has 88, including 15 of preface and two blanks at end. The running title in a copy before me is not *A Treatise of Schism*, as stated by Lowndes, but "The 1. Part containyng Reasons of Refusal." Perhaps there were two impressions. No second part is known.

1586. A defence of the reasons of the counter-poyson. Sixteens.

Herbert does not give correctly the title of the original separate edition, but seems to have taken his account from the reprint in *Part of a Register*.

1597. Bruno's treatise of the Sacrament of Penance. Sixteens.

Herbert's account from the Lambeth copy is very inaccurate, as will be seen on a comparison of the following description within: "A Short Treatise of the Sacrament of Penance. With the manner of examination of Conscience for a general Confession. Wherunto is added another Treatise of confession, for such spirituall or deuoute persons as frequent that Sacrament. Sette forth in Italian by the reuerend father Vincent Bruno of the Societie of Iesus. 1597. 12mo. A—E in twelves."

1600. A Quatron of Reasons of Catholike Religion, with as many briefe Reasons of Refusall. By Thos. Hill. Imprinted at Antwerpe with Priviledge. Octavo.

Not in Herbert.

— A Decacordon of ten quodlibeticall questions, etc. Quarto.

The late Mr. Pyne shewed me the very copy which Herbert describes; but the date has been tampered with. The true year is 1601.



The Eleanor Cross at Ged- dington.

F the three crosses still remaining erected by Edward I. to the memory of his consort Eleanor, two are situated in places more or less frequented by the public. One, however, requires a determination on the part of the antiquarian to devote the best part of a day for its inspection. Waltham Cross and Northampton Cross are thoroughly *en évidence*, and both have suffered not a little at the hands of the restorer. They exhibit unmistakable signs of having been repaired and set in order. Not so the cross at Geddington; it has not been tampered with. It cannot be said that any attempt has been made to alter or deface the natural landmarks of time. You do not see marks of the modern chisel, or additions made in the stonework of the cross itself.

It is true that the eight steps leading up to the cross have been renovated. Geddington

Cross has great advantages in the eyes of an archæologist over either of its fellows, in the fact of its presenting a thorough antiquarian appearance. It looks in every sense of the word what it really is—a genuine memorial of the historical past. It is a fine relic of the skill of artificers of the thirteenth century. The design is excellent, and the workmanship, if not so elaborate as that which was employed at Northampton and Waltham, quite as adequate to the purpose intended. In height it is about forty-three feet; the shaft is enriched with a diapered pattern of great beauty. Over this there is a turret, whence arise six pillars, supporting canopies, under each of which are three statues of the Queen. Pinnacles and finials surmount these graceful figures. There is no terminal. These monumental representations of the Queen are full of artistic beauty; their outlines and proportions are admirable, while the flowing drapery and artistic arrangement evince the very best taste and method of art. The same sweet expression in the face of the Queen, and its rare beauty, may be seen in all the statues on the three crosses yet remaining. On the table-tomb, where her figure lies in Westminster Abbey, her features may be studied to greater advantage than at these memorial crosses. It is evident that the statues of all are the work of the same hand. The effigy in the Abbey is of gilt bronze.*

Particulars concerning the builders of the crosses at Northampton and Waltham have come down to us, but no details appear to be recorded in connection with the cross at Geddington. Discussions have arisen from time to time as to the sculptor of the good Queen's effigy, particularly in reference to her portrait. Flaxman suggested that the work belonged to the school of Pisano, whilst other students have attributed them to one Pietro Cavallini, an eminent Roman sculptor. But the careful research of more than one eminent antiquary has adduced presumptive evidence in favour of Master William Torelli, or Torel, a goldsmith, as the author, so to speak, of the beautiful works. Torel received 40 marks as

* There is an engraving of this monument by Le Keux in Blore's *Monumental Remains*, 8vo., 1826, plates 1 and 2, and an etching in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, 1814, p. 31.

"maker of the image of King Henry III. in part payment in 1290, and in 1291 he received a further sum of money for work on the Queen's image."* Round the edge of the tomb was to be seen the inscription, "Ici gist Alianor jadis Reyne de Engleterre, rey Edeward fis ler—Puntif—del alme deli. Dieu par sa pite eyt merci. Amen."

The romantic history of Edward's wanderings in the Holy Land, accompanied by his beautiful consort, has been supplemented by a pretty legend connected with the siege of Acre. It is asserted that Edward was stabbed by a poisoned dagger, and that his faithful wife sucked the poison from the wound. If not true, as the Italian proverb has it, the tale is pleasantly significant. At all events the King determined, when he had the misfortune to lose Queen Eleanor, to celebrate her funeral with becoming splendour. She died at Hardby, a village in the county of Nottingham a few miles distant from Lincoln. Thence to its interment in Westminster Abbey a regal procession attended the corpse, and the plan was adopted of taking certain religious houses *en route* where it should rest for the night, and where hereafter a fitting memorial should be erected to denote the precise locality, thus producing a complete series of monumental memorials. The devious route which the procession traversed on its way to Westminster Abbey was remarkable, and the halt at Geddington probably owed its origin to the neighbourhood of a royal residence. The village is a very sequestered place now, but was, at one time, the seat of a royal dwelling. It was visited by Edward in the month of October, 1290. The cross stands at the junction of three roads, and at once attracts notice by its venerable aspect. A quaint bridge, fashioned like similar structures in the far-off county of Northumberland, leads direct into the village from the road to Kettering, which is about three miles distant. The silence which reigns around is in keeping with the associations of the regal memorial. A spring of water flows at the foot of the stone steps. Arriving at St. Albans, the body was met by the ecclesiastics, and holy vigils were held the whole time it remained there. The

* See *Archæologia*, vol. 29, for many curious details as to the metal bought for the monument.

King left the procession here to meet it in London. It may be reasonably surmised that some kind of devout attention was rendered to it in the church at Geddington. There are some objects of interest in this building which will fairly arrest the attention of the archæologist who may visit the rare and beautiful cross adjoining. Many traces of Saxon work are still remaining. There is this inscription round the lower moulding in the eastern bay of the chancel: "Willelmus Glover de Gaytynton capellanus fecit scabella, 1369." There are the mutilated remains of a stone effigy, the lower part of the figure being absent. A brass of a man in very good state, and a woman in very imperfect condition, are near. On a brass plate are these lines:

If who lies here thou do enquire,
Reade, and so have thy desire.
Richard Best his name, and free
O' th' Haberdashers' company.
The priviledg of Merchants he
Did clayme with y^e like libertye;
The yeares that here He passed ore
Wanted but one of fourscore.
Fourty years he abroad did toyle,
The rest he spent on his own soyle;
Free from wedlock, care, or strife,
Hee wedded was to single life.
To have more spoke he did deserve,
But 'twas his will y^t this should serve.
He died y^e 26 of Aprill, 1629.

This peculiar epitaph offers a very different view of life to that entertained undoubtedly by the fair Eleanor's husband. To understand something of the King's devotion, and to comprehend the cleverness and ability as artificers of the old masters in sculpture, Geddington Cross will prove a very palpable and elegant aid for those who love history as well as art.

WILLIAM BRAILSFORD.



Darenth.

"URN 'EM! What good are they?" said two official persons some years since as they leant over the well-stored parish chest of Little Thurrock, in Essex. And they did "burn 'em," destroying documents perhaps of in-

estimable value to the parish, and it may be even to the nation at large. An early custom, legend, or even a word has often a value, the same as different letters of the alphabet, by which we can spell the history of the land, the history of its men. Traces of ancient manners and customs may be found in the secluded life of the agricultural labourer; fragments the most palpable of the language of the early occupants of our island crop up in their everyday conversation. It is not long since that, when before the Bench at Billericay, in Essex, an old labourer, who was a witness, answered, in reply to a question put by the writer, "I see him put it under his gaberdine," alluding to the long smock-frock even now sometimes worn by men of his class. The record of the past lingers, indeed, like an echo on the lips of the peasantry, lurking, an unsuspected treasure, in the quiet nooks and corners of old England. It has been well said "that the peasant's mind reflects what has been rather than what is, that it revolves in the same circle as the more cultivated mind of the nation, but at a much slower rate. On the great dial-plate of time, one is as the hour-hand, while the other is the minute-hand."

It was not an act of wanton mischief that destroyed the records of the past in Little Thurrock, but an act due entirely to ignorance of the possible value of the papers in question; so, too, are objects of the deepest interest lightly regarded in many of our rural parishes. The writer has several times purchased at the price of a little beer, carved heads, corbels, and decorated tracery which once adorned a neighbouring church, but had now been cast aside as rubbish in some cottage-garden. Probably few noticed the elaborately carved stones dotted here and there a few years since, and it may be even now, on the roads at Green Street Green, between Swanscombe and Darenth. Yet these stones bear a long history, and teach us a lesson on the mutability of all things, they being the only visible remnants of the church dedicated to St. Margaret which once existed at South Darenth. In 1557 the two parishes into which Darenth was divided were, by order of Cardinal Pole, then Archbishop of Canterbury, united, upon which the Church of St. Margaret was deserted, fell into ruin;

and all that remains to tell the tale of its Gothic beauty are these few stones, the remainder of its ruins having probably been appropriated by the neighbours, and built into cottage and farmyard walls, or devoted to road-mending purposes. The dedication of these bygone and ancient churches is always a matter of interest. In times long since passed away, religious sentiment took the form of special devotion to this or that particular saint, as, for example, that of the Confessor to St. Peter, "his friend," and to St. John, "his own dear one." Witness also the especial reverence of Edward the Black Prince for the Holy Trinity, as evinced in his will, by the minuteness of the instructions for his burial in the Trinity Chapel of Canterbury Cathedral, "*ou le corps du vray martir Monseigneur Saint Thomas repose;*" and it is strange that it was on the Trinity Sunday of 1376 that he,

The sable warrior,
Mighty victor, mighty lord,

breathed his last. So, too, the like feeling evinced itself in the bestowal of baptismal names.

In Kent, as in most counties, the dedications were, as a matter of course, most numerous to St. Mary—to her the eyes of all were raised. Then came the dedication to All Saints, so inclusive and comprehensive in form, securing, as was believed, the intercession of all, as all were equally appealed to. To St. Peter, "the Rock," churches were numerously dedicated, that they might be "the gates of heaven, the ladders of prayer, whereby those who therein honoured that holy saint should by him be admitted into Paradise." Local martyrs and mediæval Churchmen enter, of course, largely, especially the former, into county dedications. But, as at least 8,000 parish churches were built in England within a century after the Norman Conquest, chantry chapels and altars in the already-erected churches became the means, with hospitals and religious houses, by which especial honour to the memory of such men as St. Thomas Becket could be paid; hence we find but two parish churches in Kent dedicated to the glory of the "Blissful Martyr." Perhaps the following by no means perfect analysis of the dedication of the early Kentish churches, erected, as the churches of that

period were, by the lord or great man of the place, may afford some clue to the tendency of religious sentiment in this, the earliest home of English Christianity :

DEDICATION.	NO. OF CHURCHES.
St. Mary	108
All Saints	35
SS. Peter and Paul	34
St. Peter	24
St. Nicholas	24
St. John Baptist	20
St. Margaret	18
St. Michael	16
St. Martin	15
St. Laurence	11
St. James	10
St. Mary Magdalen	9
St. George	6
St. Bartholomew	6
St. Giles... ..	5
St. Andrew	5
St. Clement	5
St. Dunstan	5
St. Augustine	5
St. Mildred	4
St. Alphage	3
St. Pancras	3
The Holy Trinity	3
St. Botolph	3
St. Leonard	3
The Holy Cross	3
St. Paul	2
St. Paulinus	2
St. Thomas Becket	2
St. Katharine	2
St. John	2
St. Thomas the Apostle	2
St. Edmund	2
SS. Cosmus and Damien	2
St. Mary and the Holy Cross... ..	2
St. Edith	1
St. Beatrice	1
SS. Augustine and James	1
St. Oswald	1
St. Vincent	1
St. Bernard	1
St. Luke... ..	1
St. Sepulchre	1
St. Anthony	1
SS. Gregory and Martin	1
St. Helen	1
St. Stephen	1
St. Eanswyth	1
The Holy Innocents	1
St. Rumbold	1
St. Werburg	1
St. Matthew	1
SS. Mary and Eanswyth	1
SS. Mary and Sexburgh	1
SS. Mary and Eadburgh	1
Dedication unrecorded	14

Of these 435 churches thirty-seven only have, like South Darenth, totally disappeared ;

several of these having been swept away by the encroachment of the sea ; five are in ruins ; thirty-four have been rebuilt ; while no less than 157 have within a few years undergone the dangers of restoration. It is probable that the fourteen unrecorded dedications were equally unknown in the fifteenth century. In speaking of Darenth, we cannot help alluding to its one remaining church, which has been carefully restored, and is well worth a visit. It is very old, with much Roman material worked up in its walls, and has a curious chamber over the chancel, probably intended to admit air to the roof, which, in the opinion of the late Mr. Parker, was raised in the fourteenth century. On its walls are a number of masons' marks, some of which are very curious, but all are interesting. The church contains a remarkable font, adorned with curious sculptures, presenting a wonderful mixture, comprising as they do David playing on the harp, the baptism of an infant by immersion, a sagitarius, a king holding a sceptre, three strange monsters, and another being beaten by a man. Each of the compartments is enclosed by plain columns with rounded arches. Some persons have regarded these strange representations as partly sacred and partly cabalistic ; others, as representing incidents contained in the legend of St. Dunstan. This opinion is probably erroneous ; but, be it as it may, the font is undoubtedly Norman, not later than the time of Henry I.

J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Some Old Law-Cases.—I venture to lay before the readers of the *Antiquary* the following gleanings from some old law-books that I had the task of looking into. While searching for what I eventually found, I transcribed some details of cases which may not be without interest. So many years of my life were passed in the City of London that I felt, of course, bound to look for any information with regard to it, not, however, neglecting some few other cases which fell within my

view as to particulars of some places, two of which I have only recently become acquainted with. I begin with London, with a case relating to the Fleet Prison (2 Mod. 221).

The year 1844 saw the downfall of the Fleet as a debtors' prison, but it was not my good fortune to see more of the place than the wall, which fronted on Farringdon Street, the prison itself having disappeared before I arrived in London in the middle of the "forties." As I remember it then, Messrs. Routledge, the booksellers, had their shop in the last house that joined the wall. It will be seen from this that my recollection goes back some years.

The case I speak of was argued in Banco Regis, 29 Car. II., in which Turner, sergeant, made complaint on the part of the parishioners of Farringdon Without, more especially those living in the precinct of St. Bride's, against the Warden of the Fleet and his prisoners, for that he suffered several of them to be at liberty without the walls of the prison, in taverns and other houses adjoining, and fronting the Fleet Ditch, whereby they committed disorders; when a constable came to keep the peace and execute a warrant under the hand and seal of justice, they came out in a disorderly and tumultuous manner and hindered the execution of justice, rescued the offenders, and beat the officers, letting out of the doors of the prison some twenty people to help in the affray. They (the petitioners) prayed the Court therefore (Atkins *vs.*) and per Curiam: nothing could properly be called the prison of the Fleet except within the walls, and that the Warden could not pretend an exemption thereto. Atkins (justice) said: "If such places were within the liberty of the Fleet he would not give the civic magistrates jurisdiction over the Warden, but thought it might be fit for the Court to consider upon what reason it was that the Warden of the Fleet applied such houses to any other use than for the benefit of the prisoners. Whereupon the Court appointed the prothonotaries to go and take account of the matter, and the court would take further order upon it."

In Act 8 and 9 William III., c. 27, there is a recital that all prisoners shall be detained within the walls or the rules of the same until they be discharged. That the liberties or rules of the debtors' prisons were

in use till a late date is a matter of fact, and our novelists who write about these places for the most part lived while they were in existence; but with the levelling of them all these houses have been used for other purposes. Our day has seen the last of the Fleet, the Compter by St. Sepulchre's, the Marshalsea, and White Cross Street, or "Burdon's Hotel," as it was called some twenty-five years ago, when the writer dined two or three times with a relation who unhappily was there confined for debt.

The next cases relate to the Old Bailey. In the tenth year of William III., one Fell, at that time governor of the gaol, was indicted for the escape of a prisoner named Berkenhead, who had been committed to ward for conspiracy against "our sovereign lord the King," upon which he pleaded not guilty. In arrest of judgment it was moved that the indictment was only as against Fell as gaoler for allowing Berkenhead to escape out of custody. Fell raised two objections: 1. That the prisoner was not committed to his charge; 2. That Berkenhead was not in his charge for high treason. Chief Justice Holt laid it down that the sheriff, by 14 Edward III., c. 10, is to put in keepers for whom he will answer, and the Court thought that Berkenhead had been delivered to Fell in due course. On the first count judgment was arrested.

Wray, a prisoner, who had been indicted for forgery, while in the custody of the before-said Fell, was condemned to stand in the pillory, but judgment being stayed, Wray also escaped. Holt thereupon remarked that the sheriff was to blame. If Fell had retaken the prisoner no blame would have accrued to him. Fell was fined forty marks.

In 13 William III., the case of Wilmot *v.* Tyler was tried before the same judge. An exception was taken to the Court which put the defendant (tried for manslaughter) on his trial at Newgate. He had been taken by the Sheriff of London and delivered over at the usual gaol delivery, and the jury having found him guilty, he was adjudged to be burnt in the hand, as he was a clerk, and, moreover, confined for eleven months. The exemption taken was that Farringdon Extra was not within the City of London, but was a parish of Middlesex. In answer it was laid before the Court that the word Extra was

only to define the difference between *Infra*, and as the ward had been divided into two parts, one within the walls and the other outside, they both belonged to the same jurisdiction. It was further stated that the commission runs for justices of London and Middlesex for gaol delivery; that Newgate must be taken to be the county gaol, and that defendant was in the custody of the sheriff.

The defendant tried to plead under the statute of Edward IV., c. 15, but Holt gave judgment against him, remarking that that statute was now obsolete. It was also stated that there should be a period of fifteen days between the issue of the writ and return, which did not appear to have been done in the case; the judge said in the course of the trial that clergy for such offence were burned in the hand, and temp. Edward III. benefit of clergy was denied to those who were not in the habit of a priest with a shaven crown. It was decided that the writ was bad, and judgment ought to be given, as defendant had appeared and answered, although he pleaded time had not been given.—W. H. B.

The Devonshire House MSS.—The manuscripts relating to the Society of Friends, preserved at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, have recently been catalogued by Mr. Joseph Smith, the compiler of the *Catalogue of Friends' Books*. The most important of these records is the *Book of Cases*, a collection of cases submitted to counsel for their opinion from a period dating within a few years after the formation of the society. While it was one of the rules of the Quaker body never to go to law if it could be avoided, the Friends have always been anxious that their legal position should be clearly defined, and accordingly from very early times it was the custom when any fresh point arose for the governing body to formulate a case for the opinion of a practising barrister. These cases and the opinions received thereon were then copied into the *Book of Cases*, and became standards to which knotty points were referred. A barrister named Corbett appears to have been the first who was generally consulted. This he probably owed to the fact of his having successfully argued the well-known case of George and Margaret Fox, which decided the illegality of imprisonment under the

statute of *præmunire* for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. A carefully edited selection of these cases would be of great value, as showing more accurately the position of Dissenters in the eyes of the law during the latter part of the seventeenth century. Among other manuscripts in the collection is a duplicate of the order (having the Great Seal in excellent preservation) for the liberation of some 400 Quakers and others in prison in 1672 for ecclesiastical offences; in this appears the name of John Bunyan, which was inserted by the petition of George Whitehead. The great mass of the MSS. consist of letters (chiefly religious) between early members of the society; those addressed to Margaret Fell, which were brought from Swarthmoor Hall, Ulverston, contain a considerable amount of valuable information regarding the progress of the Quaker body in its very early days.



Antiquarian News.

WE understand that the Town Council of Christchurch have resolved to pull down the remains of the unique Norman domestic buildings existing there near the Castle keep, and have obtained the permission of Lord Malmsbury and Sir George Merrick to this "improvement" in order "to open up the view of the Minster." We sincerely hope this act of modern vandalism will not be allowed to take place, and that the permission will be withdrawn.

Our correspondent, Mr. W. H. Jacob, informs us that Winchester within the past month has yielded within her limits, as also in her neighbourhood, relics of Imperial Rome. At Twyford, Mr. Athol Maudsley has in some excavations for fencing uncovered the site of a Roman villa, near the *via* from Portchester to Old Sarum, and from Winchester to Clausentum. The workmen, under Mr. Maudsley's judicious supervision, uncovered the walls and some coarse *tesserae*, and from the position and character of the remains it is presumed the superior apartments and pavement lie in the next field, at present under a corn crop. A much larger Roman villa exists, and merits excavation, in Westwood, near Farley Mount, and within 200 yards of the Roman road to Old Sarum. In the middle of the wood, and on a spot which once commanded a prospect of the Roman road for miles, are evidences

over an extended area of the Roman residence in tiles, stones, and other unmistakable debris of the imperial builders. The place merits the attention of the Hampshire Field Club. Some dredging operations for gravel in the bed of the Itchin just below Mr. J. B. Dance's mill, and under the east wall of the city, have given abundant proofs that the Roman riparian residents, like their successors, used the stream as a receptacle for broken crockery, for the dredges have not only drawn up great quantities of fragments of all kinds of ware—Upchurch, New Forest, Castor—but also the fictilian debris of the citizens of Norman, Plantagenet and Tudor times. Two beautiful and small Roman vessels escaped injury when thrown in ages ago, and now they have again come to human hands by the rough process of dredging. One was a *paterna* of a funnel shape with a round base, and the other an elegantly moulded one-handed vase with narrow neck, once an ornament of a Roman table, and still a striking ornament. In addition to these vessels, a perfect silver spoon of the age of Queen Elizabeth was dredged up. It bears a merchant's mark formed by a combination of the figure four with a cross and the letter C, doubtless the mark of some Wintonian clothworker or woolstapler. Amongst the fictilian fragments were about one hundred pieces of a large bowl-shaped and slate-coloured vessel with a capacity of at least three gallons, the upper exterior portion marked with a bold geometric pattern in two bands with handsome linear divisions. An antiquary with much interest and patience is doing his best to put the remarkable vessel together after its destruction and long immersion below St. Swithin's Bridge. It may be noted that the Corporation are commencing an enlargement of the Museum, consequent on the life loan of the Earl of Northesk's magnificent collection of prehistoric implements and remains. The Dean of Winchester, Dr. Kitchin, is also going to form a Hampshire Record Society to preserve and publish many valuable MSS. and records scattered over the county.

Whilst draining a field recently which lies about half a mile on the south side of Minskip, and about two miles from Boroughbridge and Aldborough—the latter place the ancient Isurium Brigantium of the Romans—a workman discovered a very fine specimen of the ancient Roman funeral urn, of the dark, slaty brown pattern. It is of an unusually large character, being 13 inches in height, 31 inches round the centre, and 15 inches round the bottom, the top being about the same circumference as the bottom. There is an opening at the top, and a handle on each side to lift it about. The urn, with the exception of a few pieces knocked from the top, is perfect, and the former, being carefully preserved, can easily be fixed together. With

the urn the men discovered what they suppose to be a lid to the urn, but which looks more like the bottom of another urn. A couple of old mill-stones and a coin have also been discovered in the field. The inscription on the coin cannot be made out, but seems to be a very old one.

We learn from the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* that an interesting old musical instrument was to be seen recently in Shrewsbury, at Messrs. Forrest and Son's musical warehouse. It is a genuine Welsh harp, evidently very old, made by a Mr. Thomas Jones, at Llangynog, Montgomeryshire, and is signed, but not dated. The Welsh harp is entirely different in make, scale, and manipulation from the ordinary Grecian harp. It has no action, and the strings are arranged in three rows; the two outer rows are tuned diatonically, the centre row supplying the semitones; but it is impossible to modulate upon it, as the player can only occasionally touch a note on the centre row, between the others. The Welsh harp is said to have been copied from the older Irish harp, but the latter had only about fifty strings. The one now described has ninety-six, forming a diatonic scale of thirty-seven notes.

From the same source we learn that the restoration of the west window of the Abbey Church is completed. The window dates from about 1480; it is divided horizontally by embattled transoms, and perpendicularly by six upright mullions, into seven compartments, the arched head being pointed and filled with the most delicate tracery.

A bulky Blue-Book has just been issued which, though professing only to be an index to a previously issued Blue-Book giving a return of Members of the Parliaments of England from 1213 to 1702, contains also in an appendix many names from writs of summons to old Parliaments which have hitherto baffled the search of historians. These documents have been found among old records from the Tower and the Rolls Chapel. To Edward I.'s Parliament, summoned to meet at York in 1300, three knights appear to have been summoned from each county. Returns for Edward II.'s and Edward III.'s reign tell of the summoning of annual Parliaments at that time. There is a summons to a Council of Merchants in 1340, and many other interesting details. The titles armiger, miles, chivaler, are frequently met with, as in reference to the Parliament of 1427, when we are informed that "By inquisition before the Justices of Assize, dated February 27, 1427-8, Hugo Wylughby, armiger, and Radulphus Makerell, armiger, were declared not duly elected for the county of Nottingham."

According to *Truth*, a dirty old portrait of Burns was recently bought at a broker's shop in Toronto

for £2. It has been carefully cleaned, and turns out to be an oil painting by Raeburn, dated 1787. The purchaser now values it at £2,000, and intends to send it to Scotland for exhibition with a view to its sale. This picture was bought many years ago at the sale of the household effects of a deceased Scotch farmer in Canada.

In the course of the demolition of the old houses at Barras Bridge, Newcastle, on the site of the new College of Science, there was, on June 6, found among the debris a very old copy of the *Newcastle Chronicle*. It bore date January 26, 1782; and although in a somewhat fragmentary condition, it was perfectly legible.

Bishop Latimer's celebrated "Sermon of the Plough," preached to the citizens of London A.D. 1548, was delivered at St. Paul's, Kilburn Square, on Sunday afternoon, June 3.

The first stage of the restoration of the fine old Church of St. Martin, Seamer, near Scarborough, has just been completed. The church contains much Norman work, notably the chancel arch, the side windows, south door, and wide and lofty nave.

A new local museum is to be established at Tripolis in the Peloponnesus to receive the antiquities found at Tegea and Mantinea, as well as in the rest of Arcadia. We learn from the *Athenæum* that the French School have discovered at Mantinea a large circular building of the Roman period, about forty metres in diameter. They have also found fifty coins of bronze and seventy-five *tesserae* of terra-cotta, or small discs the size of a crown piece, which served as tickets for entrance to the theatre. Their surfaces bear inscriptions.

A gigantic ancient well has been found in the middle of the Place of St. Mark, Venice. It was evidently sunk in the fifteenth century, and is choked up by immense masses of sand which have drifted in from the sand-heaps on the Lido.

At Acosta a Roman metal pen has been found. It is a bronze pen slit in exactly the same fashion as the present steel pen. The Dutch invented a metal pen in 1717, but it was not until many years later that the hand-screw press, which made the first cheap steel pen, came into use.

On June 5 Messrs. Christie, Manson, and Woods disposed of a unique collection of thirty-one letters by Dr. Johnson, and a collection of portraits, prints, and drawings, illustrative of his life, the property of Major Ross, who has discontinued collecting. The collection was arranged into one hundred and thirty-six lots, and realized about £820.

A gold piece, of the intrinsic value of 25 francs, with the heads of Antony and Fulvia on the obverse and reverse, has recently fetched 7,700 francs in Paris.

A proposition has been made to "restore" the church at Barfreston, near Deal, but the interest and beauty of this specimen of Romanesque art have procured champions whose voice we hope will prevail. Mr. Blow has criticised the proposals for restoration in the *Builder*, and the *Athenæum* supports his plea for the fabric.

Lord Albemarle's collection of pictures at Quiddenhams, Norfolk, has passed into the hands of Messrs. Agnew. It consists of eleven portraits of the Keppels, and their connections, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

The centenary meeting of the Linnean Society was held on May 24. The secretaries, Mr. B. D. Jackson and Mr. W. P. Sladen, submitted historical notes on the Linnean books, herbarium, and other collections. They referred to the purchase by Sir James Edward Smith of the collections and library of Linnæus, in 1774, and the founding some years later of the Linnean Society, which, in 1828, purchased the entire collections, except the minerals, sold in 1794. The collections so acquired had been very carefully preserved in their original state down to the present day.

The Acropolis excavations have yielded several further objects of archaic interest, amongst which are a very fine bronze statuette representing a charioteer, another small bronze representing a centaur, and a statue of Poros stone, smaller than life, representing an amazon, and preserving well-defined traces of polychrome tints. Amongst the fragments of Poros stone lately come to light are the bearded head of a man, a half head of colossal size, and some detached portions of the hair belonging to the same. It is intended to carry the excavations under the Museum by means of shafts sunk both inside and outside the building.

A very remarkable sale of ancient and modern coins, Anglo-Saxon and of the English Mint from the first period to the present reign, has recently been concluded at the rooms of Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, at which prices higher than any hitherto reached were paid for the rarer pieces. Such collections as this of Mr. H. Montagu are quite representative, as this was formed and brought to its completeness by long and scrupulous selection from other choice cabinets which in recent years have come to be dispersed in this sale-room, such as the Brice, Addington, and Shepherd collections. And what is still more noticeable is that this was simply the weeding out of duplicates, but duplicates so fine that to decide which was the most beautiful was as nice a point as the judgment of Paris upon the rival goddesses, so that Mr. Montagu is obliged to confess in the preface to his catalogue that he found it very difficult to know which to prefer. It would be beyond our limits to name half the rare specimens included in the sale, occupying six days, with more than 800 lots, the

greater number of which were single pieces. Of what the numismatist calls the "sole monarchs," the penny is more valuable than many jewels; one of Egbert sells for £16, another of Æthelbald brings no less than £46, an Alfred penny £6 to £8 8s., an Edward I. penny £9 5s., while one of Eustace of York sold for £18. A London half-groat of Richard III., a fine coin, of which only four or five are known, brought £15 10s. The sovereign of Henry VII., the King seated under a canopy with lis in field, on the reverse a dragon, the arms in an expanded rose within double tressure of ten curves, with saltire crosses in outer angles, weight 236 grains, sold for £39 10s. The pattern silver crown of Henry VIII., £106. This rare piece did not bring what it did in other sales, having sold for £165 in the Wigan collection. A very fine and excessively rare sovereign of Edward VI., considered to be the second best known, weight 239 grains, £105. A gold rial of Mary, £117. A thirty-shilling piece of James I., £29; and a half-crown of the same reign, £44. Pieces of the Oxford Mint brought high prices, the celebrated Oxford crown piece bringing £117, being in the finest condition. The very rare pattern fifty-shilling piece of gold of Oliver Cromwell, in beautiful state, £152. Silver crown pieces of the same sold for £26, and a two-shilling piece of 1656 for £37. But the famous medallist of that time, Thomas Simon, bore away the palm, as he deserves, with his celebrated piece called the "Petition Crown," from his having engraved it with a petition to King Charles II. to relieve him of his post as medallist if any of the Dutch artists could do it better. This noble coin, which has a pedigree from the Pembroke, Parker, Brice, Murchison, and Addington cabinets, now brought £355 (Verity), a price £130 higher than it has ever before attained. Simon's Reddite crown, from the same die, differing in having the edge inscribed "Reddite quæ Cæsaris Cæsari," etc., sold for £81. The patterns and proofs sold well, a guinea of Queen Anne, £49. A pattern halfpenny, the rose and thistle not surmounted by a crown, brought £10. But a pattern halfpenny of George I. for Ireland, inscribed "Regit Vnvs Vtroque," 1724, brought £25 (Spink). Proofs and patterns of the coinage of George III. brought good prices, Pistrucci's crown piece selling for £50, and another, differing from the circulating piece, for £43; pattern crown by Wyon, of George IV., silver, only three known, with the edge plain, £56 10s.; a pattern in gold of the crown piece of 1831, by Wyon, £79. The total of this interesting sale amounted to £6,845 5s.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Isle of Mann Natural History and Antiquarian Society.—Annual meeting at Douglas, March 29.—Deemster Gill, president, delivered his address, in the course of which he alluded to the publication of the transactions of the society from the commencement, the first volume having been recently issued. He also referred to the excursion of members of the British Association to the Isle of Man in September last, who were much impressed with the geological evidences in the island. Continuing his review of the work of the past year, the president said: I had hoped that at some of our excursions we might have opened and explored one of the many tumuli which are constantly being demolished in the interests of agriculture without anything being learned in respect of them from an antiquarian point of view. Of course, the most interesting work of this kind would be the excavation of Cronk How Mooar, or Fairy Hill, in Rushen. This mound has excited the interest of antiquarians for many years, and various guesses have been made as to its origin and use; some supposing it to be a fortification, others a tumulus, and others again (and I fear I am amongst the number) being sceptical as to its artificial origin. The commissioners of pre-historic monuments, in their first report of 1878, recommend its excavation, and add that "if it is a tumulus it is probably chambered, and its excavation and exploration would be attended with much antiquarian interest." The excavation would require great care, and would be attended with considerable expense, and might, therefore, be considered too ambitious a task for our society. It must be remembered, however, that the society now numbers amongst its members several of the most influential persons in this island, and that if we cannot actually undertake the work ourselves, we may, at all events, be able to bring the subject before the public, and before the proper authorities, in such a manner as to ensure the exploration in the early future of what may prove to be one of the most interesting of our ancient national monuments. In the last place, I had hoped that some steps would have been taken for the exhuming of the remains of an elk (or more strictly speaking, gigantic Irish deer) which are said to lie buried in the marl bed in the parish of German. From inquiries made by Mr. Savage and myself, it appears that the bones of three of these extinct animals were some years ago removed from the place in question; and the late owner of the property assured us that the remains of another are still there, his father having made an unsuccessful attempt to remove them. The lady who now owns the property has generously allowed me to make the necessary excavations, with the condition only that anything which may be discovered shall be retained for the public benefit. Mr. Walker, C.E., has kindly made a careful examination of the locality, and has taken the levels necessary for draining as far as possible the marshy ground which is said to contain the relic, and has also promised to assist and advise in any future operations which may be decided upon. I have, as far as I think

it is possible, exhausted the sources of evidence respecting the existence and location of the fossil, and would now suggest that the subject be referred to a committee of this society, with a view to their considering the advisability of raising a fund, by subscription or otherwise, and proceeding to make a search. I shall be happy to co-operate with such a committee, and to place at their disposal all the information I have been able to procure. In conclusion, I think we must all be convinced that the life of this society is well worth living, and that in establishing and maintaining the vigour and efficiency of that life, we are engaged in an interesting and useful work.—The following is the report of the archaeological section: "In presenting a report of the archaeological work of our society during the past year, the first place must be given to the excursion of the British Association in the autumn. Although that excursion was mainly geological, still a good number of the more interesting features of antiquity were visited, such as Castle Rushen, the Braddan Crosses, the Tynwald Hill and adjacent cist, Peel Castle, and the remains at Gretch Voar. Those members of our society who were wise enough to make the excursions with our visitors must have felt amply repaid by the fresh interest awakened in their minds, and by the new light thrown on some of our ancient remains. The question of a Manx Museum is, unfortunately, still undecided; it is sincerely to be hoped that it will be settled in a satisfactory way before long, for each year's delay means fresh waste among our portable antiquities. It is with feelings of extreme regret that the decease of the *Manx Note Book* has to be recorded. Such an event makes the year past anything but a red-letter year, so far as Manx archaeology is concerned. That it should have failed to command sufficient support is not to the credit of the people of this island; and it is to be feared that the members of this society were not, as a body, constant in their support. Among the papers of archaeological interest during the past year must be mentioned one on 'May Day,' by the High Bailiff of Castletown, whose communications, especially on matters connected with Manx custom and folk-lore, are always of the deepest interest. At the Kirk Michael meeting in December, the members were shown a 'Scratch Ogham' on the Mal-Lumcen Cross, and an abstract of a long and interesting letter by Lord Southesk in the *Academy* of November 26 was given to the meeting. These oghams, while exhibiting a decided leaning towards the northern or Orcadian type, yet, in Lord Southesk's opinion, differ considerably from all other examples. If it is allowable to look into the future, as well as to review the past, in this report, the resolution that stands in the name of Miss A. M. Crellin, with regard to the preservation of the folk-lore of this island, should have our unanimous and cordial support. The Elementary Education Acts are the sworn foes of legend and romance. Every year some old-world tales and customs and beliefs, which have hitherto survived, become things of the past. They should be caught in the net of our society, and be duly preserved and catalogued, and named as carefully as any insect or bird or plant would be kept, if the species were rapidly becoming extinct.—ERNEST B. SAVAGE, M.A., F.S.A." —Dr. Haviland moved that the spelling of the title of the society should be altered in respect of the word

"Mann," and he produced an elaborate argument for the simpler form of "Man." In the course of his remarks he said: The root-forms of every language claim the protection of all lovers of literature, and their original purity should be jealously protected from being abused and disfigured by the pretentious and ignorant, and especially by a society that has a "Place-name Committee." The Keltic word "Maen," a rock, was evidently bestowed as a name upon the Isle of Man by those who inhabited it in the time of Caesar, which was considered by them as *the rock, par excellence*, as Anglesey was by its early colonists, the Welsh to this day still calling it "Mon." Outside the Isle of Man, we find instances of the original root "Maen" being converted into "Man;" for instance, the "Old Man" of Coniston, in the Lake district, was once the "Alt Maen"—the high rock; "The Old Man" of Hoy, 1,500 feet high, off the west coast of this island (Orkneys), was "Alt Maen"—the high rock. The "Old Man and his Man," two rocks off the Cornish coast, were once "Alt Maen" and "Maen"—the high rock and the rock. It is curious to note that whilst the Teutonic successors to the Kelt flatten and shorten the original root "Maen" into "Man," the Kelt in pronouncing "Man" uses the original sound that probably first struck Caesar's ear—"Maun" or "Mon." Whilst in Scotland, I addressed a gillie in a farmyard thus: "Kindly tell me, my *man*, how high that mountain Dumyat is." "Aye, *maun*, it's nae higher than it looks," was the reply. How the second "n" came to be added to the name of "Man" I will now explain. It is well known that our ancient records and statutes were written in what was called Law Latin, a mongrel language that Caesar would not have understood. Ecclesiastics, such as monks and their clerks, usually were appointed to this office, which consisted in Latinising the Norman-French, British, or English, in which the records or statutes might have been originally written, for the sake of uniformity and the use of law officers and others, who were so educated as to be able to read these documents, whereas had they been called upon to explain them in the vernacular, they would have either failed altogether or else perchance misinterpreted them. On the whole, perhaps, it was better at that time, for law and justice, that the lawyers should have the laws and records written in a sort of common language, so that at least those who expounded the laws should understand each other. When Caesar first was told the name of this island in mid-sea, between the west coast of Britain and Ireland, he simply Latinised it by the addition of the letter "a," converting it into a declinable noun—"Mona." In all probability the Keltic word "Maen"—a rock, was pronounced long, as Mōn. The Gael of to-day pronounces "Man," broad, as we say "Maun." We do not know how Caesar pronounced "Mona," although we see how he spelt it. From Caesar's time until the present we have documentary evidence of this island being mentioned by historians and others. I will give a few instances in chronological order: In the Glossary of the King-Bishop Cormac Cullionain, King of Munster and Bishop of Cashel, who was killed at the battle of Bealach Mughna (at present Balla Mune) A.D. 908, the island is styled Manand, connecting it with Man-annan-mac-lir—only one "n" in the first syllable. In the inscription around that most interest-

ing Runic cross, a rubbing of which I exhibit, taken last Saturday, when I had the kind assistance of the Rev. John Quine, M.A., the name of the island occurs as "Maun," thus: "Malbrigd, son of Athacan (the) Smith, erected the cross for his soul . . . Gaut made this (cross) and all in 'Maun.'" It will be in the recollection of many present here to-day that at a meeting at Kirk Michael of this society, 13th July, 1883, our learned Runic and Ogam scholar, Mr. William Kneale, of Douglas, was asked to transliterate the inscription on this unique cross, and did so most successfully. Professor Munch had previously done so from a cast which Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., had had taken many years ago, and he was the first to point out, according to Professor Worsaae, that the name of this island occurs in a Runic inscription at Kirk Michael, the spelling being "MAUN." The name can be easily identified on the rubbing. It is to be deplored that so interesting a monument should be allowed to remain outside, exposed to frost and all weathers. Just where "Gaut" occurs is a deep crack, and loss of stone. Professor Worsaae assigned the eleventh century as the probable date of this Runic cross. The Isle of Man is frequently referred to in the Scandinavian Sagas—it being called "Mon" or "Maun" (pronounced "Moun"). The name is never written "Monn" or "Maunn." Reginald, the bastard brother of Olave Godredson, surrendered, in 1219, the island to Pope Honorius, and in the Act of surrender the following occurs: "Reginaldus Rex Insulæ Man (not Maniæ, Manniæ, or Manniniæ) constituit se vasallum sedis Romanæ, et ex insulâ suâ facit Feudam oblatum, Londini, 10 Cal. Octobr. 1219." In a letter of the community of Scotland respecting a marriage between the eldest son of Edward I. and the Queen of Scotland, in the year 1289, the name of "Marc, Evesque de Man"—one "n." In the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, under date 1310-1311, the island is called "L'Isle de Man." In 1312 (see *Rotuli Parliamentorum*) the words "le Roiaume de Man" occur. In a grant of a yearly rental in 1381, by William de Montague, Earl of Salisbury, that nobleman is styled "Seigneur de Man," the island being called by the Earl "Nostre dite terre de Man." In the *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, under date 1398, reference is made to the banishment of the Earl of Warwick to "L'Isle de Man"—*Oliver*, vol. ii., p. 213. In the French copy of a treaty made in 1414, between England and France, Sir John Stanley is described as "Le Seigneur de Man." In 1446 King Henry VI. issued an order to Sir Thomas Stanley to carry the Duchess of Gloucester to "th' Isle of Man." In the Latin Chronicle of Rushen Abbey, and in other Mediæval documents, the name is generally written "Mannia." Then began the mischief of the double "n," and I will now endeavour to explain how it was brought about. It was required to Latinise the simple word *Man*, and the duty devolved upon the monks of either Rushen or some other religious house to make into Latin the title of King or Lord of Man in the State documents. Now the "Mona" of Cæsar, even if the monks had ever seen his Commentaries, would have been too humble a form. The island was in the midst of *Britannia*, *Hibernia*, and *Scotia*—all these in Latin form terminated in *ia*—why should not "Man" be on a par with the adjacent kingdoms, and enjoy the two terminal

letters *ia*? They were added, but the monks stood aghast at what they had done. "Dominus *Mania*" stood before them as the title of their Lord the King! This would never do. "The Lord of madness"—what would the Lord say to a title akin to "The Lord of Misrule"? How was this difficulty to be got over? was the next question. The monks put their heads together, begot another "n," and, rejoicing at being extricated from a difficulty which might have cost them much, they wrote upon the parchment in brave characters *Rex* or *Dominus Manniæ*, which had a Kelto-Latin ring, quite equal in their ears to *Rex Britannia*. It mattered not to them whether the name-root of their island was thus entirely destroyed, so long as the title pleased him for whom it was coined. This ridiculous blunder has been more or less perpetuated, but it soon fell into disuse, and we only find it here and there subsequently committed, either by illiterate copyists or by those who affect an irrational reverence for old forms, whether good or bad, so long as they belong to a past age. This is not antiquarianism, and is certainly not progress. It is but just to say that when the monks of Rushen Abbey used the English language they spelled the name "Man." In an indenture, the mongrel word "Mannia" having been formed, it had to be reduced again to English, which at all events gave it a chance of resuming its original form, but this it was not allowed to do; the added "n" was made to stick to it, and hence "Mann." There are two "n's" in *Britannia*, but no one would think of spelling Britain with two "n's." In Bishop Wilson's short *History of the Isle of Man*, the name is invariably spelt "Man." Some are of opinion that the spelling "Mann" is taken from "Mannin," which occurs as the name of the island in a Manx ballad of the sixteenth century. Camden writes the name "Maning" or "Maninge." Buchanan says in the old language it is called "Manin": it is evidently a modification of the old Irish *Manand* or *Manaind*, not a vestige of which is to be seen in "Mann." I have examined all the old maps of the island from Durham's (1595) up to the present date, and in no instance is the word "Mann" used. I have before me a list of between forty and fifty distinguished writers, all of whom spell the name as it was spelt in the most recent translated Acts of Tynwald—"Man." It is very evident that the word "Mann" never had an existence until after the conversion of "Man" into "Mannia," which was done in defiance of all rules regulating the development of root-forms. "Maen," "Mon," "Maun," and "Man" are varieties of a pure root-form, and are perfect words and names in themselves; but "Mann" is an abbreviation of a mediæval word having a bastard Celtic head and a monkish-Latin tail.—Mr. Crellin held that the double "n" is the more correct form. The name is a contraction of the Manx name "Mannin," which is doubtless derived from "Manninee," the Erse name of the native inhabitants, originally, in pre-historic times, a tribe or clan of Gaels who occupied the island. "Mannin" and "Mann" merely denote the land or country of the "Manninee." In former ages countries and territories were generally named after their inhabitants; e.g., *Helvetia* was named after the *Helvetians*; *Gallia* after the *Galli*, etc., etc. The double "n" is more suggestive of the meaning

of the name than the single "n," and, is more distinctive. Old writers spell the name both ways, a fact which I do not consider very important. The fact, however, that the double "n" was used 470 years ago in the insular records is of some consequence. In the oldest of these, dated 1417, the name is given with the two "n's"—"Mann." During the interval between this date and 1673 inclusive, it was, for the most part, so spelled. I find it so written in records of the following dates, 1417, 1422, 1430, 1532, 1561, 1582, 1586, 1610, 1636, 1637, 1655, 1661, 1665, 1667, and 1673. Towards the end of the seventeenth century it began to be disused. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (11th century) the island is called "Mann-Cynn." This is the oldest example of the spelling with two "n's" which I can recollect. On the whole, I think in the proceedings of an Antiquarian Society the use of the two "n's" ought unquestionably to be continued. I cannot see any reason for adopting the more commonplace and, I believe, less correct single "n." The subject was adjourned.

Vale of Aylesbury Naturalists' Club.—May 5.—Monthly field meeting. The route was to Catsdean, near Monks Risborough. At a short distance from Catsdean the members were shown a defile in the wood which is supposed to have been made by the Roman army in Britain as a secret passage for their troops. It is so curiously cut that an observer would not know that such a deep pass existed in the wood. It goes by the name of the "Birdsnest." Owing to the extreme lateness of the season, very few spring flowers were in bloom, although some fine specimens of the wild oxlip were gathered. Butterflies and flies were very scarce, owing to a strong westerly wind.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—At the annual meeting of this society on Monday, May 20, 1888, officers were elected for the next academical year. The annual report mentioned two volumes that had been lately issued, and promised the early appearance of *Alderman S. Newton's Diary (1622-1717)* and of Mr. Hailstone's *History of Swaffham Bulbeck*; the *Registers of St. Michael's Parish* and the *Pedes Finium for Cambridgeshire* are in process of transcription. Professor G. F. Browne made the following communication: On the semicircular tympanum of the south door of Pampisford Church, round the top, are ten small round-headed arches. The piers are marked with incised lines, showing the separate stones of which they are represented as being built. The capitals are of very early shape. Such arches in church architecture would be early twelfth-century work; but the style of surface ornament did not keep pace with the development of architectural styles. The arches are $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and the human figures in them for the most part about 5 inches. The surface of the figures and piers and arches is flush with the rest of the stone, the effect being produced by cutting away very roughly the surface of the stone within the arches, leaving the piers and figures standing clear. The ten scenes seem to be taken from the story of the birth and death of John Baptist. Beginning with the lowest arch on the east side, the subjects are as follows, some alternative explanations being given below: 1. The altar of incense. 2. Zacharias bowing before the angel. 3. The angel. 4. Herodias's daughter dancing. 5. Herod and his guests. 6. St. John the

Baptist, perhaps shown as an angel. 7. The headsmen's block. 8. The severed head. 9. A single figure in the attitude of carrying something not shown, probably the charger with the head. 10. Another head, with the neck; the neck is bent sideways upward, as though the head had been lying on one side and was rising up of its own accord: probably showing the Resurrection or Invention of the Head. The church is said by tradition to be dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Cole in his MS. account of the Church (Brit. Mus.) gives that dedication, but a note is added by Mr. J. Allen that the dedication is to SS. Peter and Paul. Baker, in his MS. account (Univ. Libr.), gives SS. Peter and Paul. H. Clouy, by will dated Oct. 17, 1453, leaves his body to be buried in the church of Peter and Paul of Pampesworth; and this is usually the most conclusive evidence of a dedication. The two saints' days are only five days apart, St. John being June 24 and SS. Peter and Paul June 29, so that some confusion is not unnatural. The village feast is "the first Monday in July, unless that is July 1, in which case it is the second Monday." This brings old St. John's Day, July 6, into the feast week in every case but one, *i.e.*, when July 6 is on Saturday; while old St. Peter's Day, July 11, only falls in the feast week when it is a Saturday, Friday, or Thursday. This is in favour of St. John the Baptist as the dedication, and the evidence of the tympanum is strongly in the same direction. The head of John Baptist is said to have been found in Herod's palace in the year 330. After many changes of abode, it was brought from Constantinople to Amiens in 1204, and this no doubt would attract attention in the north of France to the Invention of the Head. It is therefore interesting to inquire whether Pampisford had any special connection with the north of France at that time. The Domesday survey states that Pampesuuorde was held by Alan (Fergant) of Brittany, who built Richmond Castle in Yorkshire, and made Pampesworth part of the Honour of Richmond. The Counts of this line were represented in 1171 by Constance of Brittany, and her grandmother some time before 1219 brought the Honour of Richmond and her titles to her husband, Peter of Dreux. Dreux is not many miles from Amiens, and it is tempting to suggest that in spite of the early style of the sculpture it may have been due to this connection. The date 1204 or 1205 is only seven or eight years later than some of the round-arched work at Ely Cathedral, and the monks of Ely held lands in Pampesford. Or it may be suggested, that the Canons of Amiens procured the head because of the regard paid to the *Invention of the Head* in these parts. Alternative explanations of the subjects are:—3. John crying in the wilderness. 5. The executioner with his axe. 10. The head on a charger, the charger being not shown. If No. 10 is not the Resurrection of the head, there is no reason for not allowing the style of the work to date the stone; in that case, it is, to say the least, one of the earliest stones with Christian subjects in the county. The local pronunciation of the name Pampisford is *Pawnser* or *Parnser*, the last syllable evidently coming from *worth*, not *ford*. The Domesday spelling is *Pampesuuorde*; the Hundred Rolls of 1273 and 1286, the Taxatio of 1292, the Pleas in Cambridge of 1299, and other records down to the Reformation, agree in the spelling *Pampesworth*; the

Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII. gives in one place, on a return made in Norfolk, *Pansworth*, but in the local return, *Pansforth*; while the Computus Ministrorum of the same king gives practically the present local pronunciation, spelling the name *Pawnesworth*. Professor Browne also exhibited a figure of a Saint. The figure (copper gilt) was found in the parish of Guilden Morden, near the place where an ancient chapel, known as Redderia, used to stand. It is probably of thirteenth-century workmanship. The youthful face and the clasped book, held in the left hand, suggest the attribution to St. John the Evangelist. The figure has probably been one of the figures on a shrine, and in that case it would naturally stand on one side of our Lord, the Virgin standing on the other side. It was fixed to the shrine by two large studs, the holes in which remain in the figure; these bores are at an angle of about 20° with one another, as though the figure stood at one corner of the shrine. Height, about 3 inches. Professor Hughes made a communication upon the subject of Limblow Hill, a tumulus between Royston and Litlington, which the owner has recently begun to destroy. He described it as composed entirely of surface-mould and chalk-rubble scraped together, and inferred accordingly that the surrounding ditch is a later addition, the material from it having perhaps formed a bank on the outside. The present height of the mound is 18 feet, and the diameter about 42 feet. Below the centre a rectangular pit, some 4 feet long and 2 feet deep, had been found, full of large flints; but no bones or other objects were seen in it. Baron A. Von Hügel and Mr. Jenkinson exhibited some of the ornaments, etc., from the Saxon cemetery, recently found at the back of St. John's College. Over fifty skeletons had been examined; the specimens obtained, especially the brooches and the belt-plates, compared favourably with those yielded by other localities, though no such brooches as the large one from Haslingfield, in Trinity College Library, had turned up. There were more pierced Roman coins than at Girton, and also more men with shields and spears; both which facts may point to a slightly earlier date. Otherwise, and especially in the apparent concurrence of inhumation and urn-burial, these two cemeteries were much alike. Some of the urns now found are very remarkable; they will be exhibited on another occasion.



Reviews.

The Sinclairs of England. (Trübner and Co., 1887.)

This is an attempt, by an anonymous writer, to do justice to the fame and deeds of the English branch of the Sinclair family, hitherto apparently neglected; the Scottish, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Russian, and German offshoots of this ubiquitous family "being all better to the front than the forgotten Englishmen." In the preface, the author says that "to get at the spirit of past periods through tracing the action of particular families is a new historical method." It certainly is, and one not to be encouraged when carried out on the lines of the present work. To anyone unfamiliar with the history of the Norman

Conquest, and of the Norman and early Plantagenet kings, a perusal of this work would leave him with the firm idea that the Sinclairs planned and carried out, almost unaided, the conquest of England and its final subjugation. If a name other than Sinclair rises to the surface, the possessor must in reality have belonged to the family, though in what manner may not be quite apparent. History is not to be written this way. It is impossible for a writer to avoid either making historical events serve merely as a background for the family he is illustrating, or of losing sight of the family in his desire to do justice to history.

In this thick volume of upwards of 400 pages a great mass of matter has been brought together by the industrious research of the author to furnish a very full and interesting account of the family, if a history of the family only had been attempted. All the ordinary sources of information seem to have been made use of, both MS. and printed; in fact, any authority containing the name Sinclair is not too insignificant to be passed by. Eva St. Clair in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* serves to point a moral (p. 112). To refer merely to "a valuable Harleian MS." or "Cotton MS." is irritating, and gives the idea that the information from such sources is second-hand, especially as now and then the particular Harley or Cotton MS. is indicated. The author occasionally quotes, following his quotation, if in Latin, with a translation, not, however, always very happily. For instance, *clamavit habere visum franci plegii* is "he claimed to have view of frank pledge"—the author evidently not understanding the contractions; and see also p. 301.

One great fault yet remains to be noticed: a large book of family history, containing accounts of numerous branches of the Sinclairs, is issued without any genealogical tables—an absolute necessity in a work like this, if it is to be properly understood; and a book abounding in historical references, and in names of people and places, has no index.



Correspondence.

FOSSIL TUSK OF GREAT HAIRY ELEPHANT.

(*Ante*, vol. xvii., 175, 279.)

The letter of Mr. Hughes raises a very interesting question.

Until I saw the letter, I was not aware of the existence of the late Mr. F. Buckland's book, in which mention is made of the finding of an almost similar tusk of the great hairy elephant.

The tusk to which I referred was found in March last, as described in the April number of the *Antiquary*, and it would probably not be too much to suppose that it was the fellow tusk to that mentioned by Mr. F. Buckland.

At the same time, it is not at all an uncommon occurrence for fossil remains to be found here of an almost similar nature, but most of them in such a decomposed condition as scarcely to deserve recording.

H. W. SMITH.

Belvedere.

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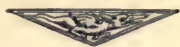
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The Antiquary.



AUGUST, 1888.

A Priest-Poet of the Fourteenth Century.

(From the Spanish.)

BY GEO. H. POWELL.

SPANISH literature claims so small a share of the modern reader's attention that most persons may well be ignorant of the very existence of a writer whose works were unpublished till the end of the last century, and whose memory had up to that time remained, even among his own countrymen, "buried in oblivion."

Juan Ruiz, Roiz, or Rois, Archpriest of Hita, a small town in the province of Guadalajara, flourished during the last twenty years of the reign of Alfonso XI. (1312-1350), and was the author of some six or seven thousand lines of verse, which fill the fourth volume of Sanchez's celebrated collection of early Castilian poetry.*

His learned editor, while describing Ruiz as an author "poco conocido," considers him a remarkable example of neglected genius. Of his works we are told that they "mark a new and advanced epoch in the poetry of his country, not only by the rich variety of graceful metres in which he exercised his humorous and playful fancy, but also by his style, the satire, wit, and irony, the moral axioms, and proverbs in which he abounds."

He may be called the *first known Spanish poet*, and the only Spanish writer of the Middle Ages who may be compared with the best of his kind in Europe.† This, it

* *Collecion de Poesias Castellanas anteriores al Siglo XV.* 4 Tomos, por T. A. Sanchez, Madrid, 1779-90.

† This judgment has been endorsed, in the present century, by a German critic, Ferdinand Wolf, who

might be thought, would have entitled the archpriest to fame. Yet he seems to have met with but little attention even in his own country—at least, up to the close of the last century, that is, for some four hundred years—while, although Sanchez states that a copy of his works had been seen in the possession of a London bookseller—one Huith, in 1786—there can be little doubt that many persons to whom the poem of the Cid, and the later Spanish romances, are (thanks to Southey and Lockhart) familiar reading, have never heard the name of Juan Ruiz. The great national epic of the Spaniards stands, of course, by itself; but of modern Spanish poets, Ruiz is both in time the first and, in many respects, the most remarkable.

Of his life, unfortunately, very little is known. He is believed to have been born in the town of Guadalajara, and he died probably about the year 1331. His name may, it seems, be added to the list, not only of neglected, but of persecuted authors, for his writings were certainly begun and, in all probability, finished in prison, where he had been confined by order of Don Gil Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo.* We may, perhaps, be allowed to conjecture from the author's allusions to "traitors" and "false accusations," that the imprisonment was incurred through no fault of his own, and it does not seem to have been very rigorous or oppressive. Possibly the archpriest made use of his enforced leisure for purposes of study, for he was obviously a man of some education. Horace and Ovid he occasionally quotes, and in one or two poems has imitated the latter. He was not unacquainted with Homer and the classics, knew something apparently of law,† and had travelled at least as far as Rome. This is all that is known of the "first Spanish poet," and this much is gathered almost entirely from his own works, the complete edition of which is taken from three still existing MSS., one of which is preserved in a library at Toledo. To judge

puts the archpriest on a level with Cervantes himself.—*Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 1832. See Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i., where a short account of Ruiz and his writings is to be found.

* Cf. Gibbon's *Hist. Rome*, vol. viii.

† He alludes to the *Speculum Juris* of G. Durante, and the *Rosario*, a work upon the Decretal of Gratian and other legal writings.

of the merit of his writings, we must carry our minds back to the earliest period of the revival of letters. Ruiz is the contemporary of Petrarch and Boccaccio; he wrote probably a generation later than Dante, a generation earlier than Chaucer; but the subjects which he illustrates are too varied to suggest a direct comparison with any of those pioneers of literature. Hymns, fables, moral discourses, romance, satire, and gallantry fill up the "lanx satura" of his volume. Turning over its pages one cannot avoid being struck by a quaint originality, by occasional examples of a true poetical feeling, and a decided sense of humour, while the author's command of rhythm and melody in versification might attract attention in any age, and was certainly unrivalled in his own. If we ventured to call him also a "comic poet," it would be not so much on account of a general levity of style, but because, apart from his mastery of rhyme and rhythm, the archpriest may perhaps be thought to occupy an equally remarkable position as a poet of the first half of the fourteenth century, who making it his aim, so far as was consistent with edifying, to *amuse* his readers for this purpose, deliberately sate himself down, as the saying is, to write *nonsense* (burlas) in a metrical form, as admirable in its way as that of the *Ingoldsby Legends*. It would be idle to deny that his taste is to some extent the taste of the dark ages, or that his humour is not always intelligible. On the other hand, some of his comparatively serious poems, or passages, reach a high level of excellence, and are remarkably free from the wearisome and fantastic characteristics of so much mediæval writing.

With regard to Ruiz's more obvious claim to celebrity, it must be remembered that from the time when the Castilian first became a distinct language, in the reign of Ferdinand the Great (1037-1065) up to the fourteenth century, all Spanish *poetry*,* if it can be so called, was little more than history thrown into one loose metrical form. Ruiz, however, though most of his poems and ballads are composed in the Alexandrine, in stanzas of four rhyming lines, employs no less than sixteen other metres, many of which, according to Sanchez, he invented himself. Of

* Sismondi, *Lit. South. Europe*, i. 1.

their respective merits the reader may form his own judgment.* The lines which follow form a sort of introduction reminding us of the circumstances under which their author wrote:

THE PRAYER THAT THE ARCHPRIEST MADE TO
GOD WHEN HE BEGAN THIS HIS BOOK.

Lord of Hosts who didst deliver in oppression's
darkest hour

Stubborn-hearted Israel from the tyrant's cruel pow'r,
Whose true servant Daniel neither beast nor flame
might devour

Lord, I languish in this prison; hear, O Lord,
and set me free.

Thou who erst didst grant to Esther that strengthened
by Thy grace

She should stand and favour find before Ahasuerus'
face,

Take me by Thy sov'reign power from this dark un-
happy place:

Shew Thy mercy, shew thy mercy, Lord, on me.

* * * * *

Though Thy faithful prophet Jonah did three days
and nights remain

In the belly of the whale on the wide wat'ry plain,
As it had been from an house didst Thou bring him
forth again:

So deliver me, O Lord, from this house of woe
and pain.

Thou Lord, didst deliver all scatheless and free
From the burning fiery furnace Thy holy children
three:

Thou who savedst holy Peter from the waves of
Galilee

I too am Thy servant, Lord help and succour me.

Thy promise to thy servants comfort ever brings
That thou wouldst be with them before rulers and
kings,

That by Thy grace they should answer wise things:
O preserve me, Lord, from my foes' imaginings.

There follows an address in a like strain to the Virgin Mary. The archpriest, after expressing a hope that he may be enabled to write something that may cheer and amuse his hearers, proceeds to apologize for the form of his book, which he thinks may be thought stale or "trivial." It was the fashion of his age to introduce into the middle of narrative or romance apologues and fables with an inevitable moral, tacking the one on to the other by the flimsiest of connections.

* In the translation here offered I have attempted to reproduce as literally as possible not only the substance, but also the form—the *metrical characteristics*, good or bad, of the original. The Spanish language has advantages (for instance, in its richness of resonant dissyllable rhymes) which are difficult to parallel in English.

He hopes they will not think too lightly of the book on that account :

'Tis from the rude thorn we pluck the fragrant rose
And plain crabbed letters true wisdom oft disclose,
There's many a jolly fellow (buen bebedor) goes clad
in ragged hose

And kindly hearts beating under well-worn clothes.

The first distinct poem, however, hardly needs any such apology. It tells, in the author's own words, "how every man among his cares should be cheerful, and (*à propos de bottes*, as it seems) of the conference of the Greeks and the Romans." Sismondi has observed that some of the *trouvères* and earlier writers of the Middle Ages, in their supreme ignorance of any times but their own, often "gave an air of Christianity to what they borrowed from ancient mythology." Such an explanation is perhaps hardly applicable to this remarkable ballad, in which the author seems rather to have jumbled together for his own purposes the myth of the adoption by the Romans of the laws of Solon and the history of some dispute between the Latin and Greek Churches in the Dark Ages, during the general decline of the Greek language.*

A wise old man was Cato, and Cato did declare
That among the many troubles a mortal needs must bear

He should take relief of pleasure and laugh away
care

For grief it is a canker, and sorrow is a snare.

And sith in sober earnest there's nought to make him
smile,

Here let him find some trifles his humour to beguile :

(Who listens to a fable must understand the style

For a poet may be serious, and jesting all the while).

Now mark what I tell you—I'll say it no more ;

I cannot stay to argue as argued of yore

The Greeks with the Romans who came to implore
The wisdom of the Greeks and their learning and lore.

For the Romans, you must know, had no laws in
their land,

So they sent to the Greeks their laws to demand :

"Give Laws to those Barbarians!" the Greeks re-
plied offhand

"What should Romans do with Laws which they
couldn't understand !†

* "From the subversion of the Western Empire (476 A.D.). . . the Greek language and literature were almost entirely forgotten within the pale of the Latin Church. . . Nor is there probably a line quoted from any poet in that language from the sixth to the fourteenth century."—Hallam: *Med. Ages*, ix. part 2. A few "scattered instances" to the contrary are mentioned.—*Ib. Hist. Lit.* ii.

† The following are the commencing verses of this

Yet if they truly do desire the Laws to have and
use,

To show their understanding some Doctor let them
choose

To dispute with our philosophers ; and then we won't
refuse."

(Now this ingenious answer was only an excuse.)

The Romans answered that was fair, it could not be
denied.

"We'll hold a learned conference and fix the time and
But Greek we do not understand, so further let's
provide

That the learned Doctors' arguments by *signs* be
signified."

And now the day was settled ; the contest all await
The Romans knew not what to do they were in such
a strait

For their eloquence was poor and their ignorance was
And the Greeks were very learned in science and
debate.

Then up and spake a citizen, "My countrymen, look
here,

Let's find some rascal-fellow knows neither shame
nor fear ;

Let *him* make signs as Providence shall whisper in
his ear."

Bravo ! Bravo ! It seemed to them an excellent
idea.

The rascal soon was summoned—with impudence
elate :

They told him, "We have promised with the Greeks
to debate—

To dispute in dumb show—now not a stiver will we
bate :

Ask whatever you please, but get us out of this
strait."

I wis they clad him splendidly in broadcloth and
brocade

Like a Doctor of Divinity all of the highest grade ;

He stept up to the chair of state so gorgeously
arrayed :

"Bring in the Greek Philosophers, 'Od rot it, who's
afraid ?"

poem in the original. For the succeeding verses in
the Spanish *vide* Sanchez collection :

Palabras son de sabio è dixolo Caton
Que homén à sus coidados, que tiene en corazon
Entreponga plaseres è alegre su rason,
Que la mucha tristeza mucho coidado pon.

Et porque de buen seso no puede homén reir
Habrè algunas burlas aquí à enxerir ;
Cada que las oyerdes non querades comedir
Salvo en la manera de trovar e de decir.

Entiende bien mis dichos, è piensa la sentencia,
Non me contesca contigo como el Doctor de

Grecia,
Con'l rivaldo romano è con su poca sabiençia
Quando demandò Roma à Grecia la sciencia.

Ansi fue que Romanos las Leyes non avien,
Fueron las demandar à Griegos que las tenien ;
Respondieron los Griegos que non las merescien
Nin las podrian entender, epuesque tan poco sabien.

Then in came the Greek champion so famous and renowned,
Among all the Greek doctors the most learn'd to be found;
He took the other chair:—all the people stood around.
And then began the great debate in signs without a sound.

Up rose the Greek Doctor in dignity and state;
He held out his forefinger; and down again he sate.
Then up jumped the rascal—they had long to wait
He looked rather flustered, but eager for debate.

In answer to the Greek—his meaning to explain,
He held out his thumb—he held out fingers twain
Curl'd up like a hook. Then with manner grave and vain

He gathered up his robes, and sat him down again.

Again up rose the Greek with his learning and lore:
He held out the palm of his hand and nothing more.
The Roman, bold as brass though of learning he'd no store

He clenched his fist and held it out. The conference was o'er.

To all his fellow-countrymen the learn'd Greek did say—

"The Romans do deserve the Laws—I cannot say them nay."

So in peace and great content all the people went away.

By a rascal's ready wit the Romans won the day.

They asked the Greek Doctor what made him so decide—
What he meant by his signs—what the Roman had replied.

"I said," said he, '*There is one God.*' He answered 'Yes, beside

One God and Three Persons,' and so he signified.

"'All things,' I urged, '*lie in His hand.*' He answered true and plain

'*Within His mighty grasp* He doth both earth and sea retain.'

Now since th' Almighty Trinity they do believe certain,

The Laws I trow they do deserve, the Laws they shall obtain."

The Romans asked their advocate; the rascal answered, "Why

Yon fellow with his finger said *he would poke out my eye!*

And as such braggart insolence I would not let go by,
In rage and in wrath I straightway did reply.*

* Preguntaron al bellaco qual fuere su antojo?
Dis: dixome que con su dedo me quebrantaria el ojo:

Desto ove grand pesar e tomé grand enojo,
Et respondile con saña con ira e con cordojo:

Que yol' quebrantaria ante todas las gentes
Con dos dedos los ojos con el pulgar los dientes.
Dixom' luego apos esto, que le parase mientes
Que me daria grand palmada en los oidos retientes.

"I'd tear out his two eyes with my two fingers here
And his teeth with my thumb before all the people near!

Well! after that he threatened, as you saw, very clear,
He would give me a good sounding box o' the ear!

"I answered with my fist I'd give him a black eye
That all his life-long he'd remember me by.
But of that sort of argument he seemed to fight shy,
For he soon left off his bullying and made no reply."

The story is, I am informed, told at the present day in Arabic in the streets of Cairo.

The moral of all which is, says the archpriest, a very simple one, viz., that "a word which is well taken can never be ill meant."

No es mala palabra se non es mal entendida.

"Perhaps the most remarkable of all the poems," says Sanchez, "is the battle between Lord Carnal and Lady Lent (Don Carnal and Doña Quaresma), a work much resembling the Homeric Batrachomyomachia. In fact, a comparison of the two poems seems to show that Ruiz took the Greek for his model, and possibly he was the first of European poets to copy such an original." The challenge of Lady Lent is dated appropriately from Castro Urdiales, a celebrated fishing-port, and the reply of Lord Carnal from a place famous, it would seem, for its supply of game. In the contest which follows, the ordinary edible animals, such as the ox, sheep, deer, hare, pheasant, woodcock, wild duck, etc., are ranged upon the side of Lord Carnal, against the fish, etc., which make up the orthodox Lenten diet; and the latter, with the assistance of the whale, after a terrific engagement, come off victorious. The dolphin attacks the ox. The pike vanquishes the pig, who is promptly pickled "en sal de villanchon." The polypus, taking advantage of his many hands, engages the pheasant, the peacock and several other animals at once. The hare and the conger-eel, the rabbit and the oyster, wrestle up and down, and the whole valley is filled with blood and scales. Finally, the forces of Lord Carnal are all routed or destroyed. The buck prudently carries his venison back to the mountains; the porker and the fat beef are both captured and hung, while Lord

Yol respondi que'l daria una tal puñada
Que en tiempo de su vida runca la vies vengada;
Desde vio que la pelea tenie' mal apaçada,
Dexos' d'amenasar do non gelo prescian nada.

SANCHEZ, iv. 16.

Carnal himself is consigned to prison, where he is kept upon strict fasting rations, and allowed to see no one but his confessor.

In a totally different strain, and in a measure more familiar to modern ears, is the "Begging Scholars' Song," which was apparently intended to be sung as a solo, duet, and chorus :

Spare a trifle, Sirs, I pray*
Hear a scholar's roundelay.
Of your wealth give tithe and toll,
From your board a kindly dole,
And an "Ave" for your soul
Shall your charities repay.
What ye give the Lord His poor
Tribute from your ample store,
When this earthly life is o'er
That shall be your hope and stay :

When your last account ye render,
Lands and wealth & all surrender,
He shall be your sure Defender
For your kindness here to-day.
Tho' my wants you're now relieving
There above from Him receiving
Hundred-fold for all your giving
Ye with Him shall dwell for aye.

Masters, list another strain
(At your door are Scholars twain)
Christ, the Lord of Paradise,
Paid for all men such a price
By the Jew was foully slain :
Give them freely, as He gave
His own body to the grave ;
Christ who died the world to save
Keep your souls from Hell & pain.
Think, my masters, of His story
All He did and suffered for ye
Ye shall see Him in His glory
If His poor ye but maintain.

Noble Sirs, a trifle lending
All our wants ye can relieve.
Beggars blind and poor befriending
Ope your purses, let us live.
To our humble plaint attending
Please to give, please to give.

* Señores dat al Escolar
Que viene de demandar,
Dat Limosna é racion,
Et faré por vos oracion,
Que Dios vos de Salvacion
Quered por Dios a mi dar.
El bien que por Dios faserdes
Et la limosna que à mi dierdes
Quando deste mundo salierdes,
Esto vos ha de ayudar. Etc.

Cf. the popular madrigal :

"We are beggars struck with blindness,"
from an Italian carnival song.

Goods of this world we must borrow,
Beggars carry little store,
Here to-day and gone to-morrow,
So we wander blind and poor
On our path of pain and sorrow
Darkness round us evermore.

Mary Mother, hear us pray ;
Be the hand for ever blest
That shall first the pangs allay
Of the hungry and distressed.
May his life be blithe and gay
Give his soul eternal rest.

Christians all on Christ relying,
Kindly to our plaint replying,
Blind and lame their needs supplying,
Help the helpless, Sirs, and know
That ye do His work below.
All our fare is His providing
On no other help confiding
All too feeble we to gain
What shall 'uage our hunger's pain !
Work or wage we cannot find
Halt, diseased, poor and blind.

Bless the eyes so clear and bright
Looking kindly on our night.
What ye lend us from your hoard
Thousandfold shall be restored.
Fathers, 'give ye nought but pleasure
Of the sons ye fondly treasure ;
Be it theirs no sorrow knowing
Still in mind and stature growing,
(So we pray) of high degree
In our Holy Church to be.
God preserve our patrons kind,
Let them ne'er be poor or blind.

Rich and plenteous be their fare,
Let the hungry have his share.
Wealth and fortune Heav'n present ye,
Give the scholar of your plenty ;
From your household's ample store
Clothe and feed the wandering poor.

May your lovely daughters find
Each a husband to her mind,
Knight or noble come to mate
Or a squire of good estate,
Mercer staid, of wealth untold,
Burgher brave with bags of gold ;
Wives and husbands, fathers, mothers,
Sons and daughters, sisters, brothers,
Ye and yours—kith and kin—
Christ forgive you all your sin
All your guilt be washed away
For your charities to-day.

If we compare, for instance, the progress of English versification about the same date, the flow and accuracy of the above stanzas will seem still more remarkable. To take an example from Chaucer, the opening lines of "The Romaunt of the Rose :

Many menne faine that in sweveninges
 Ther n'is but fables and lesinges ;
 But yet menne may some swevin sene
 Which hardily that false ne bene,
 But afterwarde ben apparaunt,
 This may I drawin to warraunt ;

or of the Coke's Tale of Gamelyn :

Now lithe and listinith and
 Herkinith you aright,
 And ye shullin here me tell
 You of a doughty knight.

The metre here is as elementary as possible, and the writer is not fettered by the necessity of securing more than the simplest rhyme. Yet from a metrical point of view, the lines can hardly be compared to those quoted above :

Señores dat al escolar
 Que viene de demandar, etc.

* * *

Las vuestras fijas amadas
 Veades las bien casadas
 Con maridos caballeros
 E con honrados pecheros, etc. ;

or to almost any stanza in the ballad of the Greeks and the Romans, while the more elaborate metres used by the archpriest have a distinctly modern ring about them. The following, taken from a light "cantica," is suggestive of the immortal "Raven" of Edgar Allan Poe :

Pasando una mañana—por el puerto de Malagosto
 Salióme una serrana—a la asomada del rostro
 Fa de maja ! dis dond' andas—que buscas o que
 demandas

Por aqueste puerto angosto ?

and so on. The first stanza is not quite so regular as the rest. The next example is from one of the numerous hymns to the Virgin Mary :

Porque servir te cobdicio
 Yo Pecador por tanto
 Te ofresco en servicio
 Los tus gosos que canto :
 El primero
 Fue certero
 Angel ate mensagero
 Del spiritu santo.

But the metre of the following is not, as both the above probably were, the archpriest's own invention, since it was, according to Sismondi, employed at an early date by the Sicilians, and appears in a poem of Alphonso X. in the latter half of the thirteenth century :

Santa virgen escogida	Virgin mother of the Lord,
De Dios madre muy amada	God's supremest favour
	knowing
En los cielos ensalzada	Loved of Heav'n, on earth
	adored,
Del mundo salud e vida,	Life and hope on us be-
	stowing,
Del mundo salud e vida,	Life and hope on us be-
	stowing,
De muerte destruiimiento	Death his dismal terrors
	ending,
De gracia llena complida	Thou of grace the fountain
	flowing
De coyitados solamiento,	Grief consoling, woe be-
	friending,
De aqueste dolor que	To thy servant succour
siento	sending,
En prision sin merescer,	Hear me in my prison
	drear
Tu me dona estorcer	From the pangs of grief
	and fear
Con el tu defendimiento.	By Thy mighty arm de-
	fending.

Probably few Castilian writers, before or since the author's time, have handled with more facility that rich and sonorous language.

(To be concluded.)



An Island Chronicle.



WHATEVER may have been the condition of things in the "Garden of England" in days before there was a Solent to make of it an island, when elephant and rhinoceros and primeval man wandered unchecked from the downs of Hampshire to the downs of Brixton and Bembridge—before the patient labour of Nature had carved out the white cliffs of Albion or one of her sudden feats of transformation had, perchance, upheaved the rocks that now form what we call the Land-slip—the Isle of Wight has not been without its history and its vicissitudes since it took its place in history and geography. Conquered by Romans and planted with Roman villas, conquered by Jutes, by Mercians, and again by the Prince of Wessex, who handed it over as a sponsor's gift to his godson, the prince of the South Saxons, it had a full share in the common lot of Britain ; but in after-years something more than a fair share fell to the little island during our English forefathers'

long and bitter struggles with the northern pirates, and in their wars and rumours of wars with that "natural enemy" introduced to us by our Norman conquerors.

From the Isle of Wight the Danes set forth as from a stronghold, to harry and to fight on the mainland, and it was thither Ethelred the Unready fled to his Danish friend on his way to shelter in Normandy. It was the Isle of Wight that, lying nearest the Gallic shore, was most endangered by the menacing strangers across the Channel; it was attacked by them in the fourteenth century, when Newport and Yarmouth were burnt and Carisbrooke besieged, and again in the sixteenth century, when Francis, having fully recovered from the theatrical pageant on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, sent a fleet to anchor off St. Helen's, and, for lack of success at Portsmouth, to fill up time by conquering the Island. But the Island was not conquered. Three hundred years ago the principal action with the Spanish Armada took place off its coast, after which Philip's warriors had to make their way home like those of Francis, and devise some other use for the new uniforms which had been got ready for a triumphal entry into London.

The Island has had its experience also of forms of government. It has had, since the Conquest, despotic lords, captains, governors, and a crowned king. From the time of William I., who gave it to Fitz-Osborne, it was a fief in the possession of lords of Wight, who held sway from Carisbrooke Castle (now exactly 800 years old) for two centuries. The Crown is said to have bought back the present for £60,000. In 1445, Henry VI. crowned Henry de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, sole monarch of this little kingdom. And to this day, incorporated as it is with an English shire and sending representatives to an English Parliament, it is nominally governed by a governor in the person of the gallant veteran, Viscount Eversley. Once upon a time the islanders rebelled proudly against the notion of a "governor;" it was a title first assumed by Sir George Carey in the later years of Queen Elizabeth, "a man beyond all ambitions whoe, if owre forefathers had not stooode stiffly to itt, wouold have brought us in subjection," and was dropped again some twenty years later, nay, more than

dropped, "cleane abolished, if after adges will soe keepe itt, for there is no readior waye to enthralle the Island then by makynge the Captayne to greate." The charming island is more enthralling than "enthralled" nowadays, in spite of the governor. And the tourist or visitor who lounges on Ryde Pier or Cowes Green, revels in the beauty of chine and cliff at "the back of the Island," or seeks health in the English Madeira, may find it hard to realize times when the men of Wight kept watch and ward at every point, and sent their wives and families to the mainland for safety. Yet it is not so many years since these things were. The latter practice was common enough; and though in the reign of Elizabeth things became so peaceful that it was the outer world that then assumed a dangerous aspect, and men, if ever they went to London, took care to make their wills first, the precaution again suggested itself to their wisdom in succeeding reigns, when thoughts of both Spanish and French were present in the stout yet uneasy hearts of the islanders. One day it was an actual alarm: "one Granger, Captayn of a small man of warre belonginge to Mr. James of Portsmouth, beinge on ye Sowthsyde of ye Island, spyed a fleete of Hollandors of 22 sayle; he presentlye tooke them for Spaniardes, and came into ye Island and sent intelligence by letter to Sir Edward Dennis that he had espyed a fleete of Spaniardes att sea; whereupon Sir Edward sent ye verie letter to Portesmouth; whether itt came a Wensday by 4 of ye clocke, ye Towne rose all in armes and apreghended as mutch feare as if an enemy had bene att ye gates." Another time the Island gentlemen petitioned his Majesty and the "Councell of War" to have "owre castells and fortes some amended;" "wee weare far from feare, but on ye reporte of so greate preparations in ffrance, wee could doo no lesse than make owre weaknes knowne . . . and of what consequence the losse of that Island may be to ye whole kingdome."

War of a kind, a kind which stationed ships off Cowes and thereby improved Island trade, was, however, not altogether objected to; and men of Charles's time looked back enviously to the glorious days of Queen Bess, when "wee had in a good mannor warres with Spayne and peace with ffrance."

"Now," moans the same chronicler, whom we have already quoted more than once—Sir John Oglander, whose MS. memoirs have long been a mine of wealth to local historians and have at length been edited and given to the world by Mr. W. H. Long—"now peace and lawe hath beggared us all, soe that within my memorie manie of ye gentlemen and almost all ye yeomandrie ar undon."

It was once the boast of the Isle of Wight to possess neither lawyers, foxes, nor monks. Perhaps St. Wilfrid when he came to teach the heathen Wight-waras how to catch fish and himself to exercise the nobler office of a fisher of men, may have driven out the first two as St. Patrick drove the snakes and toads from Erin. But the lawyers at least reappeared, though their reception was so unflattering that one who would have settled there in the sixteenth century was "with a pound of candels lyghted hanginge att his breche and belles abowt his legges hunted out of ye Island"—a thorough candle and bell excommunication; and the worthy who records this from having "herd itt by tradition and partlye know itt to be true," is anxious to explain when he comes to write of his own grandfather, that though George Oglander, Esq., was "a Counsellor at Lawe he never tooke anie fee but imployed his skill and labour in makinge peace and amitie amongst his countreyemen." The countrymen of an Isle of Wight gentleman, be it noted, were and are not Englishmen generally, but men of Wight in particular. As for the monks, they were soon established at St. Helen's, Quarr, and Carisbrooke, if nowhere else; and it was the disestablishment of the last-named priory by Henry VI., which, together with the sale of the Island to the Crown (when the castle ceased to be the centre of authority) led to the downfall of Carisbrooke, once the metropolis of Wight. Carisbrooke was "a far greater town and bettor bwyllt than nowe itt is, at what time Nuport wase butt a poore fischinge towne;" Newport, indeed, had no market "for beastes" till 1532, and its streets were "not paved, but lay most wet and beastlye." The honours of a "beaste markett" were followed by those of incorporation; and a mayoralty in place of rule by the "justices at lardge," apparently to the dissatisfaction of those

justices who considered "itt had bene happye for them (the people of Newport) and ye counterye to if itt had soe continued." The connection with Newport and Carisbrooke was long kept up through an ancient custom, by which the Vicar of Carisbrooke administered the sacrament every Easter Day at Newport, dined with the mayor, and in the evening had a supper or "love-feast" with the burgesses, towards which he provided gammons of bacon and 5s. worth of wine, and they a certain sum of money apiece. To Carisbrooke belonged Shale and Shorwell, and they suffered from the fact, for the Shorwellians "in carryinge of corses to burial at Carisbrooke through ye walterish lanes at winter, many caught theyre deaths." Though many still, unfortunately, often catch their deaths at funerals, it is evident the roads of those days were not all they should have been, and the editor tells us in his preface that each parish being supposed to repair its own roads with stones gathered from the fields, the roads were full of deep ruts and holes, and highways were few.

In a similar way Shanklin and Yaverland had to bury their dead at Brading, the oldest town in the isle, and, in days when St. Helen's was the only port, "ye rychest and of best repute." Its bull-baiting ring and stocks survive to speak of glories that are past. "At Christmass and Eastor ye P'son of Yaverland wase enioined to come with his whole p'risch, and to administer ye cupp; he wase to reade ye fyrst lesson, to fynde 2 loade of strawe yerely to laye in ye seates, 6 lb. of candels, and 10s. yerely in moneyes."

Ryde was in those days rarely, and Ventnor never, heard of. Cowes had lately been a place of three or four houses, though our author was "p'swaded that if owre warres and troubles had not unfortunately hapened it wold haue growen as famous as Nuport. For itt wase by all ye Easteron partes of ye wordle [*Anglice*, world] mutch aproved as a place fitt for them to vittell and to make a randevouz. . . . And if ye countery had but soe mutch discretion as to make good use of that harbor . . . they neede noe other markett or meanes to make ye Island hapie and fortunate." Fashion and yachts have stepped in to do what was left undone through indiscreet neglect of the "Easteron partes of

ye wordle"—by which our chronicler meant the Dutchmen.

If the glory of Carisbrooke has diminished, that of Quarr Abbey, the other seat of the Cistercians, has wholly departed. Carisbrooke Priory has, it is true, disappeared; but the castle is still a noble ruin, even more interesting to Englishmen from its associations with Charles I. and his hapless daughter, than as a stately memorial of Norman castle-building. Quarr came to baser uses; the materials were sold, and the refectory to-day is a barn. It was built by Baldwyne de Rivers, in gratitude for his restoration to home and fortune, in the time of Henry II., after banishment in the troubled time of Stephen, and consecrated by Bishop de Blois, when Rivers "made a greate and solemn feast theyre for ye whole Island, for ye finisching of so good a woorke, wherein every inhabitant in this Island wase in somethinge or other a helper and furtherer of ye sayde woorke." The fate of the good work was very grievous to our chronicler, and calls forth some quaint moralizing. At the dissolution, the abbey was bought by one Richard Mills, and he and his son sold its stones and monuments "to anye that woold bwyte itt; for ye fyrst thinge they did after ye purchase of sutch religious howses wase to pull downe ye church and most parte of ye dwellinge howses. But God giveth not alwayes a blessinge to theyre labours. For George Milles dyed without issue, and left it to his brother's sonn, whoe sowld itt for a triffle to Mr. Flemminge, who was afterwarde Lord Chiefe Justice of ye Kinge's Bench." This change of hands was a fresh thorn in the side of Sir John Oglander, with whom Lord Chief Justices did not weigh much as against proud descent. De Rivers had brought over from the Low Country one "John le fleminge, a good Free Mason, whom he employed abowt ye mason woorke for ye bwyldinge of Quarr. Ever since as poore men ye name hath continued le fleminge, and now one derived from him hath honnor of his awncesor's buildings; but little did Rivors imagine this when he browght him out of Germanie." The Lord Chief Justice's father was only a Newport merchant; "so now," Sir John cries in bitterness, "you may see ye greate Abbey of Quarr, founded by Baldwin Ryvors,

nowe come to ye posteritie of a merchant of Nuport. O tempora, O mores!" And at last it drives him into poetry:

That which ye Abbottes fatte
And sluggische Mounckes did fede
The druncken Flemmings now doth scrape
With gayne thereof to raise theyr seed.

Sir John Oglander was, it will be observed, not backward in criticising his contemporaries. He himself came of a good old Norman family, which has had its residence at Nunwell in the island for seven hundred years, so that he could afford to be sarcastic at the expense of the upstart Flemings, or of one Knight, who "in tyme (he gettinge wealth) may tourne gentleman;" and he was equally candid regarding his equals, whether it was a Worsley, "whose many wayne tryckes argued an unsettled brayne;" another Worsley, "a folisch, cokhedded, druncken beast;" or Sir John Meux, "the veriest clown (of a gentleman) that ever the Isle of Wight bredd." Staunch Royalist and loyal Cavalier as Sir John was, he evidently had a certain amount of Puritan candour and severity. He gives his own character, as well as that of his contemporaries, and gives it with the consciousness of virtue: "God send ye Island never a woorse for his paynestakinge to administer justice upryghtly to every one; and for ye apeasinge and endinge of differences and debates betweene neyghbor and neyghbor. He lived att a greate rate of expense in his howsekepinge, for he alwaies kept 3 servinge men and a footbwoye, besydes retainors; alwaies his coache well horsed (his coache wase ye second that ever wase in ye Island); he spent usuolly £800 everye year, soe that he coold not lay up mutch. Of all vices he hated drunkenes; it [yet] he woold play ye good fellowe, and woold not mutch refrayne from drinkinge 2 or 3 heathes." He had also plenty of Puritan independence, and had no mind to let the representation of the isle be handed over to the Captain, who had made it a practice to put up nominees of his own for Newport, Yarmouth, and Newtown. Yarmouth rebelled, and in place of their Captain's, Lord Conway's, son, elected Sir John Oglander. Sir John, as one of the absentee Conway's lieutenants for governing the isle, has a good deal to say about his superior, who was distinguished as a Secretary of

State unable to read Latin or to write English, "that anye could reade." He was, we are told, "to flatteringe and complimentol; and that whych made him soe ill-beloved wase that he woold tendor his service to all, and denie noe man a courtisie or favor in woordes; but in deedes he never woould nor could p'rforme itt," being "a mere verbal man." However, "he was good enough, if wee had bene soe happie as to have knowen how to have made use of him," and elsewhere he is compared to King Log in "*Issope's Fables*." The best that is recorded of him and the greatest imputations from which he is defended, are characteristic. He procured that "noe gentleman of ye Island should be made shryfe." Sir John was sheriff in 1637, and knew what it was to have to collect ship-money. And he was accused of being the means by which the Scotch Regiment were billeted on the Island, and "since ye Danes being here, theyre never wase a greater miserye hapened unto us than ye bilitinge of those Lorde danes." Sir John was not fond of the gallant Scots: "a prowde begerlye nation, and I hope wee shall never be trobled with ye lyke; espetiollie ye red shankes, or ye Heylanders, being as barbarous in nayture as theyr cloathes." "On ye 3rd of September," he records, "wee weare freed from owre Egiptian thraldome, or lyke Spayne from theyre Moores. . . . Nevor entertayn moor sowldiers into youre Island." But he acquits Lord Conway of the charge, being of opinion that "ye Scotch Regyment wase putt into this Island because they shoold not runn awaye." Sir John could not foresee how the braw Hielanders would fight for Prince Charlie, or his loyal pen might have dealt more tenderly with them.

It dealt more tenderly with King Jamie's favourite, Buckingham, whose assassination is recorded in these interesting memoirs, and with King Jamie himself. "King James," he writes, "absolutely wase ye beste scholler and wisest prince for generol knowledge that ever England had; he was betweene parties wonderous juste, and had a verie tendor conscience; witnes ye difficultie to drawe him to pardon murder or anye notorious cryme; he wase exceedinglie mercifull, espetiollie in offenses agaynst himselfe. But withal he wase woonderous pasionate; a great swearor.

. . . If he had had but ye poore spirit and resolution butt to have acted that which he spoke, or doon as well as he knewe how to do well, Salomon had been short of him." Of Buckingham he speaks cautiously, but with telling shrewdness: "He wase one of ye handsomest menn in ye whole wordle, and wanted not vallor or resolution; of a kinde, liberoll, and free nature and dispocition where he affected, and to those that aplyed themselves to him, aplawded his actions, and wase wholie his creatures; but, above all, he wase wonderfullie lovinge to all his kindred, advancing them all to place and dignitie. . . . Of his contrarie virtues I will say nothinge. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*" He gives a graphic account of his death, and ends with a characteristic reflection, telling how when the duke came to the Court at Southwark, "ye Kinge looked owt of ye windowe towards ye downe a whole hower expectinge his cominge before he came; and when they found him cominge, they all left ye Kinge, Lordes and all, and downe into ye base coorte to mete him, as if he bene ye greatest Prince in ye worlde; and within sennyht after this man laye on ye flower in Masons parlor, gored in his owne bloude, and respected of none. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

There have been many transitions of glory in the island since Sir John Oglander's days. Newport is now known to many tourists mainly as the nearest station to Carisbrooke; the glory of Carisbrooke as a prison of Royalty is eclipsed by that of Osborne, the home of Royalty; Newtown is remembered only as the smallest borough next to Old Sarum scheduled in the first Reform Bill; Ryde and Cowes, and Ventnor and Shanklin, have become "hapie and fortunate" in ways all undreamed of by the island patriot of the sixteenth century. But Sir John saw the last of its eras of trouble and alarm. The little island, undisturbed by Danes or Scotch regiments, lies peaceful and lovely amid the emerald water; and when our readers next seek its soft breezes, they will find the effigy and epitaph of Sir John in Brading Church, and beneath them a repetition of the words, placed there, it would seem, by his own direction, "*Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

LIN DA GARDINER.

Some Points of Roman Archæology.

By HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.



QUESTION interesting to the antiquities of Roman topography has lately been stirred, on which recent excavations in the modern city of

Rome have thrown some light—Which is the true site of the Temple of Venus and Roma? The late Mr. Parker, to whose indefatigable researches we are so greatly indebted, thought that he had established against previous tradition, to which Baron Visconti and Signor Lanciani hold fast, that the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, of which he gives (*Forum and Sacra Via*, Plates xxx and xxxi) the section and ground-plan, is its true representative. The broad general fact adverse to this view is, that the site obtained is too small for such a temple as that of Venus and Roma clearly was; its amplitude and magnificence being matters of notoriety, and giving it an unrivalled primary position among the temples of the imperial period. It was, moreover, too far from the Colosseum for any such use as that suggested by Apollodorus, when criticizing its plans to the Emperor Hadrian, to have been feasible. This was the storage in its ground floor of the stage-properties, etc., needed for the theatrical displays in that great amphitheatre. The Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian includes the remains of the round temple erected by Maxentius (306-312, A.D.) to the deified memory of his son Romulus. Mr. Parker (*Sacra Via*, ii, p. 78) says: "This chamber [the central one of the church in question] is built between the round Temple of Romulus the son of Maxentius, *perhaps originally the Temple of Venus*, and the square Templum Urbis."* There are two considera-

* Mr. Parker's theory may possibly be in part explained by Mr. J. H. Middleton, *Ancient Rome* in 1885, who says, pp. 265-6: "Felix IV., who was Pope from 526 to 530, converted the *Templum Urbis* and the adjoining *Templum Divi Romuli* into a church dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian, as is recorded by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Vita S. Felici IV.*: '*Hic (Felix) fecit Basilicam SS. Cosmæ et Damiani . . . in Via Sacra juxta Templum Urbis Romæ.*'" Here the phrase "*Urbis Romæ*" at the end may have led Mr. Parker to confuse the *Templum Sacre Urbis* with the *Templum Romæ*, and this confusion is favoured by the phrase *Urbis Venerisque* (for *Romæ Venerisque*)

tions which make this impossible. Firstly, the words italicized by us would imply that the dedication to Venus was effaced and superseded by that of the Prince Romulus; whereas we know from Prudentius, writing about 400 A.D.,* that the worship of Roma and Venus on the same spot was then still going on; secondly, the notion of a gap or interval of space, into which a new architectural member could be intruded, is wholly against the inferences deducible from the contemporary records of the Temple of Venus and Roma, whether in its earlier projection by Hadrian, or its later restoration by Maxentius. It was in that earlier projection clearly a single shrine, with the two deities Venus and Roma accommodated in the same cella. It was, to judge from the words of Prudentius, "*Urbis Venerisque pari se culmine tollunt Tempa*," as cited in the last note, in his time *two* temples with similar elevation of roof, and matching the remains of the two buildings resembling basilicæ with their apses back to back, a twin construction evidently suggestive of the expression *geminis . . . deabus* in the same extract. It had indeed undergone restoration previously under Antoninus Pius, and thus there were two occasions at either of which the somewhat ridiculous conception of twin shrines and sister deities *dos-à-dos*, like two ladies who have quarrelled, might have been realized, as from the existing remains we know it was. Thus another remark of Mr. Parker's, which is quite correct, is harmonized: "Those buildings commonly but erroneously called the Temple of Venus and Roma are of the time of Constantine . . . and the brick-stamps of Maxentius were found by Nibby in the walls" (p. 88). It is just to Mr. Parker to say that Pavinius in the sixteenth century, and perhaps others, had held the same view before him, misled probably by the dedication to Romulus, and confusing the son of Maxentius of that name with the

in the passage of Propertius cited in the next note. As regards Mr. Middleton's own interpretation of the authority cited by him, one may observe that *juxta* rather suggests that the site was not identical, but adjacent.

* *Ac Sacram resonare Viam mugitibus ante Delubrum Romæ: colitur nam sanguine et ipsa More Deæ, nomenque loci ceu numen habetur; Atque Urbis Venerisque pari se culmine tollunt Tempa, simul geminis adolentur thura deabus.*
Prudent.: *Contra Symmachum*, i. 218 foll.

Romulus of early legend. Du Peyrac calls it the "Temple of Romulus *and Remus*," from which the transition to the Temple of Rome is obvious and easy ; which done, the companionship of Venus followed as a traditional make-weight ; not to mention that the ancient Temple of the Penates is by some referred to this site, although Mr. Nichol puts it back behind the Basilica of Constantine (*Roman Forum*, p. 303-304).

It is painful to dwell upon the defects of an indefatigable pioneer of research whose labours are now closed, and to whom the modern world is so largely indebted for its knowledge of the mediæval and the ancient, as it was to Mr. Parker. But the truth ought to be told, that his mistakes are those of a man who will be learned without being a scholar. No man better knew the language of ancient masonry, or could better judge of what had once been above the surface by what still lay below it. The material used, the number of bricks to a foot, the joints of the stones, the thickness of their envelope of mortar, all had their lessons for his experienced eye ; but he himself lays down the rule, which reveals his own weakness when applied : "The only safe way is to compare the exact words of classical authors without note or comment with existing remains, of which the dates, by comparing other buildings, are soon apparent to experienced eyes." But in order so to apply such authors, we must first be sure of what they mean ; and not once or twice, but repeatedly, we find errors* which shake our confidence in the conclusions deduced by the interpreter. The enormous amount of work which he did at home as well as abroad may easily extenuate the hurry apparent in getting his books through the press and the many oversights which consequently occur in them. His persistent zeal in photography illustrates the anxiety to be faithful which pervaded his literary character. His repertory at Charing Cross contains some thousands of these, showering light on all the sides of an object, and forming an archæological exhibition of unique interest.

* We had extracted a rather long list of errors in justification of the abovementioned, but unwillingness to expose at length the failings of a man whose memory the world of literature, and especially of archæology, has so much reason to respect, induces us to suppress them.

The position of the famous Porticus Livie is an open question still. It was part of Mr. Parker's theory of the Via Sacra that this building occupied its summit, and included in its area the modern Church of S. Francesca di Roma with the basilicæ back to back, which he thought were market-halls, but which are generally identified with the Temple of Roma and Venus mentioned above. Where the tall campanile of S. Francesca now rises, Mr. Parker would fix the site to which the Colossus of Nero was conveyed by Hadrian, designed as an image of the Sun, and thus converting the entire Porticus Livie into an open temple of that deity. The evidence is singularly perplexing and conflicting. The large granite columns lying about the platform of S. Francesca, and the bases of four of them corresponding with those shown on an extant fragment of the marble plan of Rome, known to be of the time of Severus, 307 A.D., and bearing the title "Porticus Livie," together with a flight of steps leading up to the platform, and some other details, are claimed by Mr. Parker as proofs of identification. And he urges that "the only place in Rome which could fit such a platform" is the one in question. He accordingly has drawn a "plan of the Summa Sacra Via," introducing this fragment of the Porticus with completed outline, and with a small square lying concentrically within a larger one, exactly where in different coloured ink, to show extant remains, the convex apses of the two back-to-back basilicæ touch one another. This, of course, implies that, when those basilicæ were built, if not sooner, the statue and its base must have been displaced. But the statue, temple, and worship of the Sun-god were famous, and frequented on the slope opposite the Colosseum down to the time of Constantine, when Pope Sylvester broke the image up some years later than the erection or restoration of the Temple of Venus and Roma by Maxentius. This Sun-image, set up on some spot near the Via Sacra by Hadrian (who added, it is said, a Temple of the Moon, unless the same shrine received both), was the object of special attention from Heliogabalus, who restored or enlarged the temple in question. Mr. Parker considers this erection and restoration of Sun and Moon, and their respective temples, or

joint temple, to have been all satisfied by a single enormous statue of the Sun standing in the middle of a purely open area, which was surrounded by a double colonnade, and was in dimensions nearly equal to the area of the entire Colosseum. It is not clear from the words of Spartianus, whom Mr. Parker cites, that the Moon-goddess was in fact added, but he takes it so to mean.* The Roman tradition, as represented in the *Mirabilia Urbis*, is to a very different effect. There we read: "[Before] the Colosseum was the Temple of the Sun, of a wonderful size and beauty, surrounded by various small vaults, all covered with a gilt bronze tiling, whereby they would make an imitation of thunder and flashes of lightning, and send rain by means of small pipes [supplied by the aqueduct]."—*Sacra Via*, p. 98.

It seems quite incredible that this scenic apparatus, with vaults of gilt bronze, stage-thunder, etc., should have been developed out of a huge Colossus in an open area with a double colonnade running round it. Yet this is what Mr. Parker's view seems to imply. But it may be safely dismissed on the following grounds: The only known Temple of the Sun and Moon stood in the eleventh of the Augustan *Regiones Urbis*, the Porticus Liviae stood in the third, and the Colossus in the fourth.† The planting the Colossus in the very centre of the space enclosed by the Porticus is thus impossible. But it does not seem impossible that the Colossus may have been set in some part of the ample area which Mr. Parker, whether rightly or wrongly, would identify with the Porticus, and that room may have been found for a Temple of the Sun, leaving yet a sufficient margin for the two basilicæ within the same. The ancient testimonies to its imposing appearance from the side of the Colosseum would be best satisfied by a position on such an eminence. And Mr. Parker further notices that "on carefully examining the ground on which the monastery [of S. Francesca di Roma] stands, Signor Cicconetti, the architect and surveyor employed,

* The words are "Aliud tale [simulacrum] Apollo-doro architecto auctore facere Lunæ molitus est" (Spartianus in Hadriano, c. xix., cited *Sacra Via*, p. 94, note v.). The last phrase rather suggests that for some reason the design was not executed.

† Parker, *Sacra Via*, p. 93-94; Nichol, p. 295, n. 817; and p. 330, *Regio Quarta*.

found what appeared to him to be the remains of a *podium* or large basement, on which the Colossus stood. It was large in proportion to the enormous statue. The head of the Colossus . . . would then stand up clear against the sky above the great colonnade" (*S. V.*, p. 90). He does *not* state that the position of the *podium* as found matches the square marked in the ichnographic fragment of the Porticus Liviae. We may probably assume that it does *not*, or Mr. Parker would not have failed to make that point in his own favour. On one point, however, Mr. Parker seems absolutely conclusive. The small (comparatively) plinth or statuary base now found close to the Colosseum could never have been that of the Colossus of Nero, and was almost certainly that of the smaller "Gordian" Colossus. Mr. Parker points out that the feet of an image of the height ascribed to the former * would be far too large for so small an area.

Another interesting point which Mr. Parker seems to have fairly established is the fact that the "Capitoline" marble-plan of Rome above referred to was not laid flat on a floor, but hung vertically against a wall—that, namely, of the back of the Temple of Venus and Roma itself, than which no mythologically consecrated building was surely better entitled to it. He notices that marble facings of walls were not uncommonly attached by metal pins or hooks, and that the particular facing which carried the ichnography of Rome may, therefore, have been probably so supported; further, that the plan alters its scale, being larger in the delineations of the part which, being vertically higher, would be more remote from the eye. And it is further obvious that this (assuming its size large) would be the only effectual way of representing it at a *coup d'œil*, whereas, further, the opposite mode of placing it as a pavement would probably require those who viewed it to stand and walk upon its surface, with the certainty of gradually effacing its lines and letters. This view of Mr. Parker's goes, however, against his previous theory of the site of the Temple of Venus and Roma aforesaid, in exact proportion to the probability that the

* Given by Dion Cassius as 120 feet, by Pliny as 110, and in the Regionary Catalogue as 102; the last is probably correct.

plan would be hung on a wall of that temple.

We will conclude this notice by pointing out some light from a remote and unexpected source which has lately been thrown on the Romulean legend, regarded as a traditional index of the origin of the city on the Tiber. Legends of origin often have their value in showing currents that mingled with and dominated the main stream rather than its actual source. Thus, the legend of Brute the Trojan in British history shows merely the incorporation of the people of these islands with the system of Western European States under the hegemony of Italy, whether under the older or the mediæval and "Holy" Roman Empire. But for the legend of Æneas in Italy that of Brute in Britain would never have existed. It is useless to pick a legend back to its ultimate threads in the hope of finding amidst them a golden thread of truth which we may seize upon and reject the rest. But we may learn something of the source of the growth of this or that fibre, and this may reveal to us affinities included in the original. The legend of Romulus, for instance, consists of three main elements: (1) The floating of the children on the river owing to some family jealousy requiring the concealment of their birth; (2) the she-wolf suckling them; (3) their discovery and adoption by the shepherd. Now of these, 1 and 3 are found in a fragment of ancient Assyrian mythology lately discovered—that of the birth, infancy, and upgrowth of Sargina or Sargon.* That prince was born, says the story, in his father's absence from home, under circumstances which reflected upon his mother. She concealed the birth and exposed the child on the river in a cradle-ark woven of reeds. A herdsman found and reared him, and when grown up his high birth was accidentally discovered. There is a story in Greek mythology,† in which mother and child, Semele and Dionysus, are exposed together in some such structure, and float upon the sea, the child alone surviving. The exposure and rearing by a hind, and the discovery of royal birth afterwards, are again

features common to the legends of Cyrus and Œdipus. But the myths of Semele and Œdipus are Theban, and therefore have, through Phœnicia, Asiatic affinities. In the Romulean legend, the large area of coincidence in detail is a striking characteristic when we consider the remoteness of the localities—that of the banks of the Tiber, and that of the Tigris or Euphrates. There remains in the Romulean legend the feature of the she-wolf suckling, and the added circumstance that there are *twin* children exposed. These are probably purely Italian features of the legend. The names Fau-nus and Fau-stulus evidently contain the same root, and the royal shepherd of the legend is probably a modification of the same idea as the shepherd-god. The worship of this latter is connected in legend with the Fabian clan, the day on which they perished on the Cremera (13th of February) being that of the yearly sacrifice to Faunus in the island of the Tiber. Thus the Gens Fab-ia may probably contain the same root. The well-known "Lupercal" cavern, grove, etc., on the Palatine contains in its title an accessory notion, that of keeping off the wolf from the flock (*lup-erc-*). Thus the plain and mountain aspect of the same deity (mere neighbouring local modifications of the same cult) are probably embodied in the Faunus-Lupercus ritual, and the extent to which their ideas overlap is measured by the resemblance of both in their developments to that of the Arcadian Pan. Thus a race of shepherds, mixed of lowlanders and highlanders, settling on or near the river Tiber, is suggested by these facts of cult, and possibly Roma may be merely the river-settlement (Rumon), if we compare the modification Rum-inalis, chiefly known in connection with the fig-tree of legendary fame. The story of the wolf suckling human twins, may represent a real event of pastoral experience, or may be merely a symbolic trace of the widespread sympathy between beast and man which has given rise to so many startling tales of Lycanthropia. Whether the ancient statue known as the Capitoline wolf, with the human twins under her (those now seen are a modern restoration), representing some such incident, real or believed, may not have been the origin of the story as localized in Rome, is a question on which no further

* Publications of the Society of Biblical Archæology: *Fragment of Assyrian Mythology*, by H. T. Talbot, D.C.L., etc., April 2, 1872.

† *Pausanias*, iii. 24, § 3.

evidence is likely to arise. The oldest work, and perhaps for a long time the only work, of native Italian art which the Romans possessed was, amidst so unartistic a people, pretty sure to be clothed in a legend and to interweave itself with the origin of the city. Duality of actual origin, perhaps, between the highlanders and lowlanders suggested above is implied in the twin brothers, their distinct followers and their jealousy, as well as by the Rape of the Sabines, by the Romulus-Tatius reign, and by the Sabine origin ascribed to Numa. And, perhaps, to the fact of such coalition, as furnishing the elements of a stronger race, the germ of Roman advantage in the struggle for predominance among the Latin-speaking races may be ascribed.



Master Dallam's Mission.

By J. THEODORE BENT, F.S.A.

(Concluded.)

T took them ten days in all from Gallipoli to Constantinople, which town was reached on the 15th of August, and on the very next day the *Hector* appeared, and, casting anchor off the Seven Towers, "she began to be new painted." On the 17th "we went aboard for the present, and carried it to our Ambassador's house in the city of Galata, and because there was no room high enough to set it up in his house, he caused a room to be made with all speed without the house in the court to set it up in, that it might there be made fit before it should be carried to the Seraglio."

Dallam began to examine into the condition of the organ a few days later, and on opening all the chests found that the "glueing work was clean decayed, by reason that it had layen above six months in the hold of our ship," and that several of the metal pipes were "bruised and broken." "Those who saw it thought that it was not worth while, and Mr. Aldridge said he would give me 25 shillings out of his own purse if I could set it right."

Dallam, in no way discouraged, set about his work, and on the 30th of August the entry in his diary is: "My work was finished and made perfect at the Ambassador's house."

After being thoroughly cleaned off the Seven Towers, the good ship *Hector* came round Seraglio Point into the Golden Horn, and as she did so she saluted the Sultan, decked out with silk pennants and flags. This time the master-gunner arranged for a magnificent salute, and as many men with their "muskets as could stand conveniently to discharge them did so."

On the 2nd of September the Sultan, wishing to take a better view of the ship, came in his golden caïque, and was rowed all round, and an hour after his mother, the Sultana, did the same.

Thus run several hasty entries:

"Sept. 3rd.—Our Ambassador delivered the present to the Vizier Pasha at his house."

"Sept. 4.—The Sultan's secretary came to see the instrument."

"Sept. 7.—Many others came for the same purpose."

"Sept. 11.—The instrument was carried to the Seraglio during the Grand Signor's absence."

On this occasion Dallam went with it, and marvelled as he passed through the walls which encircled the palace at the soldiers and the beauty of the gardens, "and I am persuaded that there are none so well kept in the world." "Coming to the house where I was appointed to set up the present, it seemed to be rather a church than a dwelling-house; to say the truth, it was no dwelling-house, but a house of pleasure, and likewise a house of slaughter, for in that house was built one little house, very curious both within and without, for carvings, gildings, good colours, and varnish, I have not seen the like. In this little house the Emperor that reigned when I was there had another brother put to death in it, and it was built for no other use but for the strangling of every Emperor's brethren."

Owing to his long residence in the Seraglio, Dallam must have had better opportunities of observing its interior than any other Christian either of his own or subsequent times, so that his accounts of it are of extreme value. "The great house itself hath in it two ranks of

marble pillars; the pedestals of them are made of brass and double gilt; the walls on three sides of the house are walled but half way to the eaves, the other half is open; but if any storm or great wind should happen, they can suddenly let fall such hangings made of cotton-wool for that purpose, as will keep out all kind of water, and suddenly they can open them again. The 4th side of the house, which is closed, joins unto another house; the wall is made of porphyry, or such kind of stone as when a man walks by it he may see himself therein. Upon the ground, not only in this house but in all others that I saw in the Seraglio, we trod upon rich silk carpets, one of them as much as four or five men could carry."

On the 15th September Dallam had finished his task of setting up the organ in the room in the Seraglio, and returned that day to Galata and dined at the Ambassador's house, as he did for almost every day for the space of a week. One day the Sultan's secretary sent for him to play on the organ, which gave such satisfaction that they all fell upon him and kissed him.

On the 24th the Ambassador sent for him, and told him to go to the Seraglio and make the instrument as perfect as possible, for the Grand Signor would return home next day; and having done so, Dallam tells us with great satisfaction that the organ, when complete, "was something better than it was when her Majesty saw it in the banqueting-house at White Hall."

On the 25th the English Ambassador made great preparations for going to visit the Sultan in the Seraglio. "He did ride," Dallam tells us, "like unto a king, only that he wanted a crown; there rode with him 12 gentlemen and merchants all in cloth of gold, and there went on foot 28 more, in blue gowns, after the Turkey fashion, with caps after the Italian fashion. My livery was a fair cloak of a strange green silk." Dallam gave one more last look at his organ to see that it was all in order, and then it was announced that the Grand Signor's golden caïque was seen approaching the Seraglio, and "where I stood I saw when he set foot on shore."

At the appointed moment the Grand Signor sat him in his chair of state and commanded

silence as the hour approached at which the clock, which was in connection with the organ, was to strike. "And then," says Dallam, "the present began to salute the Grand Signor, for when I left it I did allow for a quarter of an hour for his coming thither. First the clock struck 22, then the chime of bells went off and played a song of four parts; that being done, two personages stood upon two corners of the second story, holding two silver trumpets in their hands; these they did lift to their heads and blew a fantasia. Then the music went off, and the organ played a song of five parts twice over; on the top of the organ being 16 feet high did stand a holly-bush full of blackbirds and thrushes, which at the end of the music did sing and shake their wings; divers other notions there were, which the Grand Signor wondered at."

Such was Queen Elizabeth's present to the Sultan, and such was the handiwork of Master Thomas Dallam, and the Grand Signor, when he had got over his astonishment, called his secretary and bid him ascertain if this great wonder would ever happen again, and being told that it would perform four times in every twenty-four hours, he grew impatient, and Dallam had to be sent for to set it off again, and "then it struck 23, and did the like as it had done before, and the Grand Signor said it was good." His Majesty then examined closely the keys where the organist was to play upon it, and turning again to his secretary he asked if there was anyone who could perform, and being told that Dallam could play it, he ordered him to be fetched into his august presence forthwith. With considerable trepidation Dallam issued from behind the door, where he had retired on the Sultan's arrival, and thus he describes the scene: "That which I did see was very wonderful to me. I came in directly upon the Grand Signor's right hand, some 16 of my paces from him, but he would not turn his head to look upon me; he sat in great state, but the figure of him was nothing in comparison of the train that stood behind him, the sight whereof did make me almost to think that I was in another world. The Grand Signor sat still, beholding the present which was before him, and I stood dazzling my eyes with looking upon his people which stood behind him, the which was 400 persons in number. Two

hundred of them were his principal attendants, the youngest of whom was 16 years of age, some 20, some 30 ; these were apparelled in rich silk cloths of gold, made in gowns to the middle ; upon their heads were caps of cloth of gold and some cloth of tissue. Great pieces of silk were about their waists instead of girdles, and upon their legs red cordovan buskins. Their heads were all shaven, saving that behind their ears did hang a lock of hair, like a squirrel's tail. Their beards were shaven, all saving their upper lips ; these 200 men were all very proper men, and Christian born."

"The 3rd hundred were dumb men, that could neither hear nor speak, and they were likewise in gowns of rich cloth of gold, and cordovan buskins, but their caps were of violet velvet, the crown of them made like a leather bottle, the brims divided into five peaked corners.

"The 4th hundred were all dwarfs, big-bodied men, but very low of stature. Every dwarf did wear a scimitar by his side, and they were also apparelled in gowns of cloth of gold. I did most of all wonder at those dumb men, for they let me understand by their perfect signs all things ; that they had seen the present was done by its motions."

After Dallam had stood for a few minutes in great amazement, he saw the Grand Signor summon his secretary, who stood near, and he came to him and took Dallam's cloak from him, put it down on the carpet, and bid him go and play on the organ ; "but I refused to do so, because the Grand Signor sat so near the place where I should play, that I could not come at it, but I must needs turn my back on him, and touch his knee, which no one under pain of death must do, save the secretary." The secretary smiled upon him, kindly bid him take courage, and the Grand Signor seeing Dallam's embarrassment, "with a merry countenance bid me go with a good courage ; so I came very near the Grand Signor, bowed my head as low as my knee, not moving my cap, and turned my back right toward him, and touched his knee with my breeches. He sat on a very rich chair of state ; upon his thumb was a ring with diamonds in it half an inch square ; a fair scimitar was at his side, a bow, and a quiver of arrows."

As the Sultan sat so immediately behind Dallam as he was playing the organ, he had to get up in order that he might see what he was doing ; so his secretary removed his chair to one side that he might see the playing ; "but in rising he gave me a thrust forward, which he could not otherwise help doing, he sat so near me, but I thought he had been drawing his sword to cut off my head."

Dallam then proceeded to play such things as he thought would please the Sultan until the clock was ready to strike again, "then I bowed my head as low as I could and went from him with my back towards him." This mode of exit does not seem to have pleased the Sultan, for he sent for him back again on some excuse, and this time Dallam had the sense to walk backward to his cloak, and when the others saw him do this they seemed glad and laughed. "Then I saw the Grand Signor put his hands behind him full of gold, which the secretary received and brought unto me, 45 pieces of gold called chickens" (*i.e.* sheckins), "and then was I put out again where I came in, being not a little joyful of my good success."

At the gate of the Seraglio, Dallam met the English Ambassador, not a little displeased at having been kept waiting, as he hoped the Sultan would have passed that way, and he could have delivered himself of his embassy and letters. However, after waiting some time, and after congratulating Dallam on the success of his mission, he was obliged to return to Galata without having obtained the desired interview.

"The last day of September, I was sent for again to the Seraglio to set the thing in good order again after they had spoilt it, and they asked me to stay always with them ; but I replied that I had a wife and children in England who did expect my return, though, indeed, I had neither wife nor children yet : to excuse myself I made them that answer."

They then began to be very importunate, the Grand Signor going so far as to promise Dallam two wives if he would only stay, "either two of his concubines, or else two virgins of the best I would choose myself in city or in country ;" and when he related his experience to the Ambassador that evening at supper, he warned him "not flatly to refuse

to stay, but to be merry with them ; by that means they will not go about to stay you by force, and you may find a time the better to go away when you please."

In order to tempt Master Dallam to tarry in Constantinople, the Sultan sent for him again shortly and had him shown all the jewels and the rooms, and then finally even the interior of the harem through a grating, "where I did see 30 of the Grand Signor's concubines that were playing with a ball in another court. At first sight I thought them to be young men, but noticing the hair down their backs I did know them to be women, and very pretty ones indeed. They were dressed in thin gauze trousers, with a profusion of jewels and soldiers' mandylion, some red satin, some blue, and some of other colours, and I stood so long gazing at this enchanting sight, that he who showed me grew angry, and stamped with his sword to make me give over looking, the which I was very loath to do, for that sight did please me wondrous well."

The good ship *Hector* was now ready to depart, and Dallam with his bed and his chest went on board once more, when an order came from the Grand Signor to the Ambassador, who was on board, with instructions that the ship should not depart, but must stay the Grand Signor's pleasure. The Ambassador, in perplexity as to what this could mean, went and questioned the messenger, who said "that if the workman that set up the present in the Seraglio would not be persuaded to stay behind, the ship must stay until he had removed the present unto another place."

This was highly inconvenient, as the merchant was bound to the owner of the ship under a penalty of £500, and £20 for charges, for every day he delayed to leave on the appointed day. So the Ambassador told Dallam that he must stay and let the ship go, whereat he flew into a great fury, and said that he meant to betray him and hand him over to the Turks ; but, continues Dallam, "my lord very patiently gave me leave to speak my mind, then he lay his hand on my shoulder, and told me that as he was a Christian himself, and hoped thereby to be saved, it was no plot of his, neither did he know of any such matter till the messenger came."

Finally, he promised faithfully to protect him as a British subject in every possible manner, and consoled him with the fact, that as the ship *Hector* was going home again by way of Scanderoon, he might hope to make the journey more speedily another way. Upon this Dallam consented to let the *Hector* sail without him, and repaired to the Seraglio to do the work required of him, and when he appeared, the palace officials received him with effusion and many kisses, believing that he had come to stay with them for ever.

One day, Dallam tells us, as he was taking exercise in the Seraglio gardens, he came upon a kiosk down by the sea "very beautifully set up ;" this was a favourite resort of the Sultan's, whither he came with his concubines to while away his time. At that moment a report was spread that the Sultan was approaching, whereupon all took to their heels and ran away ; but Dallam was so taken by surprise that he made not the speed that was necessary, and soon found four stout Æthiopians with drawn scimitars rushing upon him, but he managed to run quicker than they, and reached the exit in safety ; and he concludes this adventure by remarking, "If they could have caught me, they would have hewed me all in pieces."

When this adventure was related to the Ambassador, he was very wroth with the dragoman, who had permitted him to run such a risk, and "my lord made him believe that he would hang him for leaving me in that danger, but at last he granted him his life."

"21st of October.—My lord would not suffer me to go to work because it was our Sabbath day."

"24th of October.—My work was finished."

"31st of October.—My lord went to the Vizier, where he was to meet the French Ambassador, but the Frenchman seeing us pass with a larger retinue than he could muster, refused to go, the which was little to his credit."

About this time Dallam caught a chill, and a bad fever ensued ; but as a good company was starting for England, though still very weak, he decided to go, "and as I could not go on foot one mile a day, my lord would have me carry my bed ; and when we travelled by land, he arranged that I should have one horse, and another for my bed."

28th of November.—Dallam set sail from Constantinople on a Turkish ship bound to Volo, and on reaching that port they began their journey by land over the confines of Thessaly, accompanied by a dragoman, an Englishman, born at Chorley in Lancashire, of the name of Finch. "He was in religion a perfect Turk, but he was our trusty friend." After many minor adventures, they reached Lepanto, "where we lodged three nights at the house of a Jew, who is called by Englishmen 'the honest Jew,' for he is very loving unto Englishmen." Thence they crossed over to Patras, "where we hoped to have good entertainment with Mr. Jonas Aldridge, an English consul there, but he was gone forty miles from home to hang a Jew." As one of the company was sick, they tarried three days at Patras, and then on Christmas Eve they started across the Morea with victuals for a three days' journey, resting each night in shepherds' cottages, half of the company watching, and half sleeping. Thus they continued their journey until they came opposite to Zante, and "thence we crossed over in a hog's boat—for all food of Zante comes from here—and for our passage we paid seven 'chickens,' or seven pieces of gold, which were worth nine shillings."

At Zante, having no letter of health, they were again put into quarantine, and were this time put into a lazaretto for ten days by the Venetian governor; "but by influence of certain merchants or factors there we were put into a new and clean house, and our only difficulty was that the watermen who had brought us across were put to sleep with us, and we had to find them their victuals; but the health-officers came, and said if the sailors would jump into the sea and wash themselves with their clothes on they might go free, which they were loath to do; but one of the Englishmen drew his sword, and swore an oath that he would cut off their legs if they did not, so we were rid of them."

At Zante they waited for a ship forty-six days, and then their old friend the ship *Hector* appeared, rather to the chagrin of Master Dallam, who had hoped to have gone by Venice; but as he could get a free passage home on the *Hector*, he abandoned the idea, and set sail with his old friends.

For the remainder of the journey we have

only a few entries in his diary, some of which are amusing:

"The first of April we crossed the Gulf of Lyons; our victuals being very bad, I was invited to dinner with our merchants in the great cabin, and being at dinner we heard the cry of a mermaid, like as if one had hailed our ship; but our boatswain forbid any man to make answer or look out."

"The 9th of April we were becalmed off Valencia, a fair town in Spain, as it is said, not much inferior to London."

Off the outer coast of Spain they were attacked by two Spanish men-of-war, which the sailors thought were galleons full of gold from the Indies, and were consequently anxious to attack them; "so we presently went to prayers, and then the gunners made ready their ordnance. Our ship, the *Hector*, lay side by side to the great galleon, and on the other the English ship, called the *Great Susan*, lay close, ever expecting who would give the first shot."

At this exciting juncture there are some pages of the diary missing; but from a few lines at the end we may presume that the English were victorious, for at Dover Dallam and some others got leave to go ashore and hurry home, "upon condition that we would take the Spanish captain with us, and bring him safe unto the merchant."

Dallam was truly thankful again to set foot on English soil, and at Dover they were very merry, especially as that town was very gay, for "after dinner there came into the town a French ambassador, being accompanied with divers knights and gentlemen of Kent;" and then posting by Canterbury and Rochester, Master Dallam reached London, and his mission was concluded.

Of his future history we know nothing, saving that he was presumably the father of a certain distinguished organist, John Dallam, who was born in 1602, and buried in the cloisters of New College, Oxford, where he built the organ; but his principal work was the great organ in York Minster, which was burnt in the fire which destroyed the choir of that cathedral not so many years ago.



Swanscombe.

"The whole shire of Kent oweth it everlasting name."

LAMBARDE.



AKING our way from Greenhithe, we pass up *Swains* Avenue, and through the *Landway*—each suggestive names, finding our path through fields and hop-gardens for more than a mile until we reach the quiet and pleasant little village of Swanscombe. In some records the name is written "*Swegenscomp*," "*Swaneskampe*," "*Swenescamp*," and in *Domesday Book*, "*Suinescampe*." The name is by many supposed to be derived from the camp of Sweyn, King of Denmark;* on its wooded slopes the restless Dane would fain have stayed; a strange feeling of desire enticed him to settle here; he could not pass by in his painted war-ships without disembarking and unfolding his tents; but his stay was always short as his action was decisive, and at last he left for ever, its godfather indeed, for from him, their great leader, they say, it took its name. And if in his wantonness he had burnt the rude Saxon church of wood he had found here, he doubtless atoned for the sacrilege, and built another of stone according to the fashion of his day. Of that church, little, if anything, remains, the oldest existing work being probably Norman, though in coarseness of construction some parts closely resemble Saxon work, and it is very difficult to determine with certainty where Saxon left off and Norman began. The silent, gradual fusion of the Saxon with the Norman, in architecture as in race, was a transition period we cannot mark with certainty, simply because it was so silent and gradual. After generations of neglect, or, at the best, of being the victim of those "heaven-born architects," the village carpenter or churchwarden, the church, thanks to the princely liberality of the

late Professor Sir Erasmus Wilson, who, in 1873, provided the greater portion of the funds necessary for what, owing to the careful attention of the architect, Mr. Jabez Bignell, of the office of the late Sir Gilbert Scott, has proved to be that which is far too rarely the case—a real restoration, now, unfortunately marred by fifteen years of miserable neglect; still it stands in itself a gem, a monument alike of the loving, painstaking, reverential piety of the mediæval period and the noble generosity of these latter days. In its walls we see Tufa, which the legions had brought with them from over the seas; the peculiar Roman brick and ashlar stones, which may have had a place in a prætorial villa, or formed part of the Pagan Temple of Apollo.

The original Norman church was not so long as the present structure; the lower part of the massive square tower, and the north and south chancel walls, are all that remain. The upper part of the former, from which "ascends the tapering spire," is thirteenth-century work; no Roman materials appear in this part. In the south wall of the tower is a most interesting window, closely resembling Roman work, from which, in fact, it must have been copied; it is composed of large flat bricks, laid very roughly, and, from being played externally as well as internally, has long been held to be Saxon. The nave is Early English, although of Transition period. In the north wall of the chancel we see where the door was which led from the vestry to the choir. The north door of the nave is Early English, round which the usual drip-stone or hood-moulding follows the arch, terminating without a corbel, but with a short horizontal return. The aisles are later than the nave. The font is of chalk, resting on four Purbeck marble pillars; it appears to have been carved with the emblems of the four Evangelists. The hind quarter of the lion of St. Mark, with a curious arrangement of the tail, alone remains; it was mutilated as we now see it to make it fit a wooden case which enclosed it previous to the restoration. The Early English screen (*circa* 1250) remains in nearly a perfect condition; removed from its original position, it now divides the tower from the nave. The wooden lectern, which is well preserved, deserves attention, being fifteenth-century work, and one of the

* Unfortunately, this pleasing local tradition must be disregarded, because the earliest mention of this place as "*Suuanes Camp*" is in a charter of about A.D. 695 (*v. Codex Diplomaticus*, 38). *Camp*, or *comb*, appears to have been here applied by the Saxons, in contradistinction to the Celtic word *cwm*, to high pasture-land and the crests of hills, whether crowned or not by military works. The Celtic *cwm* in this parish asserts itself in the Manor of Coombes alias Alkerden, which occupies a valley.—J. A. S.B.

very few now remaining in our parish churches. It is double, having a desk for a book on two sides. This arrangement was necessary to allow the officiating priest to turn towards the people, as in the absolution, and from the people, in the confession of faith or sins. The old ugly square boxes or pews erected in 1684 are now swept away; Minton's tiles carefully laid around the old slabs, long since despoiled of their brasses, have replaced the old uneven red-brick floors. The pulpit, about which the less said the better, partook of the three-decker order, and was erected in 1706; the barrel is now mounted upon a stone pediment, and still serves as "drum ecclesiastic." In the south aisle there once stood the shrine of St. Hilderferth, long spoken of as the unknown Saxon bishop who devoted his miraculous powers to the cure of insanity or melancholia; and distracted people were accustomed to resort hither for restitution of their wits "as thick as men were wont to sail to Anticyra for Heleboras." Of his discovery of the identity of this saint it is unnecessary to speak here, the writer having already descanted upon it in the pages of the *Archæologia Cantiana* and his *History of Swanscombe*. In this aisle is a stately monument, with full-length figures of Sir Ralphe Welldon and his wife; while in the north aisle is a new and elegant alabaster altar-tomb over the vault, in which rest the bodies of Sir Erasmus Wilson and his sister, who died nearly fifty years since. The east window of this aisle has been filled in with stained glass, designed by Messrs. Whales, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and inserted by the restoration committee as a memorial of the professor's good work in restoring the tower and nave. The large west window has been filled in as a memorial to his parents by S. A. Moore, Esq., F.S.A., with figures of the patron saints, SS. Peter and Paul, designed by Mr. Drake, who also supplied the glass for the pretty little lancet-window in the west end of the south aisle; the effect of these two windows is very pleasing. The artist, by careful study of the principles of ancient glass painting, and by a careful weighing of the proportions of colour to white, has succeeded in producing rich and bold effects without excluding the light. Another of the windows in the south aisle has been

filled in as a memorial of J. Marsh, Esq., R.N. During the work of restoration numerous coins were found, including a Faustina in capital preservation, many of Edward III., Richard II., and Queen Elizabeth, together with several tokens issued by tradesmen of Greenhithe, Dartford, and Northfleet; but the most valuable find was that of an iron padlock—the "serura pendens" of ancient documents: it has been enriched with gilding and ornamentation of the fifteenth century, but is now quite defaced by oxidation; an engraving of it appeared in the *Archæological Journal* for 1874. It was found among a quantity of human bones near the west end of the south aisle, and may have been the fastening of the strong box to contain the offerings made at the shrine of St. Hilderferth. Piscinæ have been opened on the east side of the north door, and south sides of the east ends of the north and south aisles. The narrow doorway and stone steps leading up to the rood-loft have been opened in the wall of the south aisle, and at a convenient height the aumbry to contain the box holding the gospel-book was found in the wall of the north aisle. On either side of the chancel arch an arched niche has been opened, the masonry being very coarse and early. The walls when stripped of plaster appeared to have been one blaze of colour, but all, unfortunately, too far gone to be restored. The painting on the backs of the niches in the chancel arch was of a period not later than the early portion of the fourteenth century. The Communion plate is of silver, gilt, and very good, some of it being of the time of James I. The large silver almsdish was presented by Thomas Blechydon, Esq., in 1735. The large brass chandelier, formerly in the nave, but now hanging in the chancel, was given by Thomas Pettett, Esq., in 1687. The six fine bells were recast in 1751. The living, which is a very valuable one, is now in the gift of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. The following have been among its rectors:

Edmund de London, presented 1331, died 1332.
 Reginald Thomas, LL.B., died 1494.
 Gilbert Latham, *circa* 1548.
 Ambrose Lancaster, in 1566.

William Saxcey, in 1567.
 Thomas Withers, to 1569.
 Peter Earnley, in 1594.
 Tertullian Pyno, D.C.L., 1599.
 Michael Gardiner, M.A., 1606.
 Richard Betts, M.A., in 1606, died 1619.
 James Iken, M.A., 1620 to 1645.
 Robert Betts, 1645 to 1656.
 John Watts, M.A., to 1671.
 William Hopkins, M.A., from 1671 to 1685.
 John Hope, M.A., from 1686 to 1706.
 Henry Boyse, M.A., from 1706 to 1737.
 John Taylor, B.D., from 1737 to 1757.
 Martin Barnes, B.D., from 1757 to 1759.
 John Lawson, B.D., from 1759 to 1779.
 Edward Oliver, D.D., from 1779 to 1818.
 George Cecil Renouard, B.D., from 1818 to 1867.
 James Yates, B.D., from 1867 to 1868.
 Thomas Henry Candy, B.D., present rector.

Within that portion of the woodland known as Swanscombe Park are the remains of a British camp or fort, strongly situated upon rising ground, commanding the surrounding country, and overlooking the Thames with its ford or ferry into Essex: we can picture the painted and skin-clad warrior regarding with fierce but despairing gaze the irresistible, the certain though slow advance of the glittering Roman soldiery, the short but sharp contest ending in the planting of the Roman eagle upon the watch-mound, and the retreat of the British into Essex. Here was found the bronze figure of the Egyptian Osiris Pethempantes, now in the British Museum. Many Roman coins, and some small bronze ones bearing the figure of an elephant, and probably of Indian origin, have also been turned up. The old Roman road, or Watling Street, runs along the south side of the wood, and is very clearly defined. The meeting of William the Conqueror on his triumphal march, after the battle of Hastings, by the men of Kent here at Swanscombe has been the subject of so much discussion and controversy that it is scarcely necessary to allude to it, although one of the most interesting legends connected with the parish; however apocryphal the story may seem, it is clear that William was opposed while on his

march, and that some capitulation took place in consequence must be allowed to rest on evidence not altogether contemptible. Many ballads were written commemorating the event; one by "Deloney, the ballading silk-weaver," appeared about 1600. Shakespeare's play of *Macbeth*, in which he introduces the moving grove, is supposed to refer to it; but the story of Birnam Wood is related by Buchanan in his *History of Scotland*, ed. 1582; and the like tradition is to be found in the *History of Holstein*, where it is assigned to the fourteenth century. See the *History of England* by Dr. Lappenberg, translated by W. Thorpe, 1857. It has even been commemorated on a coin, for in 1795 a "Kentish halfpenny" was in circulation, bearing on its obverse the mounted figure of the Conqueror, confronted by three men holding boughs, one waving his sword above his head, while another presents a bent bow. Beneath the figures is the date "1067," and around is a legend to the effect, "Kentish liberty preserved by virtue and courage." Though many have tried to cast ridicule upon this time-honoured tale, no portion of the history of the famous old county is more highly regarded by its sons, or will be, so long as it retains its glorious motto "Invicta."

J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY, F.S.A.



Parish Registers in the Uxbridge Deanery.*

By J. H. THOMAS, M.A., Rural Dean and Vicar of Hillingdon.

(Concluded.)



Things went on until the restoration of Charles II., when Thomas Boston was appointed Vicar of Hillingdon, and wrote a line from Horace over the first entries of the Justice of the Peace:

"Spectatum admissi, risum teneatis, Amici?"

The poet had been picturing a hatched-up monstrosity, beginning with a beautiful lady

* A paper read at the Bishop of London's Conference with the Clergy and Laity of the Uxbridge Deanery, Dec. 30, 1887.

and ending with a hideous fish. Whatever may be intended for the beautiful lady, there can be no doubt that "John Baldwin, Justice of the Peace," is the fish. Mr. Boston then takes his own turn at the church books, which he has certainly left more full of matter than any other vicar, before or after. He tells us that he was born at King's Lynn, in Norfolk, of most excellent parents, who lived near the church of St. Nicholas, in the lower part of the town. To him the registers owe much of their interest, although it must be owned that he sometimes used the fair blank sheets of parchment for comments which were hardly within the intention of Church or King, when he was directed to enter name, age, etc., of his parishioners. "Terræ filius," or "filia," is a not uncommon baptismal entry, and we meet with such epithets as "infamous and shameless," which, whether true or not, should certainly not be fixed indelibly in the registers. Once, too, a superabundance of doubt is expressed upon the registry of the child of Thomas Phillips and Mary, his wife—"if yet she be his wife or he her husband." The following is, however, too notorious a case for such publicity to hurt anybody: "George Allen and Anne Ivorie,* married June 10, 1672."

Mr. Boston never fails to record any errors of discipline as well as of morals. This trouble is constant. The time of the rebellion had been signalized by a contempt of all discipline; sacred buildings had been profaned; holy rites neglected or slurred over. Poor Mr. Boston had no easy time of it. He notes, indeed, with delight at the beginning of his incumbency "the return of the King and the Bishops." He registers with some ceremony the children of "one of his Majesty's trumpeters," and the burial of "the purviour" (purveyor) "of wax to the Great Seal of England." He adds to the record of the registrar's appointment by the parish in Cromwell's time: "In perpetuum rei memoriam, cujus, ni fallor, postea pudit; si non, posset saltem" (For the perpetual remembrance of an event of which, unless I

am deceived, the parish became afterwards ashamed; if not, at least it ought); yet it is plain that the delinquents were only half converted. Irregularities occur continually. The following will serve as specimens:

August 3, 1673.—"Not baptized till now, though the child was then almost a year old; kept so long unbaptized, not from any principle of Anabaptism, but only out of Stomach" (*i.e.*, anger, violence of temper) "because they could not have it baptized at home, when the child was a month old, when it might have been brought to Church; and at last baptized by another, I not knowing of it. So that I have good reason to believe it was a plott. But, however, glad it is done."

June 2, 1676.—"Christened at home, as the two others were, upon pretended weakness": again "domi, sed non sine venia, haud, libenter concessa."

February 25, 1671.—"The first that in eleven years was baptized with water in the font, the custom being in this place to baptize out of a bason, after the Presbyterian mode, only set in the font, which I could never get reformed until I had gotten a new Clark, who presently did what I appointed to be done."

In the same year the list of burials has the following: "Margaret Weston, widdow. The first burial after the death of the old Clark, which I have thought good to leave upon recorde; Because I had a long tyme so much adow to make Him (who had lived in a tyme of Disorder, and when this Book was kept, I know not how or by whom) understand to whom the duties for keeping of it now to be paid for every ene that was to be register'd wch. is 4d. due; as likewise for the searching of it 6d., which though I gave him all his tyme, as happily I may do his successor, if and as long as he shall deserve it, yet it's only of Guift, and not to be challenged of right. And which I have done, for my tyme, not to be drawn into example, to ye prejudice of my lawfull successor no more than some other things: my compound-ing 4 swans for Tithe, which I never received in kinde, some few Piggs, but He may, as he shall be pleased."

Mr. Boston does not leave the clergy unscathed. On March 15, 1674, William Nicolls is entered as "baptized irregularly at

* "Who was most cruelly murdered by her husband after some foregoing attempts to poison her, who no way deserved that usage, being a modest and good wife, for which he was hanged in chains behind Islington, March 5, 1674."

home by the Minister of Cowley, Mr. Pitt, permission being neither asked nor given," and on the 20th as "buried almost as irregularly as it was baptized. And how that was, see the Christenings." In the same year is entered another burial at Uxbridge "*contra ordinem*" (against the rules, *i.e.*, of the parochial system), "whom I did not intend to register at all."

One other extract shall be given which may be useful now; although there are no "plots" nor "stomachs" to prevent our children being baptized at church, yet it sometimes happens that those baptized in illness are not brought on their recovery to be received into the congregation.

"1671. Oct. 14. Nicholas, the sonne of John Sedgwick and Mary his wife, wch was christened at home Sept. 15, ut supra, some few hours after it was born as in some danger of death—was brought to Church, and there presented according to ye order of ye Church, in one of ye Rubrics concerning Private Baptism; and according to ye promise of ye Parents at ye Baptism—wch I have thought good to record as a precedent; the rather, because others are so hard to be persuaded to do as they have promised, when their children in such cases have been baptized at home."

While Mr. Boston was struggling on, with more or less success, against his own difficulties, the parish itself was engaged in a dispute with its neighbour, Ikenham, which is thus mentioned:

"Dec. 30, 1670. Elizabeth, the daughter of John Franklin and Grace his wife, at ye house near Ikenham, belonging to this Parish, though the child, by leave first desired, was christened there,—which house in the tyme of my immediate Predecessor, Mr. Bourne (for all that were betwixt Him and me, the present vicar, Tho. Boston, were but Intruders for ye best part of Twentie years), occasioned a very great suit betwixt the two Towns, when at last, after a Great deal of money spent, it was adjudged to belong to Hillingdon; and so hath been acknowledged ever since, without dispute; and to prevent any for tyme to come, this memoriall is now registered."

"Jan. 18th, 1674. The wife of — Beddington marr. at Ikenham and there, by leave

first obtained, buried; and not by any just right to burie there, as formerly pretended, till it was determined by Law after a costly and tedious suit betwixt the two Townes. Salvo itaque in omnibus jure exit sus Hillingdoniensis" (The law therefore having accurately determined it, the pig, probably the tithe pig, walks off a Hillingdonian).

The change in the use of the word "town" is worth notice. In Old English it seems to have meant simply an enclosed place. The translation of St. Luke xv. 15, in Wycliffe's Bible (A.D. 1380) is, "He sente hym into his towne; to fede swyne." It thus became applied to houses when enclosed by walls, and gradually to places in which the number of such houses was considerable. But in some parts of England the old use lingers on. The stranger in Cornwall is surprised at being told that half a dozen houses are the "church town;" and in other southern counties it is said that "the farm enclosure in which the homestead stands is usually called the Barton (barn-town)."

The following entry is very interesting:

"Anno 1663. July 6. This day the Hearse of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, some time Lord High Treasurer of England, going to Oxford, where he was to be interred, had Buriall here offered by mee, meeting it at the Church gate with the Service book, in Surplice and hood, attended with the Clark, and the great bell solemnly tolling all the while, according to the ancient and laudable custom in like cases."

It was in early Christian times a "corporal work of mercy" to bury the dead. These, however, were friendless, "with no man to bury them," and something more was probably meant by Mr. Boston's ritual. We might suppose that the vicar intended to pay special reverence to the body of the Archbishop (better known as Bishop) Juxon, the loyal and devout prelate who performed the last religious offices for Charles I. on the scaffold. But the words used, "according to the ancient and laudable custom in such cases," exclude this idea. I wrote to Mr. Waters for explanation, and he speaks of it as a puzzle. "My present impression, however, is that it is the record of a claim for burial fees, for at this time there was a marked revival of all kinds of obsolete

claims, arising out of Archbishop Laud's zeal for ritual observance." A friend confirms this view, which is a very unpleasant one.

"An executor of a gentleman whose body was carried for burial to a distant church through several parishes, had to pay the fees for burial and for tolling the bell in each parish. It was the custom, I would suggest, that, to insure the payment, the vicar made all the arrangements named, *i.e.*, tolled the bell and appeared vested; for I fancy that unless the bell is tolled actually, 'custom' could not be urged. The argument would be, We are ready to offer you Christian burial, and therefore you must pay the fees."

In 1677, Mr. Boston's seventeen years' vicariate comes to an end. On October 26 we have an entry of baptism in his own hand. On November 4 the burial register contains the following: "Mr. Thomas Boston, my Predecessor, Vicar of Hillingdon. (Signed) Thos. Morer, Vicar." There was certainly no unnecessary delay in filling up the vacancy. And so we part with Mr. Boston, who in noting the characters of others has not failed to leave some glimpses of his own. On February 10, 1672, he writes: "Old Simon Harwarde, aged 82 or thereabouts. A man of singular integritie; in all changes of times semper idem—no dangling—quod honoris ergo scriptum sit."

Just such a one was Mr. Boston himself: a stern upholder of discipline; fighting vigorously with the irregularities which Puritan times had brought in, and, it must be allowed, venting his vexation at continual failures in no measured terms. Yet, if he was not only precise and punctilious, but somewhat hard and severe, keen and sarcastic, there was also a very tender side to his nature, as, among others, the following entry will show:

"March 2, 1673. William, the son of John Paller and Jane his wife, 'natus, renatus, denatus die eodem summa Dei miseratione tam in puerum quam in parentes, cum monstrosus fuit infans' (born of woman, born of God, born into rest, on the same day, out of the infinite compassion of God, both to the boy and to his parents, since he was deformed).

After Mr. Boston's death there are only two entries of any interest. One, noting that

the Bishop of London confirmed about two hundred persons in the church in 1680; and the other, that on Easter Day, 1683, and on Low Sunday following, three hundred persons received the Communion, attending by order of Henry, Lord Bishop of London, Bishop Compton. This order was usually complied with whether people desired to be communicants or not, at one time to shield them from suspicion of heresy, later on as a qualification for office under the Crown.

Passing on to the eighteenth century, we find in the Hayes register an extraordinary account of the doings of a parish only twelve miles from London, so recently as during the years 1748 to 1754. It is impossible now to imagine the state of riot and disorder there disclosed: it seems to have driven the poor rector nearly wild. These are some of the notices:

Feb. 11, 1749.—"The company of singers, by the consent of the Ordinary, were forbidden to sing any more by the Minister, upon account of their frequent ill-behaviour in the Chancel and their ordering the carpenter to pull down part of the Belfry without leave from the Minister and Churchwardens."

On another day:

March 18.—"The Clerk gave out the 100th Psalm, and the singers immediately opposed him and sung the 15th, and bred a disturbance. The Clerk then ceased."

1752.—"Robert Johnson buried & a sermon preached to a noisy congregation."

The favourite amusement during service was cock-throwing in the churchyard, once, as it is noted, "in spite of the justice, minister, parish officers, and constables." But two years later things are more serious still, for the justice gives up the matter. The Rev. C. Manning writes: "Feb. 27, 1754. Being Shrove Tuesday, Divine Service was performed in the Afternoon, and no care was taken to prevent the throwing at cocks, rioting, and swearing in the Churchyard, at the same time: though I gave previous notice of the same to the Churchwardens and the Magistrate, and desired that it might be prevented for the honour of God and a public good; but his answer was this—'I know no law against throwing at cocks, even in the Churchyard.'"

Once the Acton ringers came over, the

churchwarden ordering the belfry-door to be broken open for them to ring, contrary to the canon and leave of the minister. Another time a fellow comes into church with a pot of beer and a pipe, and remains smoking in his own pew until the end of the sermon. Again, the ringers and other inhabitants disturbed the service from the beginning of prayers to the end of the sermon by ringing the bells, and going into the gallery to spit upon the people below.

And yet all this time the rector seems to have been trying to put down the evil which he notes. In 1750, "This Wednesday we began an Evening Lecture at 9 o'clock for the encouragement of people to come to Church, especially such as are prevented on the Lord's Day, or for want of better cloaths, and we had a great audience."

There are also several entries of the Revs. John and Charles Wesley preaching here, once to a "crowded audience;" another time to "a very serious congregation," from the text, "What is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" and on other days from 2 Cor. viii. 9, Isaiah lv. 6, 7, St. Mark i. 15.

Surely no Kingswood colliers, with the tears running down their cheeks at Wesley's preaching, could have needed it more than these poor fellows at Hayes. The week-day evening service, already mentioned, was one result. But in the following entry we have an example of the miserable division which foreran the schism resulting from the coldness which the Wesleys met with from the Church at large.

March 5, 1749.—"Two Clergyman turned their backs and went out of Church this Afternoon. One, the Rector of Cowley in Prayer time, the other Curate of Harmondsworth, at the naming of the Text, from St. Luke xiii. 3, 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.'" The rector simply records the fact without comment, but it can hardly be doubted that the preacher favoured the vigorous setting out of the doctrine of conversion which Wesley had been preaching in the same pulpit two Sundays before, and that each showed his distaste for the other by leaving the church in any part of the service not conducted by himself.

The influence of the Wesleys with Mr.

Manning explains not only the fury and the opposition of different classes in the parish, but another entry in 1754:

"On March 17, a *Brief* was read for taking down and rebuilding a Methodist Chapel, Haworth, in Yorkshire, the Minister, W. Grimshaw: it being too little—17 yards long, and 10 yards 2 feet wide—to contain the Inhabitants, being 1800, all Protestants."

Now, in other parishes the briefs which, with the excommunications, were ordered to be read after the Nicene Creed, are letters by the King's authority for the relief of distress, as when a parish suffered from fire or flood. At Harefield, between 1718 and 1722, there are ninety-six such collections. But this so-called brief at Hayes is of a different kind. We gather its little history from Southey's *Life of Wesley*, where (page 492) there is a vivid picture of "the Minister, W. Grimshaw." He appears there as a most active associate of Wesley and Whitefield, full of zeal, devotion, and eccentricity. "His admiration of the itinerants was very great; his house was their home, they preached in his kitchen, and he always gave notice in church when this was to be; and that their flock might not be scattered after his death, when a more regular and less zealous minister should succeed him, he built a chapel and dwelling-house at his own expense, and settled it upon the Methodist plan." This is the chapel mentioned in Hayes register, for which the aid of sympathetic friends was sought. Whether Mr. Grimshaw's "less zealous" successor was particularly grateful for this singular method of quickening his fervour, we are not anywhere told, but may, perhaps, imagine.

An intense feeling of thankfulness for our present condition results from the glimpses of the past which our registers give. We are often inclined to be out of heart at our own difficulties—the open sin and neglect of holy things in our parishes, the growth of infidelity and division in the Church, and her anomalous relations with the State. We wish for other days, when everything and everybody must have been so perfectly delightful. But let us ask in sober prose which days we want. Surely not those of Hayes 140 years ago. Just imagine the sorrows of its parish priest, battling against that flood of gross and abominable iniquity; then remember that it

may be that the grandfathers of old men still in our neighbourhood took part in those scenes, and be thankful for the change.

Or, again, we hardly long for the days of Hillingdon a century before, in the time of the Restoration, when Mr. Boston was in a state of such perpetual fret and aggravation at the "stomach" of his parishioners; nor for the enforced conformity of the after-time, when people were driven to the Blessed Sacrament like sheep into a pen, by order of the Bishop. It is, indeed, hard enough to get working men to the altar now, but when there, they are mostly worth much, having undergone some jeers and persecutions on their way.

And yet once more: if we go back to the age of the paper registers of Henry VIII., we do not find ourselves nearer to Utopia. Nobody can think that the England of that time is the dreamland for which his soul yearns. The heads of both clergy and laity are safer on their shoulders now: an occasional outbreak of persecution only serves to show how abhorrent it is to the feeling of the Church at large. There may be more difficulties ahead, but year by year sees us more heartily at one, frankly making allowance for each other. We need not desire to have lived in the time when, with Thomas Cromwell as Chancellor and Henry VIII. as King, Erasmus said that "a scorpion lay sleeping under every stone."

I now desire to thank my brother-clergy most heartily for the help they have given in directing me to the most interesting points in their registers; and by way of coming to some practical result, I would ask you, my Lord Bishop, to counsel us as to the best way of using the means at our disposal, so as to let our successors know what happens in our time. Preachers' books do not ordinarily supplement the formal register very much, and they get mislaid or lost. If any of us inquire when a boundary wall was altered, a school built or enlarged, a church restored or rearranged or a churchyard shut up, it is not easy to get an answer. We might perhaps lessen the difficulty to our successors by having some blank leaves bound up at the end of our registers; on these we could give the ordinary information about our church

and parish, which we ourselves seek in vain, even if it is about things which happened only fifty or sixty years ago.



Haines's "Manual of Monumental Brasses."

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

DURHAM.

Auckland, St. Helen.



CIVILIAN and wife (upper part gone), c. 1480, with six sons and three daus. Inscr. lost, small. Chancel.

Darlington, St. Cuthbert.

Matrix of chalice and inscr. N.

Heighington.

Arms and Lat. inscr. to Anthony Byerley, of Midridge Grange, Esq., colonel under the Marquis of Newcastle, temp. Charles I., 1667, æt. 47. N. wall of chancel.

Staindrop.

A shield, with arms of Neville, qu. Beauchamp and Warren. On font.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Newcastle Cathedral.

Eng. inscr. to Thos. Loraine, of Kirkharle, co. Northumberland, Esq., "lived seven years at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he attained to great learning, even to the Hebrew tongue" . . . "Bp. Cozens had so particular esteem for him that he stood godfather to his only son." 1649, æt. 35.

WESTMORELAND.

Bowness.

I. Lat. inscr. to Thos. Dixon, 1691, his eldest son, Thos. Dixon, D.D., Rector of Wayhill, pos. Mur., S. A. II. A worn plate.

Grasmere.

Lat. inscr. to Barbara, w. of Daniel Fleming, of Rydall, Esq., 1675. Their son, Sir Geo., Bart., was Bp. of Carlisle.

NORFOLK.

Acle.

Add. III. Lat. inscr. to Wm. Gay and w. Emme, 1505. N. IV. Lat. inscr. to John Palmer, 16th cent. N.

Bircham, Great.

The second of two brasses mentioned in the *Antiquary*, vii. 214, has been since lost, when the church was restored.

Dersingham.

Lat. inscr. to Wm. Pell, Esq., 1636, and wives both named Elizabeth; John Pell, nephew, pos. N. A.

An incised slab on A. T., with figures of John Pell, Mayor of Lynn, 1607, and Margt. Overend his wife. S. A.

Heacham.

I. Now W. end of N. Add. II. Lat. inscr. to John Rolfe, gent., 1594, æt. 32, qd. pl. ur. on pillar. N. A.

Hethel.

Eng. inscr. and eight Eng. vv. to Eliz., dau. of Myles Branthwait, Esq., 1621. C.

Ingoldesthorpe.

Agnes, w. of Thos. Bigge, 1608, a benefactress to the parish; with parents, Thos. Rogerson, parson, and w. Agnes; three effs. mur. Tower.

Lynn, St. Margaret.

Add. V. Lat. inscr. to Thos. Parlet, gent., son of Francis P., Esq., recorder of Lynn, 1632. Loose.

Lynn, St. Nicholas.

No. II. apparently lost.

Mulbarton.

Eng. inscr. and sixteen Eng. vv. to Mrs. Sarah Scargill, w. of Mr. Daniel Scargill, rector; dau. of Mr. Thos. le Neve, herald to Charles I., 1680, æt. 29; two plates with hinge. C.

Norwich, SS. Simon and Jude.

Add. III. Eng. inscr. to Margt., w. of Matth. Peckover (sheriff in 1615), 1616. IV. A plate of arms. N.

Norwich, St. Andrew.

Inscr. to John Clark, 1527, remains in S. A. Nos. II. and VII. not to be seen in July, 1887. Add. X. Eng. inscr. to Mrs. Ann, w. of Wm. Skelton, gent., d. of Mr. Nich. Crispe, Mercht. Adv. of London, 1648. S. A.

Norwich, St. Peter Hungate.

Correct Lat. inscr. to : Prudentia, w. of Augustine Styward, 1596. N.

Norwich, St. Peter Mancroft.

II. and V. apparently lost. Add. VII. A much worn blk. letter inscr. between two nearly effaced groups of children. N. VIII. Arms and Lat. inscr. to Wm. Welles, S. T. B., rector, preb. of Cathedral, 1620, æt. 54. N.A.

Norwich, St. Stephen.

II. Inscr. entirely gone. VII. Apparently lost.

Ormesby, Great.

III. Mutil. IV. Two mutil. scrolls alone remain. I., III., and IV. Loose in church chest.

Snettisham.

Add. III. Arms and Lat. inscr. to Thos. Gurlin, thrice mayor and M.P. for Lynn, 1644, æt. 60. N. A.

Swardeston.

Eng. inscr. to John Goodwyn, gent., 155—; partly covd. N.

Thornham.

Add. III. A blk. letter fragment inscribed :
Jhu mercy,
Lady helpe.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Cambridge, St. Clement.

I. Lat. inscr. to Alan Hoberd, burgess, 1432. N. II. Lat. inscr. to Phœbe, w. of Edw. Withnoll, pastor, d. of Jas. Percevall, of Cambridge, 1658. Recently restored to the church. Mur., N. A.

Cambridge, Trinity Hall.

Add. IV. Lat. inscr., with arms, to John Cowell, LL.D., master, Regius Prof. of Civil Law, Vicar-Gen. of Prov. of Cant., 1611. V. Arms and Lat. inscr. to Thos. Eden, LL.D., master [1645].

Cambridge, Caius College.

Add. II. Lat. inscr. to Walter Stubbe, fell., 154—.

Cambridge, Jesus College.

Arms and Lat. inscr. to Lionel Duckett, fell. of co. Westmoreland, S. T. B., schol. of St. John's and Proctor of the Univ., 1603. Mur. in frame, S. Tr.

Cambridge, Christ's College.

Add. III. Lat. inscr. to [Edw.] Hauford, master twenty-four years, 1582.

Cambridge, St. John's College.

I., II., and III. mural. Add. IV. Lat. chamfer inscr. in raised letters, to Hugh Ashton, Archdeacon of York, 1522. A. T.

V. Lat. inscr. to Chr. Jackson, fell. 1528, date in Arabic numerals. Mur.

Cambridge, Trinity College.

Lat. inscr. to John Beaumont, fell. 1565.

Ely Cathedral.

Add. III. Fragment of Lat. marg. inscr. in raised letters to [Robt. Styward, alias Wells, last Prior and first Dean, 1557], S. C. A. (Ath. Cant. I., 170). IV. Eng. inscr. and arms to Robt. Wagstave, 1616, and w. Mary, 1621, who m. 2ndly, Stephen Baetman. Lady Chapel.

Fulbourn.

I. In S. A. II. Eff. and canopy slightly mutil., part of marg. inscr. loose. III. Was missing, but now restored to the ch. and an inscr. added. C. IV. Wife apparently lost, civilian son loose, his scroll, and one of four corner scrolls remain. V. Sons lost (?), scroll loose. VI. In S. A. Add. VII. A lady, c. 1480. S. A.

Girton.

Add. III. Lat. inscr. to John Yaxley, 1541. N.

Dry Drayton.

Inscr. lost.

Grantchester.

A fragment loose in church chest inscribed :
On one side :

"Orate p̄ aīa m . .
carij de gñceg . ."

On the other :

". . . . de Stowe qw. . . .
. . . . migravit cu. . . ."

Haddenham.

I. Much mutilated, inscr. gone. II. Now mural. Tower. Add. III. Eng. inscr. to Mr. Nevil Phypers (son of Mr. Thos. Phypers and w. Eliz.), 1713; Nevil his son, 1703. N.

Hatley, East.

Partly covered, three shields remain. N. Add. II. Eng. inscr. to Mrs. Constance, late w. of Robt. Castell, Esq., 1610.

Hatley St. George.

Now mural.

Horseheath.

I. Figure of an angel remains. II. Not covered by seats. III. Apparently lost. IV. Now mural.

Impington.

Head of wife gone, inscr. mutilated.

Linton.

Add. IV. Arms and Lat. inscr. to John Milsent, Esq., 1577, and w. Eliz., 1555.

Quy.

Add. II. Arms and Eng. inscr. to Edw. Stern, 1641, æt. 69. S. A.

Sawston.

I. Now mural. II. Has a scroll inscribed "A dew En Blayne."

Shelford, Great.

Add. III. Eng. inscr. to John Redman, 1558. N.

Shelford, Little.

IV. The date should be 1622.

Wilbraham, Little.

Not on A. T.

Wilburton.

The brasses have been restored and are placed : I. *horizontally*, N. wall of chancel. II. (to which add five sons and two daus.) and III. E. wall of S. aisle. The slabs remain *in situ*.

Wimpole.

All now mural.

Whittlesea, St. Andrew.

Lat. inscr. and arms to Mary, w. of Thos. Topping, Vicar, 1707 æt. 40. Mur., N. A.

SUFFOLK.

Aldburgh.

V. Under organ. VI. Covered. (?)

Beccles.

Eng. inscr. to Johane, w. of John Denny, gent., 1612, æt. 76; Lat. inscr. to John Denny, gent., 1620, æt. 82; and two Lat. scrolls. W. wall of Nave.

Chelmondiston.

A fragment inscribed in blk. letter: "Thomas Bramgtone." N.

Erwarton.

I. 20 Eng. vv. in blk. letter, to Philip, only son of Philip Parker and w. — Glenham. Loose. II. Eng. inscr. to Katherine, d. of Sir Philip Parker, Knt., and w. of Sir Wm. Cornwaleys, jun., Knt.,; had six sons and five daus. 1636, æt. 53. N. A.

Ipswich, St. Laurence.

I. 6 Lat. vv. by Robt. Wright, and arms, to John Moore. 16th cent. Mur., C. II. Eng. inscr. to Margery, d. of Wm. Gilberde, Esq., wife 1st of John Davdy, gent. (by whom she had one dau. Alice, late w. of Geo. Roule); 2nd, of John Drury, Esq., 1618. C.

Ipswich, St. Mary Tower.

Add. V. Lat. inscr. to Robt. Sparowe, portman, 1594, æt. 84. VI. Lat. inscr. to Robt. —, Clerk of the Peace, co. Suff., and Town Clerk of Ipswich, 1697, æt. 72; and w. Grisilla, d. of Thos. Corbould, of Holbrook, 1696, æt. 68. They had one son and two daus. Both W. wall of S. A. VII. Text, Rev. xiv. 13. Mur., N. C. A.

Ipswich, St. Stephen.

Add. II. Eng. inscr. to John Wingfeyld, gent., son of Robt., son and heir of Sir Humfrey, of Brantham, Knt., 1594. C.

Lowestoft.

None of the brasses mentioned by Haines were to be seen in July, 1887. Add. I. Two twisted scrolls over the lost effs. of man and wife. N. II. Man and wife as skeletons in shrouds, heads and inscr. lost. S. A. III. A civilian and wife, c. 1530, inscr. lost, arms and initials. W. O. O. S. A. IV. Lat. inscr. to Margt. Parker (not lost), 1507. N. V. Lat. inscr. to Wm. Coby, 1533. S. A. VI. Lat. inscr. and

21 Eng. vv. to John Wilde, 1644. N. VII. Eng. inscr. and 6 Eng. vv. to Mary, w. of No. VI., 1651. N.

Oulton.

Brass now loose.

Southwold.

I. Lat. inscr. to John Bischope and w. Helen, blk. letter, on screen of S. C. A. II. Eng. inscr. and 4 vv. to Mr. Chr. Yonges, preacher, 1626. C. III. Lat. inscr. to James Petre, Rector, 1700, æt. 81. Mur., C. Lately restored to Ch.

Stutton.

Add. III. "Frā: Herdson vxor chariss: p'cessit, 1619." Capitals, N. C. A.

Stoke-by-Clare.

II. Lost (?). Add. IV. Edw. Talkarne, Esq., not in arm., 1597, with Eng. inscr. C. V. Lat. inscr. to Ralph, son of Hugh Turner, gent., 1600, æt. 4. VI. Eng. inscr., mutil., to Eliz. Sevster, æt. 35. S. A. VII. Eng. inscr. to Wm. Botcher, benefactor to the poor of Stoke and Sibly Hiningham, 1611.

ESSEX.

Bradfield.

Add. II. A fragment in blk. letter: "Jakys Reynford, gent." Loose. III. Eng. inscr. to John Harbottle, Esq., 1577. Loose. IV. Eng. inscr. to Eliz., d. of Edw. Grimeston, Esq., of Bradfield, and w. Joan, 1604. Loose. V. A sh. belonging to III. (?) Loose.

Chesterford, Great.

Add. III. Eng. inscr. to Geo. Felstead, yeoman, 1638, æt. 63.

Littlebury.

The brasses are now (1885) in church-chest.

WARWICKSHIRE.

Warwick, St. Mary.

Add. IV. 8 Eng. vv. to Mrs. Eliz. Chowne, 1597, æt. 75. C. V. Lat. inscr. to Thos., 4th son of Sir Thos. Rous, of Rouslench, co. Worc., Bart., 1645, æt. 1. C.

Whitnash.

Add. III. 6 Eng. vv. to [Nicholas] Greenhill [M.A., Rector, 1650], signed "Ri. Boles,

M.A." Mur., C., under monument to Greenhill. IV. 10 Eng. vv. on R. Boles, by himself, "1689, æt. meæ, 85." Mur., C.

SUSSEX.

Eastbourne.

Add. II. Eng. inscr. to John Burton, Esq., 1586, son and heir of James Burton, Esq.; he m. Grace, d. of Sir Edw. Capell, of Haddon, co. Herts, Knt., and had ten children, Sir Edw. Burton, Knt., being his eldest son. Mur., N. C. III. Arms and Eng. inscr. to Nich. Gildredge, Esq., 1605, æt. 27; he m. Mary, eldest d. of Ralph Pope, of Hyndale, in Buxted, Esq., and had one son, Nicholas. Mur., N. C. IV. Arms and Lat. inscr. to Mary, w. of No. III., afterwards of John Foster, 1616, æt. 31. Mur., N. C. V. 2 shields and Eng. inscr. to Mary, d. of Hen. Perient, of Birch, co. Essex, w. of Sir Edw. Burton, Knt., had fifteen children, 1631. Mur., N. C. VI. Lat. inscr. to Jas. Graves, M.A., preacher, 1647, "furorū civilium, 7," æt. 43; left a w. and two children. Mur., C.

Hastings, All Saints'.

Now mur., S. A.

West Ham.

Eng. inscr. to Eliz., d. of Wm. Hamond, of Westham, w. of Hen. Stonstreet, citizen and mercer of London, 1644. N. A.

KENT.

Dover, St. Mary.

I. has 2 shs. much worn, now mur.

Folkestone.

Add. II. Eng. inscr. to Joan, w. of Thos. Harvey, 1605, æt. 50; had seven sons and two daus. She was mother of Dr. Harvey. Mur. and restored, C.

Newington-juxta-Hythe.

I. apparently lost. II. Children now placed by III. Both mur., C. IV. Now in N. Add. VIII. Eng. inscr. to Wm. Brockman, gent., 1605, æt. 74; he m. Margt. d. of Humphrey Clercke; had two children, Hen. and Margt. IX. Eng. inscr. to Hen., son of Wm. Brockman, Esq., 1622, æt. 4 yrs. 8 m.

X. Mary, d. of same, 1631, æt. 2 yrs. 3 m. XI. Hen., son of same, 1631, æt. 7 yrs. 7 m. All mur., N. C. A.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Dinton.

I. has four sons and 7 daus. IV. and V. rel. and misplaced.

Ellesborough.

All mur., S. A.

Haddenham.

I. Not to be seen in 1883-85. Add. IV. A priest in plain cope, c. 1440, worn, under which is inscr. of II. All mur., N. C.

Hitchendon.

Now mural.

Quainton.

VI. Apparently lost, others now mur.

Stone.

I. Male eff., headless. II. Name should be Tharpe, not Thorpe.

Waddesdon.

Add. II. Robt. Pigott, Esq., of Colwyle, in par. of Waddesdon, and w. Mary, d. of John Yalt, stapler of Calais; inscr. half gone, dates roughly filled in, marg. inscr. and five sons, mutil., others and daus. lost; 2 sh., one mutil., partly covd., c. 1560. C. III. Richd. Hunteyngdon, "un' rectoru," 1543, with chalice and wafer. C. IV. Arms and Eng. inscr. to Marie, w. 1st of Wm. Povey, citizen and grocer of London, had two sons; 2ndly of Cuthbt. Reynolds, of Warmestone, gent., 1602.

Weston Turville.

Has a sh. Mur., C.

Winchendon, Nether.

II. Male eff. Lost. Add. III. A lady, c. 1410. Loose.

Winchendon, Over.

II. Mural.

Wendover.

Add. II. A small scroll on wall of vestry, inscribed: "Jhū : thy : grace :"

A. EDLESTON.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Curiosities of Local Government in Winchester.—The custom of beating the bounds of the parish—one of immense antiquity, deriving from the Feast of Terminalia, and adapted to Christian uses by the Church, and, under modified forms, by the Reformed Church—was regularly observed in St. Thomas and St. Clement parishes on one or other of the Rogation days at stated intervals; and in April, 1777, it was ordered to be carried out on Thursday in Whitsun week, the expenses of every kind not to exceed £5. The parochial bills give us some insight into the expenses: one sets out there were paid 15s. for beer, bread, and cheese at the time of the perambulations. There was also a small account from the White Hart:

WALKING BOUNDARIES.

	£	s.	d.
Three Pints of Brandy...	0	10	6
Pint Beer, 3d. ; four gallons ditto, 8s.	0	8	3
Two glasses Broke	0	2	0
	1	0	9

These little bills were incurred whilst going the round of the parishes, and, doubtless, whilst passing over the White Hart. The value of the glasses is interesting, and is evidence that there was "enjoyment."

The dinner may be best appreciated from the bill rendered by Sarah Fry:

AT A DINNER.

	£	s.	d.
A gamon Bacon, Legg of Veal, Boiled Pigeons, Quarter of Lamb, two Pigeon Pyes, two Puddings	1	14	6
Cabbage, Colloy Flower, Sallett, and so forth	1	13	0
Bread, Beer, fire, Tobacco, ect.	0	7	6
Servants	0	2	0
	3	17	0

There are no entries to describe the doings of the perambulation, but that there were the usual bumping of boys at the "stones," and other Rogation jokes, cannot be doubted. The parish officers seem to have had some enjoyment when they closed the accounts at Easter and had new officials, for in 1798 the bills were:

	s.	d.
Wine	10	6
Hollands and Water	1	8
Welsh Rabbits	1	0
Beer	1	0
	14	2

The churchwardens indulged in wine, negus, and grogs to the extent of 10s. 6d.

The cost of the parochial suppers, so far as eating was concerned, was not heavy, being 1s. per head, as we gather from a bill for twenty-seven parishioners; but the alcoholic accompaniments were costly, and show that the twenty-seven enjoyed themselves on April 10, 1798:

	£	s.	d.
Porter...	0	0	6
Coffee and Tea	0	9	0
Sherry	0	18	0
Port	4	14	6
Punch	1	10	0
Brandy, Lemon and Sugar	0	4	6
Grog	0	0	6
Beer and Porter	0	7	0
Fire and Tobacco	0	3	6
Clerks' Supper and Beer	0	2	0
	8	9	6

From feeding to doctors' bills is not a violent transition, and amongst the items we find, "2 lbs. of treacle, 1 lb. brimstone, and 1 gallon of salts," often repeated in the accounts, and recalling the simple and searching medicine for youth in the parish-house. A Dr. Lipscomb charges 1s. for bleeding, whilst "boluses" at 9d. each seem to have often been prescribed, varied by balsamic and cordial boluses. Reducing a dislocated shoulder, embrocation, splints, cost £1 11s. 6d., and a pauper had two teeth out at 1s. per tooth. The education of the last century was indeed defective, for but very few respectable tradesmen could spell; and the bills for teaching the poor children are curiosities, viz., "Reifed of Jon Godwin ye som of ten shillings and aipens for ye childrens skoelen, from Nofember 10, 1739, to a Leaday daie, by me, Tho. Phillips —£0 10s. 8d." Four children's "skoelen," from Easter to November 19, came to 17s. 4d., and another item (1752) shows us that 2d. a week was charged for this indifferent education. A copy-book in 1790 cost 6d., and in 1775 four school-books, 13d.

The repairs of the old church include the

"Liton" wicket, afterwards spelt "Litten." Repairing the King's Arms, 15s. The church accounts include *oyl* for the bells; cleaning the communion plate, 2s. 6d.; the "branch" (chan-delier), 2s. 6d.; *dressing* the church, 2s. 6d.; *washen* the *surplis*, 10s., and mending, 1s.; a *curting* to the archdeacon's seat, 8s. 3d. The tent-wine was 3s. a bottle, and one *lofe* ranged from 9d. to 4d. in the year 1797; and on January 9, 1806, ringing the bell for Lord Nelson's funeral cost 3s. 6d. And in 1802 we have an idea of churchwardens' decorative ideas: "Shadowing 24 monuments at 1s. 6d.—£1 16s. 0d."

The series of "briefs" range from 1757 to the early part of the nineteenth century, and amongst the objects for which these episcopal solicitations were issued are churches, fires, hail-storms and lightning, the collections ranging from 6d. to 44s.—latter for Penton Mewsey "brief." There are payments for forms of prayers, for fasts, "thanks-giving prayer about the horned cattle, 1759;" for safe delivery of Queen Charlotte, 1766, 1773-74; Sir John Jervis's victory, 1797; Duncan's victory over the Dutch, 1797. The conveyance of a woman and four children to London by Burnett's waggon cost the parish 24s., and a bill in 1760 for one week's meat, drink, and lodging, of a poor person at 2s. 6d., strikes one as "moderate"; but then lamb was 6d. per lb., and legs of mutton 5d. per lb.; beef, 6d. per lb.; and other provisions in proportion. Amongst the accumulated papers are marriage licenses, affidavits of burial in woollen, and heaps of letters from paupers, and we may come across something worthy of notice in a concluding paper.

W. H. JACOB.

Ireland in 1745.—A hitherto unpublished letter of Lord Chesterfield's, containing a scheme for the alleviation of Irish difficulties in 1745, has been obligingly communicated by Mr. John Robinson, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. The letter was discovered among a number of original despatches, letters, etc., belonging to the Delaval family, and is addressed to Francis Blake Delaval:

"London, July ye 23rd, 1745.

"Sr.—Mr. Liddel show'd me your letter by the last post to him, and gave me the inclos'd abstract of the Laws of Ireland con-
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cerning foreign Protestants, &c. It was the more wellcome as I had been some time thinking of the methods of inviting a number of French Protestants to settle in Ireland. That an increase of people, though without shoes and stockings, if they have legs and arms, is a great advantage to any nation that is not already overstock'd (which is by no means the case of Ireland at present), I take to be an uncontroverted proposition; and that such an increase by Protestants would be particularly advantageous to Ireland, considering the great number of Papists there, is I think as plain a proposition as the former. From these two principles the conclusion is plain, that such an increase of Protestants should be got if possible. Now I will tell you that it is very possible; and the only difficulty is with regard to the manner of receiving and establishing 'em.

"I have a proposal by me from a great number of French Protestants in Cevennes and the Vivarais, who, from long indulgence and connivance during the administration of Cardinal Fleury, grew, I believe, a little too flippant in the publick exercise of their Religion, met in great numbers, sung Psalms aloud, and have brought a kind of a persecution upon themselves. Of these who, by the way, are a hardy, laborious kind of people, I can have what numbers I please in Ireland, upon assuring 'em of a proper establishment and provision there. Many of 'em, I believe, are very poor; some would bring means along with 'em; but, in short, at the worst, all would bring themselves, which I take to be Riches. I find the Laws in Ireland, as they now stand, are favourable to 'em; but that alone you are sensible is not sufficient ground for anybody to invite numbers, or for numbers to come upon. A settlement, and the nature of that settlement, must first be shown 'em. It is impossible for me at this distance to point out to myself or others any method to be pursued, nor would I at present if I could. Lord Lieutenants are suspected Persons, their proposals have *fenum in Cornu*, and the answer to any schemes that should take their rise from them, tho' singly mean't for the Public good, would be, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. I have therefore given no answer to my Protestant undertaker, but that I would consider of it in Ireland, and then let him

know what could, or could not, be done. A spirit of party in Queen Anne's time defeated all the advantages that would have arisen to the Publick from the establishment of the Palatines here. The same absurd spirit repeal'd the Act of general naturalization soon after, and it now costs a foreigner above a hundred pounds to be naturaliz'd. Moreover, most minds are form'd rather to see the little local and partial inconveniences, than the great general good of an extensive plan. Some of their motives, or possibly all of 'em, may render a proposal of this nature, not only impracticable but unpopular in Ireland, especially coming from me; in either of which cases I have done with it. I leave it in your hands at present, and I think I can't leave it in abler, to make what use you will or can of this Idea. If it is generally lik'd in Ireland and call'd for, I am not only ready to co-operate, but contribute, and the people shall be forth coming. If not, I shall rest content with my good intentions for that Kingdom, which surely wants, and, in my opinion, might make, great improvements. Getting people from abroad, and keeping their own money at home, would be two very considerable ones, and are both in their own power. I heartily wish my administration might be an era of some national benefit. Whoever can suggest any, will be wellcome; whoever can bring it to bear will be still wellcomer to

"Your faithful friend and servant,

"CHESTERFIELD."



Antiquarian News.

OUR correspondent, Mr. H. W. Smith, of Belvedere, Kent, has sent the following communication: During the week ending June 16, in putting down some large water-pipes at Crayford for the West Kent Waterworks, the workmen came upon some interesting remains. At a depth of about four feet beneath the present Dover Road a bed of peat was discovered, which was evidently part of the bottom of the shallow but broad waters of the ancient river Cray. Beneath, and in the peat, were found considerable quantities of human bones and bones of horses. Several buckles, pins, some spurs, a horse's bit and curb-chain, which

latter had apparently been plated with silver, were found. There were also discovered five curious bosses or ornaments of bronze or some mixed metal, and these had evident traces of the silver with which they had originally been plated. Each boss was exactly an inch across at the base, tapering to three-quarters of an inch at the top, and half an inch high. At the top, within a circle, were four engraved hollows or indentations of a leaf shape, the base or stem end of the leaves converging on the centre of the boss. Extending round the sides, continuously, was a beautiful interlaced snake-like pattern. All were hollow, but strongly made, and at the base or back a plate was soldered, in which was a hole intersected by a cross piece to enable the boss or ornament to be fastened to the dress, or possibly on the outer side of a horse's bridle-rein. In making the excavations, the workmen had no doubt come upon a part of the ancient Creegauford (or Cray-ford), where, as the Saxon chronicle tells us, Hengist and Æsc, his son, defeated "four troops of Britons." This was in A.D. 456, and again in A.D. 457, according to the same chronicle, another battle was fought at Crayford, when four thousand of Britons were slain, and "the Britons forsook Kent and fled in great terror to London." On the rising ground, near to where the above relics were found, is a farmhouse still called "Wausunt" or "Wautsum" Farm, evidently retaining an appellation originated in Saxon times. Scattered about this farm are many holes, some of them only being discovered within the last few years by reason of the subsidence of the soil after they had become partially filled up. These holes, in most instances, consist of a single shaft carried down to the chalk, which, when reached, was excavated and no doubt put upon the land as a fertilizer by the husbandmen of many centuries ago. At the beginning of the present century, as a man and his "mate" were ploughing in one of the fields hereabouts, the two horses and plough disappeared in one of these holes as the soil fell in beneath their weight. Both the horses were killed, and the ploughman and his "mate" had a narrow escape of going down. These holes possess an almost exact identity with the so-called Dene Holes or Dane Holes in Joyden's Wood in the adjoining parish of Bexley. Many similar holes are scattered about the parish of Crayford, and they exist in almost every instance in the neighbourhood of the stiff lands. Other interesting items discovered in breaking up the present road for the water-pipes were two shillings of Elizabeth, dated respectively 1590 and 1592, mint marks a tun, a copper coin of Louis XIII. of France, dated 1636, a shilling of William III., dated 1697, and numerous copper coins of Charles II., William III., and the Georges.

While the gardener of the rector of Ebchester was delving in the garden, at the end of June last, he came upon a small regular building in the form of a square. He called his master's attention to it, and the rector at once surmised that it was a Roman sentinel tower. Consequently he had the excavations carried on on the other side of the wall, and they came upon what he supposes to be one side of the northern gateway into the camp. It is intended to carry on the excavations. In the discovered tower were found a piece of Romano-British pottery, a stone—supposed to be part of a mill-stone—and the bones of animals.

The purchaser of a mussel in Gainsbro', last June, found within its shell a seal from a silver guard, to which three links were attached. The seal is said to be a century old, from a local silversmith's examination, and must have lain in the ocean depths many years.

A highly interesting naval relic has just been placed upon the north terrace at Windsor Castle. Its history, as recorded on a tablet affixed to the side of its mounting, is as follows: "This gun formed part of the armament of his Majesty's ship *Lutine*, totally lost off the coast of Holland on the 9th of October, 1799. On the conclusion of peace the wreck, which contained a large treasure, was handed over by the Dutch Government to the Corporation of Lloyd's, where the treasure had been insured. The wreck was embedded in sand in nine fathoms of water. In 1886 A.D. this gun was salvaged, having lain nearly 100 years below the sea, and was presented to her Majesty Queen Victoria, who was graciously pleased to accept it from the Corporation of Lloyd's." The gun stands opposite an embrasure commanding the Dean's garden.

While some improvements were being made lately on the estate of Mr. A. Maudslay, Twyford, near Winchester, the site and remains of a Roman villa were discovered. The excavation is being carefully carried on under Mr. Maudslay's supervision.

A curious custom has just been observed in the parish church of St. Ives, Hunts. Dr. Robert Wilde, who died in August, 1678, bequeathed £50, the yearly interest of which was to be expended in the purchase of six Bibles, not exceeding the price of 7s. 6d. each, which should be "cast for by dice" on the Communion Table every year, by six boys and six girls of the town. A piece of ground was bought with this £50, and is now known as "Bible Orchard." The legacy also provided for the payment of 10s. yearly to the vicar for preaching a sermon on the occasion "commending the excellency, the perfection, and Divine

authority of the Holy Scriptures." This singular custom has been regularly observed in the church since the death of the testator, but representations having been made to the bishop of the diocese, the practice of throwing the dice on the Communion Table was discontinued some years ago, and the raffling now takes place on a table erected at the chancel steps. The highest throw this year (three times, with three dice) was 37, by a little girl. The vicar (Rev. E. Tottenham) preached a sermon from the words, "From a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures."

It is proposed to restore the body of the ancient but small church of Boxwell, which is the parish church of the village of Leighterton. It was frequently used by Prince Rupert during the wars between Charles I. and his Parliament, and contains many historic mementoes. The chancel, which is in decent repair, contains mural tablets of the Huntley family. The estate is for the present in the Chancery Court, and the church, which is used on four occasions during the year only (Leighterton Church being used generally for service), is in a most dilapidated condition.

In June last, a gravestone in the form of a coffin, and bearing a cross, was discovered at Strata Florida Abbey, where excavations have been resumed.

An ancient canoe has been found in the Tunhövd Fjord, in Valdres, in South Central Norway. It has been hollowed out by means of red-hot stones, and is 4½ metres long and 80 centimetres broad. It is in fair condition. The find is of interest, as no other primitive vessel of the kind has been found inland in Norway. The boat will be sent to the Museum at Christiania.

Devizes Castle, the residence of the late Mr. R. V. Leach, and which possesses many interesting historic associations, is to be offered for sale by auction, with all its surroundings, during the ensuing month.

It is proposed to rebuild the chancel of Chisleborough Church, placing a vestry on the north side. The present chancel is little better than a barn. The new work of the chancel will stand on the same lines as the old, with the exception of being slightly diminished in length. The central tower and spire are old, the spire being a somewhat unusual feature in Somersetshire churches.—*Builder*.

The existence of Barnard's Inn has been threatened for some time, and it is gratifying to know that there are those interested who will make a stand in its behalf. On June 20 last the property was offered for

sale by auction by Messrs. E. Fox and Bousfield at the Mart, Tokenhouse Yard. After the auctioneer had described the property and invited biddings, Mr. T. W. Staplee Firth, of the firm of Godfrey, Rhodes and Co., solicitors, of Chancery Lane, for Mr. P. A. Vidler, gave notice in the following words: "I have to give notice on behalf of Mr. Percy Alexander Vidler that a writ has been issued against Mr. Bartle John Laurie Frere, as the trustee for the sale of this property, and the writ has been registered as a lis pendens, and any purchase made will be subject to this lis pendens and the writ." On the sale being proceeded with, the ultimate bid of £49,400 was reached, which, however, was not accepted, and the property was bought in for £56,000. The writ has been issued on behalf of Mr. Vidler and other law students, who claim that Barnard's Inn is one of the old institutions founded for the purpose of the furtherance and learning of the practice of the law, and is therefore held in trust for law students by the Principal and Ancients.

On June 15 last the members of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, accompanied by several friends, made an inspection of the relics of old Newcastle, to be found in the vicinity of the Quayside. Upwards of sixty ladies and gentlemen participated in the proceedings. The party met at the Guildhall at two o'clock, where they examined the Old Council Chamber, and the Merchants' Court. The house occupied during the latter part of last century by Aubone Surtees, on the Sandhill, was next visited, as were also two other ancient houses in that place. No. 1, Quayside, now used as a restaurant, was also inspected, and in all these places magnificent fireplaces of an ancient date were seen. Proceeding along the Quayside, the visitors enjoyed a thorough ramble over the Trinity House, before the ascent to All Saints' Church was made, at which place the Thornton Brass Monument and the massive communion plate were shown by the Vicar. The inspection terminated with a visit to the Jesus Hospital, the features of special attention there being the fine old staircase with its curious carving.

An appeal, it is stated, will be made for subscriptions in aid of preserving Crowland, or Croyland Abbey—"well known as a national monument"—from becoming a total ruin. The beautiful relic stands over St. Guthlac's tomb in South Holland, Lincolnshire, south-east of Deeping Fer, on the right bank of the Welland (locally known as the Wash), and by the borders of Cambridgeshire, and Northamptonshire. In the midst of the then well-nigh impassable marshes, and not many years after the landing of St. Augustine at Ebbe's Fleet in the Isle of

Thanet, a hermitage was set up here by Guthlan, a scion of the line of Mercian kings. This, in 716, temp. Æthelbald, over-lord of Mercia, was replaced by a Benedictine monastery, which, raised upon piles of ash and oak, the Danes pillaged and burned in 870, together with Medehamstead (Peterborough), Ely, Thorney, and Soham. Rebuilt by Ædraed, or rather by Æthelrhaed II., it was again sacked and destroyed on the subjugation of Mercia and East Anglia by Knut. In 1112 the Abbot Jofferhaed re-established the monastery on a scale it had never reached before. At the dissolution its estates and manors were assessed as worth, *teste* Dugdale, £1,083 15s. 10d. a year. The site was then made over to Edward Lord Clinton. The present church of SS. Bartholomew and Guthlac, having tower, nave, and chancel, was formed out of the Abbey. Some years ago the late Sir George Gilbert Scott directed a reconstruction of a portion of the old western front. The learned Ingulphus (1030-1109) was Abbot of Croyland; and in this parish (its population now about 3,000) was founded, soon after the Conquest, and before the eleventh century, the earliest school of any importance for the young in England.—*Builder*.

The following official contradiction of the supposed vandalism at Christchurch has been hailed with much satisfaction: (*To the Editor of the "Daily News."*)—SIR,—A report has been very widely circulated by the Press that the Town Council of Christchurch are intending to pull down the remains of the unique Norman domestic buildings to the north-east of the Priory Church. As so many anxious inquiries are being made by lovers of antiquity, and by various antiquarian and archæological societies, and as the names of the Earl of Malmesbury and Sir George Meyrick are mentioned in the report as sanctioning the alleged act of vandalism, the Town Council are desirous of stating most emphatically that there is not an atom of truth in this report. The beautiful ruins referred to are on private grounds, and there has been no idea of interfering with them in any way. The Castle-hill and keep, which are not far from the Norman ruins, and which belong to Sir George Meyrick, are looked upon by the inhabitants of Christchurch as one of the most important and interesting features of their ancient town. They had long been desirous of obtaining the power effectually to protect and preserve these ruins, and to improve their surroundings. Soon after the incorporation of the town by the new charter, the Council applied to Sir George Meyrick with this object, and he at once most kindly and sympathetically expressed willingness to assist them. He has consented to grant a lease of the premises to the Corporation at a nominal rent. He

proposes to pull down some red-brick buildings long disused and out of repair, which are not only unsightly, but interfere with the view both of the Castle ruins and Priory Church. A small portion of these buildings belongs to Lord Malmesbury, and his lordship, on hearing of the wishes of the Council, at once most generously offered to give them any interest he had therein. The Council's intentions now are to make these ruins still more attractive to the public, by providing a more slightly approach and easier access to them; and to take steps to arrest the natural decay, and to prevent the damage by boys and others from which these ruins have seriously suffered for some years past. The Council feel sure that this announcement of their intention will at once show how untrue and unjust is the charge of vandalism which has been brought against them.—I am, sir, your obedient servant, Risdon D. Sharp, Town Clerk, Christchurch, Hants.

The bust of a woman carved upon a horse's tooth, found by M. Piette in the grotto of the Mas-d'Azil, in France, has been presented by M. Milne Edwards to the Institute of France, and is pronounced by the authorities as indisputably the most ancient representation that is known of woman. She had lived in the mammoth or quaternary period, when the woolly elephant, the rhinoceros, the British lion, and the great cave bear roamed in our land. Some geologists say that was 20,000 years ago; some that it was 100,000. One thing is noteworthy, that this ancient woman, as figured, might, were she alive to-day, marry and have children. There is nothing of the ape about her appearance. M. Piette has also found, in the same excavations, figures of divers animals, among them being a bird and a horse. The latter is remarkable as showing the straight and zebra-like mane and the striped flanks. It is, indeed, identical with a race of wild horses still to be met with in certain parts of Asiatic Russia. In this case, also, there is no evidence of any change of specific character since the mammoth period.

The following communication from Paris appeared recently in the *Daily News*:—The statue of Shakespeare, which is to be erected at the meeting of the Avenue of Messina and the Boulevard Haussmann, was presented to the city of Paris by an Englishman, Mr. Knighton, Vice-President of the International Literary Association. M. Fournier, the sculptor, had prepared for this work by studies of Shakespeare, and of the memorials at Stratford-on-Avon and elsewhere. Dante is the only other foreigner that has a statue in Paris. If another Englishman were ever to obtain such an honour, that man would be Sir Isaac Newton,

who, with Shakespeare, is considered to be a glory to humankind rather than to England alone.

A Biblical Museum has recently been formed at the offices of the Sunday School Institute, in Serjeants' Inn, Fleet Street, which is open free to the public every day. Among the principal contents are casts of Assyrian bas-reliefs in the British Museum, of the Rosetta and Moabite stones, and of the Siloam inscription; models of ancient Jerusalem, of Herod's temple, and of ancient Athens; a series of coins illustrating the history of the Jews, and antiquities from Babylonia and Egypt, including several presented by the Egypt Exploration Fund; and, lastly, modern objects illustrating the ancient mode of life and the modern religious customs of the Jews. The honorary curator of the museum is the Rev. J. G. Kitchin, who will be glad to receive any help towards the collection either in money or in kind.

An Order in Council has been published, ordering and prescribing that certain monuments shall be deemed to be ancient monuments within the meaning of the Act of 1882. Section 10 of that Act provides that her Majesty may, by Order in Council, declare that any monument of a like character to the monuments described in the schedule to the Act shall be deemed to be an ancient monument. The monuments now declared to be ancient are the Nine Stones, Winterbourne Abbas, near Dorchester; the Chambered Long Barrow, known as the Gray Mare and Colts, near Gorwell, in the county of Dorset; the Stone Circle on Tenant Hill, Kingston Russell Farm, near Dorchester; and five monuments in the county of Wigtown.

Marie Antoinette's scissors, and also her penknife, were recently sold at auction among a large catalogue of curiosities, and brought £26.

Arrangements have now been made for holding the tenth annual ecclesiastical art exhibition in connection with the forthcoming Church Congress at Manchester. The loans will embrace goldsmiths' and silversmiths' work, ancient and modern, ecclesiastical metal work in general, embroidery, needlework, tapestry, wood and ivory carving, ecclesiastical furniture, paintings, drawings, architectural designs for churches and schools, photographs, books, and MSS.

There is a recent report, which we have not seen contradicted, of the discovery in the national archives at Paris of the bills or *factures* for the famous "hat and *redingote grise*" of the First Napoleon, which have been immortalised by Beranger. According to these documents the "hat" was worth 60 francs, or £2 8s., while the *redingote grise* originally cost

160 francs, or £6 8s. Strange to say, these historic objects, for which many a collector would give thousands, have been allowed to remain in the lumber-rooms of the Louvre instead of being placed in the Museum of Artillery at the Invalides.

The ancient parish church of Northstoke, a secluded village under the south-west brow of Lansdown, is unfortunately being restored under the advice of Major Davis. The little church, "with square, tower and every mark of hoar antiqueness," stands on an eminence at the east end of the village, and its history and strange mutations have already been graphically depicted by the rector. Here we have a microcosm of the salient features of English history. For a thousand years or more the site of the church has been dedicated to religious uses. "The visible indications of a very early church are the stair turret of the tower, a Norman buttress on the south side, marks of the existence of a rood-loft in the chancel arch, and the font (which we should say is Norman, if not older). The church is probably in part the original structure, in part renewed (there is no doubt of this) with the materials of the original church erected by the monks of Bath." The neglect of past and present generations is seen in the dilapidated and in some sense dangerous condition of the structure. In the middle of the last century something was done in the way of repairs. Three of the bells were sold for £56, and the money was spent in repairing the church. The chancel is fairly sound, having been repaired thirty years or more ago; but the condition of the church, both inside and out, as a result of long years of neglect, has fallen into a sadly forlorn and dilapidated condition. It has more historic than architectural interest, but it possesses some features that will find favour with the antiquary. The present church of St. Martin is built on the model of the church of St. Martin at Canterbury, which, if not the very oldest, is one of the oldest churches in England. The communion cup bears the date of 1571.

Although the plea we made for the preservation of Fairfax House, Putney, was of no avail, and the pleasing prospect of retaining it as the home of a public library was not realized by the Putney people; yet it is something to hear of the salvage of spars from the wreck. We learn that the Queen Anne doorway of Fairfax House has been bought by Mr. S. Lucas, A.R.A., and will be re-erected at his house in West Hampstead.

On July 10, the famous historical estate of Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, formerly the residence of Horace Walpole, and in more recent times of Frances, Countess of Waldegrave, was submitted to competi-

tion before a large attendance at the Auction Mart, Tokenhouse-yard. The buildings started with an offer of £15,000; and as this was the sole bid made the auctioneer said he should withdraw the property considerably more than £100,000 having been expended upon one wing of the mansion alone.

In a recent letter to the *Times*, Mr. James Glaisher, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, wrote as follows:—"I have great pleasure in communicating a discovery recently made in Jerusalem by Herr Conrad Schick. It appears to be nothing less than the 'Pool called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda' (Bethsaida, or Bethzatha, St. John v. 5). An apparently uninterrupted chain of evidence from the year A.D. 333 to the year 1180 speaks of the *Probatica Piscina* as near the Church of St. Anne. The place spoken of is said by the earliest writers to have formerly had five porches, then in ruins. Nothing was known of the pool described by those writers until quite recently, when certain works carried on by the Algerian monks laid bare a large tank or cistern cut in the rock to a depth of 30 feet. It lies under, but not immediately under, a later building, a church with an apse at the east end. The cistern is 55 feet long from east to west; north and south it measures 12½ ft. in breadth. A flight of twenty-four steps leads down into the pool from the eastern scarp of rock. Now the first requisite for the site of the pool of Bethesda is that it should be possible to have five porches. The only way in which this requisite could be satisfied is that the pool should be what is called a twin pool, such as that discovered close to the Convent of the Sisters of Zion—that is to say, two pools lying side by side, having one portico on each of the four sides thus formed, and one between them on the wall of separation. Herr Schick now reports that he has found a continuation of the pool, or rather a sister pool, lying end to end, 60 feet long, and of the same breadth as the first. We are, therefore, able to make out a reasonably strong case for identifying the newly-discovered twin pool with the Pool of Bethesda. The historical evidence in favour of this site is as strong as that which connects the Holy Sepulchre with the site adopted by Constantine. In the minds of most, I think it will be acknowledged that we have here the ancient Pool of Bethesda."

By command, Mr. Loftie's *Kensington: Picturesque and Historical*, to be issued by subscription during the coming autumn, is dedicated to the Queen, which is the third work from the Leadenhall Press thus honoured. Beautifully illustrated on every page, this sumptuous work, we learn, has cost in its production a large sum represented by four figures.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Essex Archaeological Society.—May 31.—Excursion to Maldon, in pursuance of a recent resolution to hold quarterly supplementary meetings. Chairman, Mr. E. A. Fitch, Mayor of Maldon, who exhibited the borough regalia and a collection of charters.—The Rev. H. L. Elliot read a paper upon a painting which was lying on the table, of a tile discovered two years ago built into the jamb of the Church of St. Mary-at-the-Hythe. This bore the arms of the Dukes of Burgundy and Counts of Flanders, who were connected with that district in commerce, which no doubt accounted for the tile being found there. Its date was probably between 1450 and 1475.—The Mayor asked whether the Bourcher, lord of the Manor of Maldon, who was buried at Beeleigh Abbey, had any connection with the tile. John, first Lord Bourcher, who was born in 1329, spent most of his time in France prosecuting the right of Edward III. to the French throne, and his grandson, the Earl of Essex, was governor of Flanders under Richard II., and died in 1483.—Mr. Horace Round then read a paper upon the early history of Maldon, a subject which he thought had been greatly neglected, considering the prominent position the town occupied in warfare with the Danes and its supposed connection with the Scandinavians. It appeared from early records that the service Maldon rendered to the king in warfare was to send him a horse when he called out his land forces, and a ship when he was engaged in war at sea, and in a remarkable old charter granted to the town by Henry II. it was stipulated that these services should be rendered for forty days. This was different from the services of Colchester, which had to make a yearly payment, whether the king was at war or not. The charter of Henry II. was no doubt obtained through the great influence which William, Earl of Essex, exercised over the king. Mr. Round also gave interesting particulars of the history of the manors of Maldon.—In answer to a question, Mr. Round said at present there was no explanation of the curious custom in some estates in Maldon of freehold land descending to the youngest son and copyhold to the eldest; the same custom existed in other places.—The Mayor said he was holder of one of the oldest tenancies probably in the kingdom. It was a farm of 500 acres near St. Mary's Church, and originally belonged to the founders of St. Martin's-le-Grand in 1548; it was surrendered with the church to Westminster Abbey, and had ever since continued in possession of the dean and chapter of Westminster. The tenancy was supposed to have existed from 1056. The borough mace was a handsome one of silver gilt, made by Francis Garthorne, a famous worker of plate, and presented to the town in 1687 by John Pound, then mayor. The seal was presented in 1682 by William Vernon, who was then mayor, and there was also on the table a wax impression of the old Admiralty seal, which had been lost. The Town Hall itself was an interesting building. It was the old D'Arcy

tower, and was erected by Sir Robert d'Arcy, M.P. for the borough, in the first year of Henry VI. On the west side of the town was the old Saxon camp, comprising about twenty-two acres, with the road to Chelmsford running through it. Three sides of it were visible, and near by was "Cromwell's Spring," which was still used by the borough.—The members then proceeded to All Saints' Church. A remarkable feature of the building is the triangular-made Norman tower, which is a style rarely to be met with in the country. There are six bells, three of which date from 1707 to 1790. The church has suffered more from the vandalism of the past, and recent restoration, than from the effects of time. Monuments have been demolished wholesale, brasses abstracted, and the ceiling of the chancel has been decorated with a gorgeous array of stars on a blue ground, and devices on the walls in most questionable taste. On the south side, the windows towards the west end of it are richly carved and decorated, and the arcading under these windows is beautiful and effective, of the decorative age. This south side was formerly two chantries, and the opinion was expressed that the eastern end was the D'Arcy Chapel, while the western end was the chapel of the Holy Trinity. The chancel leans to one side, like many of the Suffolk churches, emblematical of our Saviour's head reclining on the cross. Beneath the southern aisle is a crypt, entered from one of the arches of the arcade, in which were found, when opened some time since, human bones. Mr. H. W. King made a few remarks upon the monuments, alluding to one to Hester Blackborough, an ancestor of John Milton.—The next point visited was the site of the Saxon Camp, which commands a fine view of distant country, with the river Chelmer, and the new Dengie Hundred railway, now under construction, in the foreground; but even the inequalities of the ground, which formerly made the camp distinguishable, are now hardly recognisable. It was the scene of two battles—one when Edward the Elder was encamped here to oppose an incursion of the Danes, when in 921 they besieged it to no purpose; and the other when in 994 the Danes, under Ulafr, again attacked it, and the Earl of Byrthoth coming to the relief, the Saxon army was defeated, and the earl himself slain.—The company then proceeded to Beeleigh Abbey. The abbey was founded in 1180 by Robert de Mantell for monks of the Premonstratensian Order.—The next place visited was the Spital, now turned into a barn. It is a cruciform building, which formerly served as the church to the hospital adjoining. Possibly it was a leper hospital: and its position is remote, and a hospital for lepers is said to have been founded here by one of the kings of England, and afterwards united to Beeleigh Abbey. What remains of the old edifice is composed of stone and a considerable admixture of Roman tile. The exterior of the south side is picturesque. It contains three lancet windows.—From this little chapel the company proceeded to St. Mary's-at-the-Hythe Church, said to have been founded in 1056 by Ingelric, a Saxon earl, and which once served as a sea-mark. The tower is a massive structure. The base of it is stone, and the upper part brick, a brief having been granted by Charles I. to repair it when it had fallen into a ruinous condition. There is a fine view from the top looking

out to sea. The interior of the church has recently been restored at some cost. There is a rood loft staircase, which was opened out at the time of restoration; and a small piece of fresco painting of two female figures was displayed for the archaeologists' inspection. The last item on the programme was the library, which is to be found in an upper chamber, built out of part of the old Church of St. Peter. The library, consisting of 5,400 volumes, was presented to the town (to which he was a great benefactor) by Dr. Plume (Archdeacon of Rochester), who was born in 1630. He founded the Plumian professorship of astronomy and experimental science at Cambridge. Some of the books are rare and curious.—A detachment of the party from Colchester, under Mr. Laver's guidance, had visited *en route* a farmhouse at Tiptree, built out of the material of Tiptree Priory of Black Canons; one of the many small priories given to Cardinal Wolsey by Henry VIII., and then at his fall granted to John Hudleston, from whom, through various others, it passed to the DuCane family. The party also made a halt at Heybridge Church, the form of its windows, and the nave, its font made out of a Norman capital, and the evidences of a Norman apse, all showing its constructions of that date. On the north wall of chancel is a carved monument, 1627, to Thos. Freshwater.

Archæological Institute.—June 7.—Paper on the Recent Discovery of an Anchorite's Cell at Ongar, in Essex, by the Rev. E. S. Dewick; and remarks on Norman Masonry and Masons' Marks by Mr. J. Park Harrison. The diagonal lines common in much Norman work and the identification of certain marks were the theme of discussion. A large collection of Hittite and Phœnician objects were shown by the Rev. Greville Chester, and a snuff-box, having a presumable portrait of Beau Nash, was exhibited by Mr. R. S. Ferguson. Mr. Micklethwaite presided, and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, Mr. Hope, and others.

Upper Norwood Athenæum.—May.—Fourth excursion of the year, to inspect the two stone circles at Addington Park, Kent. Paper by Mr. Samuel Bowyer. Reference was made to the description of these stones (with Kit's Cotty House) in *Archæologia*, vol. ii.: "About 500 paces north-east of Addington Church, in a rabbit warren upon a little eminence—in fact, a pyramid—are the remains of the large stones in an oval form. The inside of the area from east to west is 50 paces; the breadth in the middle from north to south is 42 paces; at the east end is a flat stone, placed like that called the altar at Stonehenge. It is in the longest part 9 feet, in the broadest 7 feet, and in its thickness 2 feet. Behind, to the north, is another flat stone, which seems to have stood upright, now thrown down. This is 15 feet long, 7 feet wide, and 2 feet thick. The stone next the altar in the north side is 7 feet high, 7 feet wide, and 2 feet thick; the top of this has been broken off. There are but two others which appear above the surface of the ground, about 2 feet high. One may easily trace the remains of 17 of them, but, from the distances between them, nearly equal, more than 20 would be required to complete the oval of only one row. The soil or sand seems washed over them, and others had been taken away for mending roads, for

building, or to make steps for stiles. The stones are of the same species as at Stonehenge, set up in like form, but smaller, yet doubtless designed for the same use. About 130 paces to the north-west is another heap of large stones, tumbled inwards one upon another. It had 6 stones, each stone 7 feet wide, 2 feet thick, perhaps 19 feet high. It seems broken off at the base. These bases are equi-distant, three paces apart, but in a circle, not oval, as the other. Harris, in his *Kent*, suggests that an oak tree stood in the circle, and the stones were seats. Hardly so, because of their height; and this author does not mention the altar, nor the heap of stones lying near. It is evident he never saw them, or he must have been led to think that two such monuments of antiquity so near to each other must have been placed intentionally, and surely erected upon some extraordinary occasion. I prefer to conjecture that, like Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain, Rollich Stones, in Oxfordshire, and many in Anglesea, Cornwall, Wales, and Cumberland, these stones were the temples of ancient Britons. Authorities differ; and I think some of the learned among ourselves will suggest them to be burial-places. When we open the great storehouse, not only of Divine truth, but of authentic history, we find the clearest record that circles of stone were set up for sacred and solemn purposes. The stones which were taken by Joshua out of the bed of the Jordan and set up in Gilgal supply the most remarkable example. The name Gilgal itself signifies a circle. Gilgal subsequently became a place not only of sacred observances, but for the most solemn acts of secular government. It was long a controversy (idle enough as such controversies generally are) whether Stonehenge was appropriated to religious or to civil purposes. If it is to be regarded as a Druidical monument the discussion is altogether needless, for the Druids were at one and the same time the ministers of religion, the legislators, and likewise the judges amongst the people. The account which Julius Cæsar gives of the Druids of Gaul, marked as it is by his usual clearness and sagacity, may be received without hesitation as a description of the Druids of Britain, for he says, 'The system of Druidism is thought to have been formed in Britain, and from thence carried over into Gaul; and now those who wish to be more accurately versed in it for the most part go thither (*i.e.*, to Britain) in order to become acquainted with it.' All over the world are found these kind of unhewn stones, marking the places of worship among the ancients. Stones have also been used for ceremonial purposes in various ways. There is the Coronation Stone in the chair in Westminster Abbey. The stone called the King's Stone at Kingston-on-Thames is the one on which the Saxon kings were crowned. The Old Testament gives many examples of the direction to use as altars unhewn stones. These circles at Addington are monuments which none would like to see destroyed or hidden without regret. Concerning the relics of the past, Ruskin has said, 'The dead have still their right in them, that which they laboured for—the praise of achievement, or the expression of religious feeling, or whatsoever else it might be which they intended to be permanent—we have no right to obliterate. What we ourselves have built we are at liberty to destroy, but what other men

laboured at does not pass away at their death, and does not remain vested in us only ; it passes and belongs to all their successors.' About seven miles from Bristol is a small parish called Stanton Drew. The name is held to mean the stone town of the Druids. The Druidical circles, in their uniformity of character, present the indubitable evidence that they were symbolical of the mysteries of the prevailing religion of the country. These were essentially religious edifices. They were probably at the same time what the Icelandic writers call doom-rings or circles of judgment."

Essex Field Club.—May 21.—The members met at Colchester Castle. An inspection was made of the museum, and Mr. Acland drew the attention of the visitors to some of the more interesting objects therein exhibited. Mr. Laver also addressed them in the large quadrangle of the castle, on some points in the history and construction of this building, after which St. Botolph's Priory, St. John's Abbeygate, Holy Trinity Church, and Balkern Gate, and portions of the Roman Walls were visited. Brakes were mounted to visit the earthwork at Lexden and Stanway, and the church and grand gateway of Layer Marney. Mr. Laver, who acted as archaeological conductor, called attention to some points of interest in the church and tower, and expressed his great gratification in finding that this fine gateway had at last come into the possession of one who understood its value, and took such care in its preservation, presenting a great contrast to the utter neglect exhibited for so very many years. Carriages were again mounted, and the drive was continued to Copford Church, where the Rev. R. Ruck-Keene received the visitors, and kindly showed them the building, giving much information on all the interesting features of this unique church. The journey was then continued to Colchester. In the evening a meeting was held, when Mr. Harwood exhibited a large collection of bees of this district, and made some remarks thereon, Mr. Shenstone doing the same with botany, and Mr. F. Beaumont showed beads, weapons, bones, and vases, found in the lately discovered Saxon burial ground at Feering, on all of which there were interesting discussions.

Belfast Naturalists' Field Club.—May 26.—Visit to Dromore and the vicinity. The party, reaching Dromore about noon, proceeded first to the old Bishop's Palace, which has some historical interest, as having been the residence for many years of Dr. Percy, Protestant Bishop of the diocese, the author of *The Reliques of English Poetry*. It was here several of his ballads were written, including the well-known "O! Nannie, wilt thou gang wi' me?" After the consolidation of the Irish sees the property was sold, and, on the recent death of the proprietor, was converted into a Jesuit seminary. In a corner of the grounds is the "Mass Forth," an ancient fort, with a very deep and perfect ditch and lofty rampart. It derives its local name from having been used by the Catholic clergy for the celebration of the mass during the days of the proscription. From the palace the route was taken towards Gilhall, but a halt was made by the way at another very fine double fort, close to the banks of the Lagan. On returning to Dromore, a visit was paid to the Cathedral, where lie the remains of Jeremy Taylor and Mr. Stott, a bleacher of literary repute,

whom Byron has rather unfairly pilloried in his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, under the epithet of "Groveling Stott," the adjective being presumably intended for his standing as a poet rather than his character as a man. The remains of the ancient cross, recently set up adjoining the Cathedral, were then visited, and focussed by the cameras of the party. The cross, which has been very neatly and appropriately restored, bears the following inscription: "The ancient historical cross of Dromore, erected and restored after many years of neglect, by public subscription, to which the Board of Works were contributors, under the auspices of the Town Commissioners of Dromore—1887."

Edinburgh Naturalists' Field Club and Microscopical Society.—June 6.—Visit to Restalrig Churchyard. Mr. T. A. Douglas Wood read a few notes on the old church with its adjacent mausoleum. The former, he observed, was almost demolished by order of an Act of the General Assembly of 1560. The choir only was allowed to remain, and it was rebuilt in 1836 under the Church Extension Scheme of Dr. Chalmers. It was of the early English Gothic description, with high roof, and on its walls were monuments to Dr. Andrew Wood and Louis Cauvin. Mr. Wood also referred to St. Margaret's Well, which stood near St. Margaret's Station, and from which the monks used to procure their supply of water. Owing to the formation of the railway, it had to be removed, and now occupied a more favourable spot in the Queen's Park.

Glasgow Architectural Association.—June 5.—The first of a series of three papers on the rise of Gothic architecture in England was read by Mr. Alex. N. Paterson, M.A., his subject being "Norman." The paper was divided into four sections, the first being an historical sketch of the development of Romanesque architecture from the remains of ancient Rome, and the subsequent evolution from it of the Norman style, first in Normandy, thereafter in England. An investigation into the intrinsic principles of the style formed the subject matter of the second section, special attention being given to the development of the subordinated semicircular arch and the progress in the art of vaulting. An analysis of various characteristic details—mouldings, ornaments, capitals, etc.—was the third point to which attention was devoted ; while in the fourth a brief description was given of some of the more important examples of the style in England and Scotland. The various points were illustrated with drawings and sketches.

Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.—June 2.—Visit to Bierley Hall. The hall contains many valuable portraits of the Richardson family, and excellent examples of antique furniture, in addition to the fine oak wainscoting of several of the rooms, all of which are in splendid keeping. The grounds contain the remains of a famous cedar of Lebanon, now almost lifeless, and a series of artificial lakes of considerable extent. In order to still further render the visit appreciable, Mr. T. T. Empsall, the president of the society, gave an interesting sketch of the history of Bierley Hall, with references to its most distinguished occupants. The mansion was erected in 1623, by William Richardson, upon the site of a still older residence of the family. The house was then of a

middle-class character. Its subsequent enlargement was probably due to the celebrated Dr. Richardson, the great botanist, and son of William Richardson. From early youth his taste for botany was very great, and in his maturer years he became an acknowledged authority on botanical subjects, as his contemporaries, Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Hans Sloane, and Thoresby, were in kindred subjects. In 1712 Dr. Richardson was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and to the close of his life enjoyed the friendship of its president, Sir Hans Sloane, and other distinguished antiquaries and scholars. When Dr. Richardson took up his residence at Bierley Hall, the house and grounds were made more suitable to his advanced tastes, and, as sketched by Warburton at the commencement of last century, the former was a cosy, compact dwelling. By the assistance of scattered notes on the subject, a tolerable idea may also be obtained of the extent and wealth of its surroundings. Although Dr. Richardson's taste for botany was pre-eminent, he was not entirely absorbed by it. He possessed a small museum, containing a collection of coins, objects of natural history, fossils, and various antiquities, besides the celebrated Hopkinson and other MSS. While adding to his museum, and extending his knowledge of antiquarian subjects, combined with the practice of medicine, the doctor gave full rein to his botanical inclinations by preparing his grounds for a display of both native and exotic plants, which in course of time became the admiration of all his distinguished visitors. Of the contents of this garden he made methodical and careful notes, and left a catalogue, now in the Eshton Hall library, which occupied seven years in preparation. The celebrated cedar of Lebanon, Mr. Empsall had reason for believing, was raised by Dr. Richardson from a cone sent him by Dr. Sherard, some time English Consul at Smyrna, and not from a seedling plant forwarded by Sir Hans Sloane. Dr. Richardson died in 1741, and was succeeded at Bierley by his son, the second Dr. Richardson, who died 1781. Although the latter inherited his father's abilities and some of his tastes, having added largely to the museum and to the collection of pictures and coins, he apparently lacked the botanical passion possessed by his distinguished parent. The botanic garden became uncared for, and ultimately disappeared, not even its boundaries being clearly traceable, so that by subsequent alterations and deteriorations the wealth and extent of its horticultural treasures exist only in the traditions of the place. Some account was also given of the subsequent owners and occupiers of Bierley Hall.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—June 4.—Visit to Redesdale. The first calling place was the place where lies what is left of "Robin of Risingham," which, unfortunately, is only a fragment of that interesting curiosity. Robin of Risingham is a figure cut in relief on a high sandstone rock a few yards to the west of modern Watling Street. The figure was originally about 4 feet high, had a panel above it about 29 inches long and 20 broad, as if intended for an inscription, and a square block or altar opposite the right knee. Soon the members were in the neighbourhood of a British camp, and the position of the small Roman camp at Raylees became visible. Arrived at Elsdon, the Mote Hill and the Pele Tower (now the

Rectory) were examined. Within the walls of the church Dr. Robertson, of Otterburn, read a paper, historical and descriptive, on that edifice. The church is dedicated to St. Cuthbert, and it is believed by tradition to have been visited by the monks carrying that saint's body in 875. The first church at Elsdon was probably composed of oak, with roof of rushes. Of an earlier church than the present the only existing remains are Norman pilasters, and two small Norman windows in the west gable, of date about 1100 or earlier. The present church was built about 1400, and was cruciform, with a chancel 45 feet long, while the nave is only 40 feet. There are two transepts, one called Anderson's porch, and the other Hedley's porch. The arcade is very fine in effect. Probably the only original windows remaining are the decorated window in the chancel and the lancet window, and the windows now existing are varied in design and age. In 1877 the church was restored. From the church the company repaired to the Mote, or Moat, Hill, where again Dr. Robertson was good enough to read a paper. The name, he suggested, was derived from the use to which these hills were put, and not from the moat which surrounded them. This is partly shown by the fact that mote hills are numerous, but are frequently only simple mounds undefended by moats or ditches. The French word "motte" seems, said Dr. Robertson, allied to the word moat. It means hillock. Another French word, "motke," which means a little earthen fortress, might have something to do with it. In Saxon and later times the barons of the district held their court on these mote hills. As to the origin of these hills, nothing is known, but looking at the high ramparts surrounding them, they had probably been used for defensive purposes. The only proof of Roman occupation of the mote hills at Elsdon consisted in a Roman tablet, which was discovered in one of them. Mr. Arkle calculated from 12,000 to 15,000 cubic yards had been carried from a distance to raise the hills. Probably it was got from the present hollow forming the present road to High Moat House. The next visit was to the Pele Tower, which has been converted into a rectory. After the repast, Dr. Robertson read a third paper on Elsdon Tower. He said that when this border tower became the parsonage-house and the man-at-arms walked out and the man of peace walked in was not known. Indeed little was known about the tower. It was, however, known to have existed about the time of Sir Robert Umphreville, who died in 1436. The arms emblazoned on the tower were the arms of the Umphrevilles, and the inscription R D (Robert Dunnus) de Rede was supposed to apply to Sir Robert de Umphreville, Vice-Admiral of England and Lord of Redesdale and Kyme, who died in 1436. The tower seemed probably to have been originally a country house or shooting-box, as we nowadays should call it, of the Lords of Redesdale, who, having their great castles at Harbottle and Prudhoe, would occasionally visit Elsdon to hunt and sport, and also to hold their court leets, and to execute justice on malefactors. The Umphrevilles were Lords of Redesdale from 1076 till 1436. They were succeeded by Sir Walter Taylboys, and the Taylboys were Lords of Redesdale until about 1540, when it became the property by exchange

of lands of King Henry VIII. It remained in the Crown until James I., in 1604, granted it to the first Lord Home. Lord Home's daughter married Lord Howard of Walden, who became Earl of Suffolk and Lord of Redesdale. Redesdale was attached to the Howard family until 1750, when the seignory of Redesdale with the advowson of Elsdon (which had from the Conquest belonged to the Lord of the Manor) was bought by the Duke of Northumberland. For many years it was held that "the King's writ runneth not in Redesdale." Dr. Robertson said that inside the square tower the massive strength of the walls was best observed in the drawing-room. This was, until Archdeacon Singleton's time, a dark vault with stone-arched roof, in which the rector's cows were folded, whilst the rector occupied the upstairs rooms. Subsequently the party went to the Roman station *Bremium*. Mr. John Robinson, of Newcastle, read a paper on a number of old letters and other documents which he had been fortunate in saving from destruction in the Hartley Bottle Works. Dr. Charlton, in his interesting lecture on "Society in Northumberland in the Seventeenth Century," which he delivered about twenty years ago, made mention of the thousands of letters, etc., belonging to the Delaval family, which were preserved at Ford Castle, and among which were letters from nearly all the principal families of the north of England, as well as those of the leading men of letters of the last century. Ever since the delivery of Dr. Charlton's lecture, local historians had longed to have an opportunity of inspecting the collection at Ford. Yet during all these years there had been a vast pile of letters, despatches, and old records lying in a roofless warehouse not a dozen miles from where they were now assembled. Some few of these had been saved, but hundreds of valuable papers had been reduced to a decomposed mass of pulp, through the winters' snows and summers' rains of more than fifty years, for the oldest inhabitant could not remember the roof being on the building. It was only by a portion of the roof falling upon the old papers that some of those they saw before them had been preserved. A great number of letters, despatches, and royal signatures which had passed through the hands of the Delaval family were burnt about twenty years ago, when the plant of the Hartley Bottle Works was sold, and the historical interest of the burnt papers could only be estimated by the value of those which had been saved, which included the blackened but fairly preserved great seal of Henry VII., the privy seal and letter of James I.; the autograph of Queen Anne, and that of the ill-fated Earl of Derwentwater. From the stone steps which led up to the granary John Wesley preached to the Hartley colliers. By the courtesy of Mr. Lumsden, agent to the Marchioness of Waterford, he (Mr. Robinson) had been allowed to inspect and collect what he thought would be of any interest. He began his labours among a vast collection of ledgers, etc., removed from the Hartley offices and pitched on to a lime-heap, with the object of compiling and tabulating the wages paid to the various trades and labouring workers in Seaton Sluice a hundred years ago, but, as he turned over ledger after ledger and countless piles of vouchers, he began to pick up packets of private letters of the Delavals, Irish State papers, and

Admiralty despatches to Captain Delaval, with innumerable receipts for legacies and annuities paid to almost every family in Northumberland of any importance, together with the cost of cows bought at Hexham and Morpeth in the year 1590, as well as receipts for the daily articles used in castle and cot from time immemorial. Among the papers which he exhibited were the signatures of a Fenwick, an Ogle, a Mitford, Ord, Lilburn, Bowes, Gray, Milbank, Brandling, Foster, and scores of others, whose names were interwoven with border history. In the Admiralty despatch would be found names which would live as long as England's naval glory was part of history. The name of the ill-fated Admiral Byng often appeared. Among the letters the most interesting was that of Lord Chesterfield, bearing on the Irish question. Next in importance were letters of Samuel Foote, the great actor and dramatist, whose letters were characteristic of the wit and man of the world. One of the most frequent and charming correspondents with the family was a Miss Hammond, and she was the only one of the writers of the letters who made a quotation from the poets. The collection of family letters were a most interesting portion of the collection. Through them they got glimpses of the home life. The collection was also rich in documents of more national interest. There were several Portuguese letters and despatches; the petition of the first English settlers in Caroline, who were robbed of the lands and implements of husbandry which the Government had given them: "Ye petition of ye French Protestants taken in ye Dutch ships;" the names of the lords spiritual and temporal in the Parliament holden at Dublin, July, 1634, and innumerable other papers and documents.—On the motion of Dr. Hodgkin, a hearty vote of thanks was given to Mr. Robinson.

Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors.—Feb. 4, 1888.—A paper was read by Mr. H. W. Macklin on the interesting effigy at Bowers Giffard, Essex, of Sir John Giffard, A.D. 1348, who is represented as wearing the leather jupon, now first developed from the older cyclas. A short sketch was also given of the not uneventful history of the brass itself, which was removed at the rebuilding of the church, and remained for many years in private hands, at one time serving the undignified purpose of stopping up some holes in a farmhouse store-room. It was restored by a late rector, the Rev. W. W. Tireman, and now lies safely on the chancel floor within the altar rails. Rubbings were also exhibited of the Camberwell palimpsests and the beautiful Wensley priest of Flenish workmanship.

March 3, 1888.—Mr. L. H. Cooley read an interesting paper on the "Brasses of Ladies," showing the many changes of costume exhibited in this—by no means the least interesting—class of effigies. The illustrations covered a period of four centuries, from the fourteenth to the eighteenth.

May 25, 1888.—Palimpsest brasses were treated of in a short paper read by the vice-president. After explaining the nature of a palimpsest brass, he confined his remarks chiefly to an interesting specimen from Burwell, Cambridgeshire, which is doubly palimpsest; part of the canopy having been cut from the effigy of a deacon, while the main figure itself has been altered from episcopal to canonical vestments.

At the annual election of officers Mr. T. S. Murray retained his post of Vice-President; Messrs. H. W. Macklin and S. H. Worsley, St. John's College, were elected Hon. Secretary and Hon. Sub-Secretary respectively; and Messrs. W. R. Grove, Sidney College, and J. E. Kershaw, Queen's College, Editors of pamphlets.

British Archaeological Association.—Closing meeting of session, June 6, the Rev. Prebendary Scarth in the chair.—The progress of the arrangements for holding the Congress at Glasgow in August next were detailed. Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., reported the discovery of a portion of a sculptured slab in excavations on the site of the new markets, Carlisle. Two figures of the Deæ Matres remain on it in perfect preservation. A plain altar was also found, and the socket into which it had fitted. Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., read a letter from the Town Clerk of Christchurch denying that the Corporation of that town had any intention of removing the ruins of the Norman House there. Mr. Roach Smith, F.S.A., exhibited a photograph of a curious iron figure of the Saviour found near Lancing, now in possession of the Rev. F. Haverfield. Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., described various antiquities which he had obtained at Perugia and Fiesole. The Rev. S. M. Mayhew produced a large collection of antiquities found for the most part in London in recent years. A paper was then read by Mr. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., in the absence of its author, Mr. Hy. Prigg, on the discovery of some late Celtic objects near Elveden, Suffolk. The site of the discovery is the Broom Close Field, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Thetford. A quantity of burnt matter was found in excavating only 18 inches below the modern level. Three urns of fine wheel pottery were met with arranged in the form of a triangle. Among the remains, which were clearly sepulchral, were many fragments of metal bands, one of which had been covered with late Celtic ornament. Sufficient remained to show that they had found part of a *situla* lined inside and out. A drawing showing the form of the vessel was exhibited. A paper was then read by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew on the Romans at Filey. The Bay of Filey is called *Portus Felix* by Ptolemy. A Roman fort existed on the hill not far from the church, and many traces of it were visible after a fall of the cliff a few years ago. Five stone bases, socketed for wooden uprights, have also been discovered, as well as many other objects which were detailed by the lecturer.

Bucks Archaeological Society.—July 9.—Annual Meeting.—An excursion was made, and several places of interest in South Bucks visited. Mr. Carrington kindly received the party at Missenden Abbey, where a paper was read on the history of the place by Mr. Jno. Parker, one of the hon. secs. of the society. After Great Missenden was visited the party drove to Little Missenden Church, a building remarkable for its Norman remains. Chesham Bois Church was the next place of call; here some ancient brasses attracted attention, one in particular to a "Chrysom" child; the old hour glass-frame is still attached to the wall close to the pulpit, and there are other objects of interest in the church. At Latimer Mansion the party was received by Lord Chesham, who entertained them, and here the annual meeting of the society was

held, and several new members introduced. Progress was then made to the village of Chenies, where the Russell Mausoleum was inspected and described by the Rector. A visit to the Manor House of Chenies concluded a most pleasant excursion.—(Communicated by Mr. R. Gibbs, F.S.A.)

Caradoc Field Club.—Meeting at Cleobury Mortimer.—June 25.—Mr. and Mrs. Child explained the various details of the church. The present building is mainly Early English, but the tower is of earlier date, and there are also portions containing Perpendicular work. There are few monuments in the church, and these of comparatively recent date, but one of these has very interesting associations. It marks the resting-place of one of the children of the Rev. George Moultrie, who was vicar of Cleobury from 1800 to 1845, but during part of the time lived in Shrewsbury, and held the curacy of St. Julian's there. The grave in question is that which gave its title to the poem, "My brother's grave," from the pen of the Rev. John Moultrie, vicar of Rugby. No monuments of the Mortimers are to be found, as with the exception of an infant son of Roger and Isabella Mortimer, circa 1190, they were all buried at Wigmore, in the abbey they had founded there. The chief literary interest, however, attaching to Cleobury Mortimer centres in William Langland, the author of the "Vision of Piers Plowman," who was born in the neighbourhood about 1331-2, and to whose memory the east window has, within the last few years, been very successfully filled with stained glass.—The party also accepted the invitation of Mr. Herbert Jones to inspect the collection of fossils in his possession.



Reviews.

Papers Read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, Royal Albert Hall—Hebrew Deeds of English Jews before 1290, edited by M. D. DAVIS—*Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica: A Bibliographical Guide to Anglo-Jewish History*. By JOSEPH JACOBS and LUCIEN WOLF. (London: Jewish Chronicle Office, 1887-88. 3 vols. 8vo.) *Catalogue of the Exhibition*. (London: Clowes and Sons. 1887. 8vo.)

Many of our readers will remember that last year a singularly interesting exhibition was held at the Royal Albert Hall, the objects of which were: "1. To promote a knowledge of Anglo-Jewish history; to create a deeper interest in its records and relics, and to aid in their preservation; 2. To determine the extent of the materials which exist for the compilation of a history of the Jews in England." The objects exhibited were very varied, and consisted of the following classes: 1. Historic relics and records; 2. Jewish ecclesiastic art; 3. Antiquities; and 4. coins and medals. In the first class were title-deeds, pictures of Jewish buildings, and portraits of celebrated Jews; in the second class, objects connected with the synagogue and with home ceremonies; and in the third class, manuscripts, books, seals and rings, etc. Besides the general exhibition at Kensington, supple-

mentary exhibitions were held at the Public Record Office, British Museum, and South Kensington Museum. The objects have been dispersed, but the catalogue remains a valuable record of the Exhibition. In addition to this, the general cause of history and literature has benefited by the publication of three remarkable volumes, which we will proceed to notice.

The papers read during the course of the Exhibition contain much fresh historical information. That on the "London Jewry, 1290," by Mr. Joseph Jacobs, is an important contribution to our knowledge of London topography, and Mr. Lucien Wolf's account of "The Middle Age of Anglo-Jewish History, 1290-1656," shows conclusively the groundlessness of the popular impression that from the time of the banishment by Edward I. until 1656, when Menassah ben Israel prevailed upon Cromwell to informally repeal the edict of expulsion, no Jews could have entered this country. The author remarks that there is no law which is not sometimes broken, and it is not easy to see why a decree of the first Edward should be specially respected centuries after its first promulgation. Mr. Sydney L. Lee has shown that Rodrigo Lopez, Queen Elizabeth's physician, must have sat to Shakespeare for his portrait of Shylock. Mr. Walter Rye's paper on the "Persecution of the Jews in England" gives a sad picture of the credulity and cruelty of our ancestors. Dr. Gross's "Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages" is a remarkable monument of well-directed research, and throws much light upon the general history of this country as well as upon the position of the Jews.

The second volume, edited by Mr. M. D. Davis, contains a series of "Hebrew Deeds of English Jews before 1290," obtained from the Record Office, the British Museum, and the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey. These deeds chiefly relate to sales of land, rent of shops, transfer of debts, deposits of security, betrothal deeds, etc. The third volume, which is devoted to bibliography, contains ample materials for a history of the Jews in England. The Catalogue is classified, and contains notices of Acts of Parliament, trials, periodicals, school-books, cookery-books, etc., as well as histories, biographies, etc. The compilers quote the Rabbinic maxim, which should always be in the minds of writers—"Say a thing in the name of him who said it."

Biblioteca di Bibliografia e Paleografia: Della Compilazione del Cataloghi per Biblioteche. . . Regole ed Esempi di Charles C. Jewett prima versione dall'Inglese a cura del Dr. Guido Biagi. Programma Scolastico di Paleografia Latina e di Diplomatica esposto da Cesare Paoli I. Visconte Colomb de Batines, Giunte e Correzioni Medite alla Bibliografia Dantesca. (Firenze: 1888. 3 vols. 8vo.)

Bibliography has a good standing in Italy, and these three well-printed volumes show the esteem in which the study is held. Jewett's useful rules were well worthy of translation, but the publishers of this library would do well to follow it by a translation of Mr. Cutter's still more valuable rules. To the recording of Dante literature there is no end; because Dante is not merely a great poet, but the representative of his times and the embodiment of his nation.

Nuovi Documenti e Studi intorno a Girolamo Savonarola per cura di Alessandro Gherardi. 2nda edizione. (Firenze, 1887. Small 8vo.)

Savonarola is one of the great men of the world, and therefore we ought all to thank those who help us to know more of his great individuality, and show us where to go for further information. This is a handy and valuable little volume.

The Goths from the Earliest Times to the end of the Gothic Dominion in Spain ("The Story of the Nations"). By HENRY BRADLEY. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1888. 8vo.)

It is strange that the mighty nation of the Goths should have waited so long for an historian. Mr. Bradley has succeeded in the attempt which he has made to produce a popular history of the people who shook the Roman Empire to its fall, and he has given us a most interesting account of an important chapter in the history of Europe, which forms a valuable addition to "The Story of the Nations," and will be read with pleasure both by the scholar and by the student "in whom little knowledge of general history is to be pre-supposed," for whom the author is more especially supposed to write. The Goths require to be commemorated, for they have left little but their great deeds to remind us of them. They have enriched our vocabulary with two words: the one (a Goth, or uncultivated person) is unjust, and the other (Gothic, as applied to architecture) is honourable, but the Goths are not entitled to the honour. Mr. Bradley writes: "When the word 'Gothic' was first applied to the pointed style of architecture, it was meant to denote the opposite of 'Roman.' Yet, after all, this use of the name is a sort of memorial of the former greatness of the Goths, because it is founded on the correct notion that there was once a time when the Romans and the Goths were the two chief peoples of the Western world."

The task which the author set himself was not an easy one: to trace the history of a people without a country—a nation which after years of barbarian obscurity sprang into the position of the mightiest people in Europe, and then vanished from the page of history, and were no longer known in the countries they had governed; but he has surmounted his difficulties successfully, and produced a work which is a distinct addition to the historical library. To many the chapter which tells the story of the apostle of the Goths—the great Wulfilas, the remains of whose version of the Bible is so inestimable a treasure—will be one of the most interesting.

The Gentleman's Magazine Library. Edited by G. L. GOMME, F.S.A. *Literary Curiosities.* (London: Elliot Stock, 1888.)

The last issued volume of this valuable series is in no way inferior to any of its predecessors, and this is giving it high praise. From its subject it is likely to be more popular, for the names of book-lovers nowadays are legion, and, moreover, to no one, bibliophile or not, can this volume be without interest, for few

indeed are the subjects not touched upon, and there is an admirable index.

As in the previous volumes, the articles from the *Gentleman's Magazine* are supplemented by elucidatory notes, which also give a large amount of additional information, and what is even more useful, frequent references to where full accounts upon the subject may be found. The book is sumptuously printed, the paper good, and the binding in excellent taste.

Stray Chapters in Literature, Folk-Lore, and Archaeology. By WILLIAM E. A. AXON. (Manchester: John Heywood, 1888.)

The contents of this volume are very varied, and the reader who cannot find something to interest him must be difficult to please. There are one-and-twenty articles, all of which are attractive, although the subjects of some are too large to be at all adequately treated in the space allotted to them; for instance, "Luxury, Ancient and Modern," deserves more than seventeen pages of comment if we are to get to the bottom of this difficult subject. Mr. Axon is at his best in such an article as that on his "Richard Phillips, Bookseller and Author." How easy it is to be deceived by a title we may illustrate by our own first impression of the article styled "Virgil and Cotton." We jumped to the conclusion that it contained an account of Charles Cotton's Hudibrastic version of Virgil, but we found that it really related to Virgil's mention of the cotton plant. We may allude to the chapters on the "Relation of Archaeology to Art" as a subject likely to be specially interesting to our readers. We hope that we shall not be misunderstood if we express our thankfulness that the great artists of the past were not archaeologists. They would have taught us much less than they do if instead of painting the manners and costumes of their own time they had striven after an impossible correctness.



Correspondence.

ROMAN WORK IN CHESTER.

[*Ante*, xvii. 41, 94, 126, 137, 242.]

In reasoning out the proofs of any archaeological question, it is natural that those who have had ample opportunity of examining the tangible evidence existing for such conclusions stand at a great advantage over those who have not. This is especially the case when such evidences are in any way indefinite and inconclusive. Had Mr. Napper seen the Roodee Wall at Chester, not only would he have seen that his suggestions were inconsistent with that structure, but that they are impossible ones.

Mr. Roach Smith, many years ago, originated the idea that the existing walls of Chester contained much Roman work; but he has not had the advantage of examining any of the recent works of excavation and rebuilding which brought to light so many interesting

relics. With one point of Mr. Roach Smith's letter I cordially agree, namely, the unwisdom of the committee who conducted the more recent excavations, in endeavouring to keep their proceedings and work secret, even from the knowledge of noted archaeologists, until their own report should be issued. Even men of such high repute as the late Thomson Watkin were only permitted a short examination of the latest finds, under the condition that the information was not to be made public till the permission of the committee was given. How much the antiquarian cause has lost by Mr. Watkin's death before this prescribed date, can only be surmised. It is well known in Chester that the execution of the work was left in the hands of one or two of the committee, who take strong views in one direction, and inasmuch as the correctness of certain portions of the previous report has been publicly challenged, it can hardly be thought wrong if I express a hope, shared by many others, that future researches will be conducted in such a way as to admit of skilled persons being permitted to obtain information during their progress. Personally, I have nothing to complain of, because I have seen the progress of the excavations and the various discoveries made, under the above limitations; in fact, I have seen drawn and noted, and pointed out, other objects which I thought interesting, though I cannot yet be sure that it has been thought worth while to preserve them.

The general conclusion I have come to respecting the construction of these walls is, that the question remains still extremely doubtful. Nothing of a distinctive and unquestionably Roman character is shown in them. Mr. Roach Smith instances Mr. Parker's reply: "Did anyone ever see such work as this that was *not* Roman?" in reference to a fragment at Salisbury. Now, strange to say, not a particle of such work as was then pointed out exists *in situ*, in Chester walls, as they stand on their present lines. A foundation of strong concrete, believed to be that of the south wall, was discovered almost a year ago in Bridge Street, to which Mr. Parker's words could be applied; it lies far within the existing lines of wall, and no one would question its Roman character; and this relic is just what the rest of the walls are not.

Have we any more definite evidence in the masonry of the existing wall? I think not. The wall claimed as Roman is faced well with large stones set in loose earth; the core and backing vary very much; there are some large stones, set dry, but a great deal is mere rubble of rough stone that rolls out when the facing is ruined. All this wall is a retaining wall, banked up with earth. Is such building a mark of Roman work? Is it distinctively so? Would Mr. Parker have accepted this as unquestionable? Is the free re-use of ancient Roman stones, sculptured and plain, a proof of Roman work? Mr. Loftus Brock tells us that this wall was built deliberately, not in haste; the courses are kept fairly even and well jointed, and the depth of each course is run on for long distances, by the stones being matched in size. This is true as regards much of the *facing*; but if the walls were not built in haste, why should tombs and public buildings be torn down to construct it? Does the material or its condition give indubitable proof? No! Sir James Picton says the wall has come down to the present time

because it was built of very carefully selected and enduring stone. The local sandstone and pebble-beds are very perishable, and crumble away in three or four centuries. The stones of this work are of mixed quality. I have traced many of them to their quarries; some are very good, but a very large proportion are local stones of a perishable character, some quite rough, and quarried near the spot; moreover, many of the Roman sculptured stones are soft local stone. Yet this wall is throughout in very fair condition, and leaves no great marks of the extreme wear of age. Good stones and bad are fairly well preserved, so much so, that in the city surveyor's rebuilding, none of them have needed rejection. The local stone suffers no change when buried, only when exposed. Can these stones be said to show signs of exposure for fourteen or fifteen centuries?

The tooling of the stones is not absolutely decisive. Undoubtedly there are many Roman stones bedded in the wall, and, where protected, the tooling is fresh. In this district, however, Roman tooling is not distinctive. I am prepared to show, by dated examples, that the same style of working has survived through the Middle Ages to the present day. Stone wrought in Roman fashion is now being used at the Manchester Ship Canal. The plinth is strongly urged as being a Roman feature. Similar plinths exist on the present south wall, part of which was built in the reign of Edward I., part in the time of Henry VII., and at this point it is agreed that there is a mediæval extension beyond the Roman lines. The plinth, therefore, as every architect knows, is not a distinctive feature. The mortar, where any exists, is not Roman. I have carefully obtained many specimens of it, as well as undoubted Roman mortar. Similar mortar can be found in the Norman work of the city. A friend has kindly subjected some of it to chemical tests, and separated its component parts. It is not distinctively Roman in composition. It is stated that no mediæval remains were found in the excavations, or in the stones of the wall when rebuilding it. Upon this subject I do not at present say anything. I await the report of the committee, and shall be pleased if it agrees in all respects with my own notes.

Only one more point in Mr. Roach Smith's letter remains to be noticed. He has seen a photograph of a stone representing two figures, which are respectively called two females and two ecclesiastical figures. He describes one figure as carrying an animal, probably a pet cat. Curiously enough the London Archaeological Societies also, many of whose members saw this stone when sent to London, described this *animal* carried by one of the figures. By such careless examinations and heedless statements are errors put into current circulation. Not one of the London gentlemen who have pronounced so decidedly on the origin of this stone have looked at it with sufficient care to find that the object they call an animal is the perfectly distinct left hand of the figure; and what they suppose to be the legs of an animal are the four fingers. I have seen, and drawn, and examined this stone scores of times, and puzzled myself to find the "animal," and only the other day I found where the mistake had been made. I have already previously pointed out that the tooling of this stone differs from the others, in being wrought with a broad tool on the background,

the others being wrought with a pointed tool. No member of the London Associations has noticed this. Mr. de Gray Birch was among the first to claim this as a mediæval relic; why he altered his mind I do not know. I do not presume to pronounce any final judgment, and in your magazine I have drawn attention to the characteristics of this stone and its variations from those of undoubted Roman date, and I have given an illustration of it. Sir James Picton, the President of the Archaeological Association, in his remarks upon this stone, referring to the scarf, or clavus, or *stole*, worn by one of the figures, says that the "*stola*" was worn by Roman matrons; he being apparently unaware that the "*stola*" was something entirely different from the mediæval *stole*. I refer to this because much discussion has been raised on the fact that one figure wears a clavus or *stole*, all of which might have been spared, because this vestment was just the one common to both Roman and mediæval dress, and, therefore, *not* distinctive; consequently, argument on that one feature goes for nothing on either side.

E. W. COX.

WOODEN PIPES FOR CONVEYING WATER.

[*Ante*, xvii. 189, 268.]

I have reason to believe that in the beginning of this century water was conveyed under the streets of Hull in wooden pipes, such as those mentioned at p. 268. A Hull merchant, who had more than once filled the post of mayor of that town in the unreformed days, purchased a small estate in this parish. It adjoined my father's property, and I well remember when I was a little boy, some forty-five years ago, riding beside him on my pony through some of the fields belonging to this gentleman, and seeing a pile of these wooden tubes. I asked my father what they were, and he told me that they were the old pipes which had been used in Hull for conveying water, but that they had been taken up and their place supplied by iron tubes. As they were almost worthless, Mr. Hall, the merchant to whom the property belonged, had purchased several of them for a trifle, to use as drains for conveying water under the gateways between field and field.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

Bottesford Manor, Brigg,

June 1.

HOLY BREAD.

[*Ante*, xvii. 191.]

Referring to Mr. Peacock's paper on Holy Bread it may interest your readers to know that my father, the late William Wyndham Malet, restored the customs at Ardeley, of which he was parish priest, some twenty years ago.

The bread was blessed according to the form given in Mr. Peacock's paper, and distributed to the communicants after service. In a parish where some of the parishioners had two miles to walk to church, the practical utility of the old custom was amply proved.

G. E. W. MALET, Major, R.H.A.

The Antiquary Exchange.

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The Antiquary.



SEPTEMBER, 1888.

Calceolaria Quædam.

B. Balduinus de Calceo Antiquo et Jul. Nigronus de Caliga Veterum. AMSTELODAMI, Sumptibus Sebastiani Combi et Joannis Lanov. CIO IO CLXVII. Thus runs the title of a little yellow duodecimo published in the Netherlands some two centuries ago. In the Preface *Ad Lectorem Benevolum*, which is headed *Benedicti Balduini Ambiani, Calceus Antiquus et Mysticus*, the object and scope of the work are modestly set forth. "So wide," says the brave Benedict, "is the field of literature that, albeit it seems impossible to say anything which has not already been said, yet in reality there is always plenty of room in which the industry of scribblers may expatiate." Being himself the son of a shoemaker, he naturally considers that there is nothing like leather, and scouts the idea that his subject is not to the full as interesting and worthy of attention as many which lend themselves more easily to grandiloquence. Others may soar higher, but he, in determining to write *De Calceis veterum, deque mystica Calceorum significatione*, knows no shame. No man, he thinks, can justly censure him for taking his stand on ignoble ground (*quod in vili Calceo consistam*); and he has no intention of mounting higher, lest haply someone may be warranted in administering the time-honoured snub, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*.

The labours of Balduin have been turned to good account by many, but acknowledged by few. All writers on the domestic manners and customs of the Greeks and Romans have filched from him, from Rubens, and from Pollux, what little they have to say under the head of "Coverings for the Feet among the Ancients." Becker, indeed, in *Gallus*, speaks

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of him almost contumeliously, yet scorns not to make all the use he can of his suggestions and elucidations. The "mystical significance" which, rightly or wrongly, he attaches to the subject is ignored altogether. Now, by SS. Crispin and Crispinian of blessed memory, thou hast deserved, gentle Balduin, better treatment than this. Let us be more charitable, and at least see what thou hast to say for thyself. Then, when thou hast been weighed in the balance, withdraw thyself, if thou be found wanting, from the ranks of useful and instructive authors. And, if thou be not even amusing, if the simplicity of thy thoughts, or the quaintness of thy Latinity, awaken in us no sense of gratitude or kindly appreciation, be thou banished *a mensa et thoro*, and evermore hold thy peace.

He begins, like all wise men and shoemakers, from the beginning. Having undertaken to discourse *de Calceo*, he inquires first what *Calceus* may mean, and finds no difficulty whatever in tracing its etymology to *Calx*, *anglicè* "a heel." *Calcei*, then, or "shoes," are so called, either because we tread in them with our heels, or because by their means our heels are protected against the thousand and one little stumbling-blocks (*offendicula*) which infest our paths. "But then, though their etymology is plain enough, how did they originate? Who made the first pair? Some writers, following Pliny, have assigned this honour to one Boethius. But what do we know of Boethius? When did he live, and where? A far more satisfactory answer to our question is to be found by referring to the Book of Genesis. There we read that God, in pronouncing his sentence on our first parents after the Fall, said to Adam, 'Cursed is the ground for thy sake. . . . Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee (*Maledicta terra spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi*).' Are we to suppose that Adam walked about for the rest of his life barefoot, allowing his feet to be torn by these same thorns and thistles? Why, every living animal knows instinctively how to protect itself and its body from all that is noxious. What right have we to assume that the first man was such a hopeless dullard (*tam stupidum hebetemque*)? Of course, he at once set about devising some means of protecting himself and his bare feet. At any rate, the

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idea must have presented itself to him. For my own part, I have no difficulty in believing that, as God made unto Adam and his wife coats of skins, He provided some sort of covering for their feet also (*consensus est Calceos eadem ratione consuisse*); in short, God Himself may, without irreverence, be fairly concluded to have been the first Shoemaker."

We read in our Bacon that "God Almighty first planted a garden;" and Balduin, from internal evidence, proves that He condescended to do something yet more humble and human, or, from our author's point of view, humane—proves, that is, to his own complete satisfaction; some of us, perhaps, may consider that he has jumbled unduly the *post hoc* with the *propter hoc*.

Having disposed of this preliminary question, he proceeds to enumerate the various materials out of which, according to the equally various contingencies of place, time, and rank, shoes have been made. It is a formidable list—and we may congratulate ourselves that some, at all events, are no longer in vogue: skin or leather, papyrus, esparto, rushes, linen, silk, wood, iron, bronze, silver, and gold. Taking them in their order, he gives the first place in respect of antiquity to leather, which in the earliest ages was used in the form of untanned hide, but in Roman times was already manipulated with no small skill. The tanners, who in those days were (what their name itself does not imply) skinners as well, owing to the malodorous nature of their occupation, were forbidden to reside within the walls of a city. Even now a tanyard is not always considered an eligible neighbour. The house of Simon the tanner is described as being "by the seaside;" that is to say, outside the city walls, or if, as is probable, there were no walls on the sea front, at least beyond the limits of the city proper. Some persons may object that the Apostle Peter is distinctly declared to have "tarried many days in Joppa." "If you come to that," argues Benedict, "why, the people who live in the *faubourgs* of Paris are called Parisians (*suburbani Parisiorum Parisienses dicuntur*). He evidently does not belong to the tribe of *cymini sectores*.

Shoes made of papyrus, esparto, and rushes were worn, the first and third in Egypt, the second in Spain. These, it may be supposed,

were all constructed on the same plan, being woven of stiffer or softer material, according to circumstances. "That reminds me (*in mentem ecce succurrit*)," he continues, "of a conversation I once had with a remarkably learned man who knew a number of queer things (*viro insigniter et curiosè docto*). We were talking about Moses, who, when he was feeding his father-in-law's sheep, presumably adopted the dress of the Egyptian shepherds. He was approaching the burning bush, and received the command from God: *Solve calceamentum de pedibus tuis*. Now, what was that *calceamentum*? And why was Moses ordered to remove it? My friend supplied a solution which is briefly as follows: The shoes which Moses wore were made of the common rush (*ex junco marino contexta*): the so-called Crown of Thorns placed on the head of Christ was made of the same material. God ordered Moses to remove the shoes from off his feet because it was unseemly that the servant should wear on his feet that with which the Lord Himself was one day to be crowned." The difficulty as to the actual material of the Crown of Thorns is well known to modern commentators,* and Balduin's friend is as likely as anyone else to have suggested the true interpretation. The connection with Moses is at least ingenious, and if not tenable, is *ben trovato*, at worst.

The use of linen, silk, and velvet as a material for shoes is to be traced without difficulty. The Emperor Antoninus adopted the first-named, and the priests who conducted the ceremonial of his favourite Sun-worship are said by Herodian to have worn a similar *chaussure*. Kings and pontiffs have long affected silk or velvet slippers, and Froissart, describing a coronation, says, *On luy chaussa un veloux de vermeil en guise de Prêlat*. "So, then, bishops adorned their feet in those days precisely as they do in

* Dean Alford, in his note *ad loc.*, says: "It does not appear whether the purpose of the crown was to wound or simply for mockery—and equally uncertain is it of what kinds of thorns it was composed. The *acanthus* itself (the word in the original Greek), with its large succulent leaves, is singularly unfit for such a purpose: as is the plant with very long sharp thorns, commonly known as *spina Christi*, being a brittle acacia (robinia)—and the very length of the thorns, which would meet in the middle, if it were bent into a wreath, precluding it. Some *flexile* shrub or plant must be understood," etc.

these (*hic igitur ille tum erat, ut etiam nunc, Episcopatum pedum ornatus*)." The kings of France at their coronation were accustomed to don shoes of sky-blue silk, picked out with golden lilies.

Philostratus, in his *Life of Apollonius*, takes occasion to mention various customs of the Indians, and among them speaks of shoes made of the bark of trees. This may refer, of course, merely to the soles; but shoes made wholly of wood were probably not uncommon, and, indeed, are familiar enough to all travellers in Balduin's own country to this day. He himself notices the prevalence around him of what "*vernaculo nostro idiomate Sabots dicuntur*." To this class he refers also the Caligæ and Gallicæ, the former being the military boot, and the latter very much like it, though in later times, and under the name of *Galloches*, signifying rather a form of over-shoe.

Most people have heard of Empedocles and his melodramatic end, but who knows anything about his foot-gear? Alexander of Naples declares that he was shod with iron, while Philostratus, Diogenes Laertius, and Ælian are equally certain that he wore bronze, and avow that the philosopher's fate was argued from the fact that, soon after his disappearance, his shoe, and that a bronze one, was discovered on the mountain. Tertullian supports this view, and our worthy Benedict does likewise, leaving himself, however, a loophole: "No doubt it was of bronze," he says, "unless, indeed, the metallurgists prefer iron on the ground that bronze would easily have been melted, and so the shoe could never have been found at all." We must be content to leave this momentous question undecided. At any rate, if it really was an iron pair that the ill-starred Agrigentine wore, it was the first and last known to history except those which were used as instruments of torture. Of the existence of the latter there is evidence enough, and to spare, as any man may prove for himself by consulting a work entitled *Martyrologium Romanum*.

"What limit is there," he cries, "to the insane extravagance of mankind alike in respect of their apparel and—their boots? Was it not enough to indulge in garments so costly that they might be said, in the words of D. Hieronymus, *uno filo villarum*

pretia insuere, without walking upon silver soles and pearls?" And he proceeds to quote many examples of inordinate luxury of this nature. Some of the Roman emperors did not even draw the line at silver, as Diocletian, who, after his triumph over the Persians, elected to have his feet cased in the yet more precious metal; or Heliogabalus, whose shoes were studded with gems, each of which was engraved by one of the best artists in Rome. But perhaps the sublimest height of idiotic prodigality was reached by Poppæa, who, according to Pliny, was accustomed to have her choicer mules shod with gold.

So much, then, for the material, to supply which, as we have seen, quadrupeds, trees, plants, silkworms, and metals were all laid under contribution. After describing the matter, we naturally pass on to the form. And here we are met by an almost endless variety. Our Shoe-historian becomes poetical in his fancy. "*The Calceus*," he exclaims, "if regarded with some breadth of view (*siquidem liberiore sumptus significatu*), may be likened to a tree with its network of branches; or, if you prefer it, to the sea, which is called by a variety of names according to the situation in which you find it." And then he sets down a long list of *mullei*, *soleæ*, *sandalia*, *caligæ*, *crepidæ*, *socci*, *cothurni*, together with names taken from persons or places, such as *Tzangæ*, *Sicyonia*, *Alcibiadæ*, *Laconicæ*, *Persicæ*, and the like. "But while I am girding myself up to describe all these separate kinds, I will take," he adds, "the opportunity of saying a word as to the quarter in which those who practised the trade were to be found at Rome. I have already explained that the skimmers or tanners were obliged to house themselves outside the city walls. But, of course, the artists, by whose skill the shoes were fashioned, could not be excluded from a great city like Rome. On the contrary, they had their own special quarter. Pliny, telling the story, at once funny and pathetic, of the raven who imitated human speech, mentions, *inter alia*, that in the reign of Tiberius a bird of this species flew down from the temple of Castor and Pollux into a cobbler's stall opposite, which proves that persons plying that trade were allowed to reside in town. Now, this temple, as Rosinus tells us on the authority of Onu-

phrius and others, was situate in District No. 8 of Rome. There is nothing out of the way in assigning a quarter of their own to the shoemaking fraternity, for we know that the potters all lived in one street, and the glass-workers (*vitriarii*) in another."

As for the general shape of the *Calceus*, he draws on a reminiscence of his own youth for our enlightenment: "I remember seeing, when I was a lad in my father's shop, a very curious specimen made of tanned hide; to be sure, this was not intended for wearing on the foot, but, to tell the truth, served as a kind of goblet for health-drinking. The tip of the toe was arched, as when a man puts out his tongue and tries to touch his nose with it (*similis linguae exsertæ, versusque nares reflexæ*). My opinion is that this was the shape of the Roman *Calceus*." And he goes on to cite chapter and verse from Tertullian and others to confirm his view. Being concerned rather with Benedict himself and his own words than with the correctness of his opinions, we will not follow him into all the parallel passages which he has collected on his side.

Again, as to the colour of the ancient shoes. Speaking generally, the custom among civilians was for men to wear black, women white. We do meet with Latin words indicating a departure from this somewhat monotonous fashion, as e.g., *cereus* (perhaps *flesh-coloured*), *galbus* (yellow), *hederaceus* (ivy-green); but these were the exceptions, not the rule.

Just as the shoes of men were distinct from those of women, so also had the senatorial *chaussure* its distinguishing characteristic. Their *Calcei* were *lunati*, that is, were embroidered or otherwise adorned with a little moon (*lunula adsuta*). What might be the significance of this? Plutarch gives several alternative solutions of the puzzle. It might signify, he suggests, that after death the souls of the wearers would reside in some heavenly sphere above the moon, even as their bodies now looked down upon it. Or it might have been meant as a perennial warning of the mutability of all things human. Or, again, it might have symbolized the gradual expansion of the Roman Empire. Another writer, Isidorus, declares that it was not a representation of the moon at all, but merely the letter

C, signifying *Centum*, to remind all the world that the senators originally numbered only one hundred. Balduin does not know what to make of it, and, wearying a little of the topic, says with some petulance: "That is all I have to tell you about *Calcei Lunati*, and this, together with all the other latest views on the subject, anyone who likes may read for himself *apud Rosinum et Dempsterum*, to whom I am indebted for almost all that I have said on the subject." What precisely the *lunula* was, and on what part of the *Calceus* it was worn, Rosinus and Dempsterus decline to inform us; no doubt, because they were in a hurry to get on to something more important (*ad alia magis seria properantes*). Benedict, however, is not to be baffled. "We will find it out," he cries, "and lo and behold! a passage from Philostratus, explaining the whole difficulty, just at the right moment comes into my mind." The result of which happy feat of recollection is to establish the fact that the *lunula* was an ivory or other buckle, crescent-shaped (*fibulæ eburneæ ad instar Lunæ corniculantes*); sometimes it was made of gold, or silver, or even precious stones, but it always retained the same horned shape. "We will not quarrel about the material, and if anyone likes to maintain that the *fibulæ* were made of iron or bronze, I don't mind (*non repugno*); nay, I agree with him with all my heart (*imo lubens assentior*), only suggesting that those made of the cheaper metals must have belonged to the earlier and more simple Republic, not to the lavish days of the Empire." Whatever their material, they were, no doubt, worn on the instep, plain for all folk to see. Hence the saying, translated from Philostratus, *Tu nobilitatem habes in talis*.

A great deal has been written on the species of shoe called *Mulleus*. The derivation of the word is itself a difficulty; for while Festus connects it with a Greek verb, meaning (or capable of being cajoled into meaning), "to sew," Isidorus deduces it from the red *Mullet*, because, forsooth, that was the colour of the shoe (*quod scilicet illi essent purpurei*). Balduin thinks there is something to recommend both etymologies, but refuses to pin his faith to either. If Festus is right, however, every kind of shoe might, with equal propriety, be called *Mulleus*, for, of course, they are all

sewn (*omnes enim suendo conficiuntur*). At any rate, we are certain that it was always of a bright red colour, and worn by the highest classes, boasting, as indeed it did, a royal descent. The ancient kings of Alba are credited with having originated them. They were so becoming that ladies must also needs have their *Mulleoli*; but there are no limits to a woman's extravagance and vanity in shoes and dresses (*quo non provehitur mulierum in Calceandi, ut et vestiendi ratione luxus et ambitio?*). White was not pretty or distinguished enough for them; they must have crimson or scarlet.

What were *Soleæ*? Our friend answers the question by telling us in the first place what they were *not*. "By *Solea*," he says, "we sometimes mean a certain flat-fish whose toothsome-ness is sufficiently well known (*pisces planum vulgo satis a suavitate notum*). Again, we may use it to signify a stoutish bit of timber for supporting lattice-work (*quod parieti cratitio substernitur*). Neither of these senses, however, has anything to do with our present subject. In this connection we understand by the term that variety of *chaussure* which, as Festus defines it, is worn on the sole of the foot (*pedis solo subjicitur*). Now, from the Greek equivalent for *Soleæ* we get the Latin word *Crepidæ*; whence learned people tell us that they are synonymous terms. By all means, say I, if they will allow me to make this slight distinction, viz., that *Soleæ* had a single sole, while *Crepidæ* were clumped. It occurs to me that the latter name may possibly be connected with the word *crepitus*, from the creaking noise they make occasionally.* It is certainly in this sense that Catullus writes, "*arguta constitit in solea*." It stands to reason that several soles clumped together make more noise than a single one. Thus, as we learn from Theophrastus and Julian, Momus could see nothing to find fault with in the attire of Venus except her shoes, which he considered somewhat too stridulous." *Soleæ*, which answer pretty much to our sandals, for outdoor wear, belonged to the feminine wardrobe, and if a man appeared in them in public, it was counted a reproach. Cicero twits Verres

with having worn a pair of them (*Steti soleatus Prætor populi Romani*). But when the severe Roman permitted himself to unbend, mind and body, as at banquets or spectacles, he always indulged in this luxury. *Deme soleas* was a current phrase. Of course, those affected by the ladies were probably of lighter and more elegant make, and variously ornamented. The effect of a pretty sandal was well understood by Judith, who, when she went to visit Holofernes, not only assumed her most telling costume in other respects, but likewise selected a *calceamentum* which fairly ravished the eyes of the Assyrian general (*sandalia Judith oculos Holofernis rapuerunt*). This tradition, it must be admitted, is doubly apocryphal, for it does not appear in the Book of Judith, although the bare fact of the sandals is there mentioned; and we know that she "decked herself bravely, to allure the eyes of all men that should see her."

We cannot afford to follow the exhaustive Benedict into his minute descriptions and endless quotations. He wrote a book, and this is only a sketch of it. But it may be mentioned, for the benefit of all who care to read him *in extenso*, that he is very full and learned on the subject of the *Caliga*, or military boot, which lent its name to a Roman Emperor, very great on the tragic *Cothurnus* and comic *Soccus*, and has something to say about the clod-hopper's substantial *Pero*, and the host of other types, such as the *Nymphides* for engaged young ladies, and the innumerable varieties affected by, or copied from, the Greeks. Whatever may be the opinion as to the value of his criticisms, there can be no reasonable doubt but that he has thoroughly gone over the ground. It is time, however, to pass on to another aspect of Shoe-dom.

It was considered among the ancients a very bad omen to break a lace, bad enough to warrant the postponement of all one's business for the day, for after such a catastrophe it could not reasonably be expected to result otherwise than ill. But there were more dangers than this lurking in the apparently simple process of putting on one's shoes in the morning. If perchance you should discover that the mice had been at them in the night (*erosos illos a soricibus*)—if, still drowsy, you should stupidly put the left one on the right foot—or if *inter calceandum*

* There is, of course, the difficulty of *quantity*, the first syllable of the Greek word being hopelessly long.

you should incautiously sneeze, then woe to you and your house ! Nor were these superstitions confined to the low-born and illiterate. Suetonius tells us of Augustus, that, if he chanced to put his shoes on the wrong feet, he regarded it as *dirum omen* ; and he used to say that there had very nearly been a mutiny in his army one day when he had put on his left shoe *præpostere*, hind-side before. But not quite all the Romans were so prejudiced, for we read that Cato, being consulted by a friend on the mouse-question, treated the matter with what must have seemed very unbecoming levity. "I don't think much of that," he is reported to have answered ; "it would have been something like a portent, now, if the mice had been gnawed by the boots." The superstition, however, was a popular one and died hard. It may even be traced among the early Christians, who were accustomed to make the sign of the Cross before putting on their shoes in obedience to the hymn of Prudentius :

*Crux pellit omne crimen,
Fugiunt Crucem tenebræ :
Tali dicato signo
Mens fluctuare nescit.*

Pliny, on the other hand, says that if a man would make sure of getting his shoes on without any *contretemps* he should take a precaution which may as well be given in his own words—in *calceamentum dextri pedis, antequam induatur, exspuere*. Balduin himself mentions having seen a woman make the sign of the cross on her child's shoes as a prophylactic against cramp in the feet. Finally, Oppian declared that one who wears boots made of hyena-skin will never be barked at by dogs. This, however, is evidently suggested by a prescription which Pliny had recommended many years before, a hyena's tongue worn inside the boot being described as an infallible talisman against the nuisance specified.

The practice of going barefoot on solemn occasions is very ancient. Moses and Joshua supply the two most familiar Biblical illustrations of it. It was, however, soon borrowed by other nations, notably by the Romans, who were in the habit of removing their shoes when they took part in certain sacred processions. They used to show this mark

of respect, for example, when the statues of the gods were carried through the streets. So, too, did the matrons when they paid their vows to Vesta, and the Vestal Virgins themselves were sometimes to be observed *nudo pede*. There was even a recognised term in Latin, *Nudipedalia*, signifying a religious procession of persons with bare feet, who in time of drought went to the temples to pray for rain. A similar function is said to have been popular with the Spartans, and, according to Eusebius, it was performed for the first time when Tullus Hostilius was reigning at Rome. How he became possessed of this curious historical fact it were perhaps fruitless to inquire. But Josephus, whose veracity cannot be doubted, distinctly tells us that Queen Berenice, when she came to Jerusalem to pay her vows, stood before the altar barefoot, *pro more patrio*. The disciples of Pythagoras exhibited a like sense of humility in the performance of their rites.

There is abundance of evidence to prove that the early Christians frequently went shoeless. The Patriarch of Constantinople is recorded to have walked *discalceatus* in a series of processions which were held in consequence of an earthquake. On a similar occasion the citizens of Antioch, or all who survived the catastrophe, sang Litanies with their feet uncovered. And at the Council of Mainz, A.D. 813, a proclamation was issued directing all Christians for the space of three days to hold a solemn service, clad in sack-cloth and ashes, and *discalceati, nisi infirmitas impederit*. But among the Christians of an earlier date than this bare feet seem to have been the rule rather than the exception, so frequent were the religious exercises in which they took part. Lucian, at all events, ridiculing their personal appearance, mentions it as a well-known characteristic.

Superstition is very fond of aping religion in matters of detail ; and therefore it is nothing remarkable to find this practice prevailing in various minor ceremonials. Pliny mentions it in a recipe for clearing trees of caterpillars. In funerals also it was the custom to go barefoot. Describing the obsequies of Augustus, Suetonius says that his remains were conveyed to the mausoleum by eminent citizens of the Equestrian Order, *tunicati, discincti and pedibus nudis*.

Some varieties of ritual demanded that the officiating minister should have only one foot uncovered. It was so in ancient sorcery, as may be gathered from passages in both Virgil and Ovid. Some ancient peoples, as, e.g., the Ætolians, preferred even to fight thus half-shod, for reasons best known to themselves.

Despite the large choice of shoes open to them, there seems to have been a sneaking fondness for bare feet after all among the ancients. Philostratus recommends a young exquisite, who complained that his sandals hurt his feet, to wear none in future. And Clement of Alexandria says it is the best thing in the world, both for health and agility, to leave one's shoes at home. Couriers usually did so, and sometimes even persons much wealthier and more important than couriers. We have it on the authority of Plutarch that Phocion was one of these, going invariably barefoot in the country, and when soldiering, unless the weather were something too awful (*nisi hyems atrocior illum ad calceos impulisset*). The soldiers had a little joke about it, declaring that there was no surer sign of severe weather than the sight of Phocion's boots. Socrates was another case in point, and we know that Lycurgus prescribed bare feet for the Spartan boys to make them quicker at going up and down hill. Among the Egyptians, as Balduin reminds us, a similiar restriction was enforced on the unmarried girls, though not with the same end in view. In the cities on the banks of the Nile it was forbidden to pass certain limits without shoes on one's feet, and thus the gadding tendencies of the damsels were effectually obviated.

Under certain conditions, however, bare feet were a distinct mark of disgrace. Roman soldiers, for example, when dismissed the service, were always deprived of their boots. Tertullian, describing such a case, says *Speculatoriam morosissimam pedibus absolvit*. And an old chronicler bears witness to the existence of the same custom among the English in the time of Edward II. "A certain English deserter," he says, "before being hanged was degraded in the following manner: his spurs were first cut off, then his military belt was removed, and his shoes and gauntlets taken away; presently he was

hanged, drawn, and quartered." A curious practice was instituted by Moses which likewise involved the removal of a shoe (Deut. xxv. 7, *et seq.*), and yet another is described in the Book of Ruth. The metaphor of a shoe is also used by David in Ps. lix., to express the idea of subjection. Again, "What more apt illustration," says our Benedict, perhaps feelingly, "is there of the married state than a shoe? There was once a Roman senator, who, when asked, by his friends why he repudiated his wife—a lady of great beauty and possessing apparently every quality requisite to ensure domestic happiness—replied by pointing to his shoe and saying: That is to all appearance an elegant and well-fitting shoe; not one of you can tell where it pinches me. A shoe is frequently troublesome and grievous. The same may be only too often (*sæpe sapius*) truly said of matrimony, as those who have tried it (*qui suo malo sunt experti*) know to their cost." Furthermore, it was a custom among the Arabs to take off a shoe and throw it at some one else, not by any means as a symbol of disgrace or contumely, but, on the contrary, to express a continuance and immutability of good faith. Lipsius mentions an instance of this in the person of one Rahu, a famous Arab chieftain. The camp of this warrior was one day surprised in Marocco by the Lusitanians, who carried off his wife and flocks. At first, seeing that he was greatly outnumbered, he made no attempt to recover them, but abandoned himself to despair. His wife, looking back, upbraided him with his cowardice and faithlessness. Whereupon he suddenly took off his shoe, and, after the manner of his nation, hurled it at her. He then immediately rallied his horsemen to the number of some seventy, and charged the enemy with such fury that before long they were all slain or taken prisoners. Thus Rahu got back his consort, and all men applauded his loyalty and courage. The incident may be explained in this way: To hand one's shoe to a neighbour was to give a solemn pledge of good faith. Rahu thus pledged himself by hurling his shoe at his wife, and immediately afterwards proved the strength and binding nature of his pledge by delivering both her and it from the hands of the enemy.

Such is the gist of the laborious Benedict's researches in Calceology, which are valuable in so far as they are based on passages from writers contemporary, or nearly so, with the shoes and shoe-customs which they describe. His unassisted lucubrations are perhaps more quaint than valuable. He amply redeems his promise *de mystica significatione* in the concluding chapters of his treatise, and may certainly be credited with seeing more in a shoe, whether ancient or modern, than any man ever saw before or since. Like most writers of his day, he draws largely on the religious element, and indeed twists anything and everything into a Biblical shape with surprising ingenuity. Taking his stand on the text, already quoted, "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet," etc., he examines it from what he calls four distinct points of view; to wit, the historical, the tropological, the allegorical, and the anagogical. The historical is tantamount to the literal aspect; the tropological, he says, suggests the thought that in order to approach nearer to God a man must first cast off the filthy wrappings of vice (*sordidas vitiorum pelles*); the allegorical, again, provides us with the reflection that the mystery of Divine things cannot be penetrated until the mind shall have freed itself from all worldly considerations; finally, the anagogical reminds us that the beauty of holiness will then, and then only, stand revealed when the soul shall have been set free from its fleshly bonds. Each of these positions is elaborated in painfully voluminous detail. But this part of the subject offers few attractions to the modern reader, who can only marvel that it has been possible to extract so much hidden meaning from so humble a source. It is *ex pede Herculem*, and something more.

Here, then, Benedicte Balduine, we will bid thee and thy Shoe-history a long farewell. Into the labyrinth of thy Shoe-philosophy we respectfully decline to follow thee; nothing doubting, however, but that thou didst devote to it thy midnight oil with an honest enthusiasm and the praiseworthy purpose of doing good in thy somewhat narrow-minded generation. Thou and thy poor *calcei* have long since trod the path which all men and shoe-makers and shoe-historians must one day tread, and go out of sight. Whatever thy fortunes in this life, let us at least express

the devout hope that, where thou now art, even though some species of *calceamentum* be required, no shoe may pinch thee for evermore.

ARTHUR GAYE.



The Monuments at Broadwater and Borgrove, and West Tarring Antiquities.

DESPITE the disastrous effect which certain restorations have produced in the Church of St. Mary, Broadwater, much remains to arrest the eye of the antiquarian as well as the architect. It is a cruciform building, with a low central tower. In the interior are two remarkably fine Norman arches. The edifice itself is, however, of the Early English order of architecture, and was for many years the burial-place of the illustrious family of the Lords Delawarr. Two monuments are still to be seen to members of this House. One is in the chancel, and was erected in 1526 to Thomas West, Lord de la Warr.* It may be owing to a recent restoration that some of the accessories of this piece of monumental sculpture appear to be so fresh and finely cut. It is an altar tomb, recessed, having a rich and ornate canopy divided into three separate parts. At one time the back of the wall was adorned with paintings of some saintly subject, and was interspersed with gilding, which also was to be found on other parts of the memorial. Under the canopy and in the centre of the recess there is a stone tablet, on which a coat-of-arms is sculptured, round which is the garter, indicating that the person commemorated was a Knight of the illustrious order. The letters "T" for Thomas and "E" for Eleanor are visible on the buttresses and other parts, whilst shields of the Cantelupe and La Warre arms appear in and out of the several sides of the tomb. Thomas la Warre was in the royal forces as commander on more than one occasion in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. He was made

* In the Wars of the Roses the father of this Lord de la Warr was a faithful adherent of the House of Lancaster.

a Knight of the Garter in the second year of Henry VIII.'s reign, and it is on record in his will that he bequeathed his blue velvet mantle and gown of crimson velvet appertaining to the order, for the purpose of conversion into two altar-cloths for this church. He was born in 1458, married first to Elizabeth Mortimer, and at her death, secondly, to Eleanor Copley. Attached to the flat surface of the monument is a helmet of a somewhat singular character. It is firmly fixed by a staple and chain, but can be sufficiently examined for all practical purposes. It is a head-piece distinctly of the Tudor period. Its principal peculiarity consists in the visor, which has an outlet on the right side in addition to the usual contrivance for the eyes. Hinges are riveted at one end to the helm. A reinforcing piece, fastened by rivets, is also a noticeable feature of this uncommon example.

In the south transept there is another tomb with canopy of similar character to the foregoing. This is in memory of Thomas la Warr, a son of Thomas la Warr by his first wife. He was married to Elizabeth Bonville, the heiress of Sir John Bonville, of Halnaker. Like the father, the son was made a Knight of the Garter. He deceased in 1554. The middle ornament of his tomb is now gone, and other portions of the structure are obliterated. On one side is a figure of the Virgin and Child, on the other is St. George and the Dragon. The face of the Virgin is full of much sweetness of expression; that of the Child, having a necklace, is remarkable for a certain quaintness not usual in Gothic forms. St. George holds a drawn sword in his right hand and a staff in his left. The lower part has been restored.

There is a brass on the chancel floor of an ecclesiastic, being a fine and interesting example of a coped priest. This is the figure of John Mapleton, who died in 1432. He was Chancellor to Joan of Navarre, Queen of Henry IV. The cope is charged with delicately executed devices of leaves of the maple, alternately with the flower and the letter "M." The hands are elevated, and joined as in prayer. There is a triple canopy over the figure.

On the floor of the body of the church

there is a cross-fleury, a form of brass, of which only a few specimens, comparatively speaking, are yet to be seen. This example consists of a slender stem, with a cross foliated at the ends. On the arms are the words, "Sanguis Xri salva Me," and "Passio Xri conforta Me." The long upright stem has its base on a series of five steps, the termination having an inscription to John Corby, a rector of Broadwater in 1415. This inscription does not fit the slab in which it is now inserted, and tradition declares the cross to be the memorial of one Richard Turner, a rector of the church from the year 1432 to 1445.* As the parish registers do not begin till the year 1558, it is not easy to determine the accuracy of the inscription, or the generally received belief.* The number of examples of matrices where the cross has been taken away abound in many of the simple village churches, and minsters, and abbeys throughout the various counties of England. Even in these days of increasing knowledge of art and general refinement, there are still many instances of an indifference to all the canons of good taste and the most common care. Such is to be witnessed in the church at Waltham Abbey, where a fine floriated cross on a marble slab is actually almost covered by the organ. It is well that old John Weever, in his *Funeral Monuments*, raved over the lost devices and quaint inscriptions, and referring to certain defacements in tombs, speaks of them as being foully injured or defaced.

The noble family of West, Lords de la Warr, appear to have been the owners of much property in Sussex. Halnaker House, near Boxgrove, was erected by the second of the above-named lords, whose monuments adorn the church at Broadwater. He had married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir John Bonville, of Halnaker. In Boxgrove Church, on the south side of the chancel, is a large renaissance sacellum of particularly curious details; witness the pendent ornament, and the very fantastic carvings. The purpose of this chapel or chantry was doubtless to enable a priest to pray for the souls of the departed lord and

* See Cartwright's *Rape of Bramber*, vol. ii., p. 36.

† A very exquisite example of a floriated cross is to be seen at Taplow Church, Bucks. It is remarkable for having in the centre of the quatrefoil the figure of a man in the dress of the fifteenth century.

lady, for the inscription, like similar ones in other oratories or chantries, reads: "Of your charity pray for the souls of Thomas La Warre and Elizabeth, his wife. Thomas La War anno dni 1532. Elizabeth la War." The church is one of the many Sussex churches wherein may be seen instances of the lancet-window period. The proportions are excellent, and bear the impress of unaltered examples. The remains of the prior's house, unroofed and ruinous, are full of interesting details. In the museum, formed by the Council of the Archaeological Institute, when that section of the antiquarian world went to Chichester in 1853, there was exhibited, by the courtesy of the Duke of Richmond, a brass seal which is preserved amongst the many muniments at Goodwood—very interesting as a part of the evidence relating to the lands once belonging to the monastery here, and now in the possession of his Grace.

In the church at West Tarring the lancet period is again in the ascendant, and the Perpendicular east window is an often-quoted example of its type. The stalls in this edifice are in fine preservation; the carving is in all of them excellent, one having the head of our Saviour. Some old houses in the adjoining street date from the reign of Henry VI. The parish is celebrated for its fig gardens. In one of these is a tree said to have been planted by Thomas à Becket. In 1883 it measured 53 inches in circumference at 2 feet from the ground. It was, however, not altogether sound, one side being then in a very dilapidated condition.

WILLIAM BRAILSFORD.



On Chronograms.

By JAMES HILTON, F.S.A.

(Continued from the *ANTIQUARY*, vol. xvii., p. 152.)

III.



THE title-pages of books have, to a considerable extent, afforded opportunity for the application of chronograms, in order to set forth their date; it is probable, however, that the general reader is puzzled rather than informed, and he

may even conclude that the title-page bears no date when it is expressed by chronograms instead of figures. Examples are commonly found in books printed at the German and Flemish presses, while English examples are of rare occurrence.

The date is generally given by a chronogrammatic motto or couplet at the foot of the title-page, where the date figures are usually placed, or else it is mixed up with other parts of the title, and sometimes the whole of the title is composed in that form. In earlier days than the present, most title-pages were verbose in character, and prolixity was aimed at where now we find brevity and simplicity. Such being the custom, there was ample scope for fanciful treatment, especially when the language employed was the Latin; the chronogram writer could at the very outset of his book indulge in a whole page to show off his art, by expressing his date once for all, or repeating it oftentimes beyond all reasonable limit. One title mentioned later on, composed chiefly in chronogram, is spread over two pages of folio size. Many of the chronogrammatic sentences seem trivial when translated and examined apart from the subject of the book, or the feeling which prevailed in the author's mind; for instance, the signs of returning peace after a whole generation had been harassed by the 'Thirty Years' War gave rise to many a pious sentiment expressed in chronogram, which may appear to us tame, or even destitute of appropriate meaning, if regarded only as representing the date. The title-page of a book in the Imperial Library of Vienna is to this effect by translation: "The true-hearted and well-meant exhortation of an old German Landsnecht on the need and present danger of the universally beloved Fatherland, much afflicted. Printed in the year,

DA DAS REICHTINN VN HA VFFEN }
GEVVORFFEN; ZV FREIDE IETZT } = 1640.
GENEIGET VVAR."

i.e., when the kingdom, now thrown into confusion, was yet inclined for peace.

A tract on certain public jubiliations at Landau is thus dated at the foot of the title-page:

ANNO-IVBILATE IVVENES LÆTI }
IN DOMINO. } = 1621.

i.e., Rejoice in the Lord, ye joyful youths.

Another is dated:

ANNO SALVTIFERO CHR ISTI DOMINI. = 1660.

A book printed in 1770 at Gelders, then under Austrian rule, is dated thus in giving the names of the place and printer :

TYPIIS DIONYSII MACKEY TYPOGRAPHI } = 1770.
AVSTRIACO GELRI.

Here the letter Y counts as if II, equal to 2, according to Dutch custom.

The title of a devotional book by a Jesuit author thus commences and concludes :
"Exercitium amoris Dei . . . per quemdam P. Soc. Jesu.

HAVRITE AGVAS CVMGAVDIO E } = 1634.
FONTIBVS SERVATORIS.
i.e., Drink ye with joy the waters from the fountain of salvation.

A birthday poem, by a Jesuit at Vienna in 1701, addressed to the infant Archduke of Austria, Leopold, the son of Leopold I., bears this date on the title-page : "Anno quo Archiduale hoc genethliacon,

LEOPOLDO DEDICO. = 1701."

The book itself is replete with chronograms, fine emblematic engravings, anagrams, and cabalistic dates in complimentary allusion to the event.

The title-page of a lamentation, written by H. Colendall, a Jesuit of eminence, on the death, in 1711, of the German Emperor, Joseph I., commences : "Sol occidens in meridie, in occasu meridie splendor" (then follows a long title in German), "den 7 Julii, anno quo

IOSEPHVS PRÆMATVRO FATO } = 1711.
CONCEDEBAT."

A tract written by a Jesuit to commemorate the reception of Christina, Queen of Sweden, into the Roman Catholic Church at Innsbruck in 1655, is dated by her name CHRISTINA, ADMIRABILIS, conspicuously printed on the title-page, exhibiting a degree of flattery which is not justified by her personal history.

A tract which is a congratulation offered to certain dignitaries of the University of Vienna bears a title containing the name of a local saint who is still popular in the country, John of Nepomuk. It begins thus :

VIENNA AVSTRLE SANCTO NEPOMVCENO }
DEVOTA;
ISTIVSQVE MVNIFICIS BENEFICIIS } = 3446.
DITATA.

This is a form of chronogram, occasionally met with, which is somewhat puzzling on first acquaintance. This example gives the figures 3446 ; on dividing the sum by 2, the date 1723 is arrived at twice over.

The title-page of a flattering effusion, addressed to the Emperor Leopold by Ferdinand Orban, a Jesuit writer, published at Dusseldorf, begins thus :

APOTHEOSIS LEOPOLDI PRIMI CÆSARIS, etc.

These words, the first in the book, give the date 1705.

The title-page of a poetical congratulation, when degrees were conferred at the University of Prague, on some highly honoured members thereof in 1655, concludes with this date :

ANNO QUO ALEXANDER
SEPTIMVS PONTIFEX VNIVERSALIS
PASTOR INAVGV RATVR.

This gives the date 1655, and seems to imply that the election of the Pope in the same year added special honour to the occasion.

The victory over the Turks at Buda-Pesth in 1686 was celebrated with appropriate rejoicings ; a description of them was printed by the Clementine College at Prague, in 1686, bearing this title, which expresses that date :

EPINICIA CHRONOGRAPHICA
DE FELICI VICTORIA BVDÆ
A CHRISTIANIS EXPVGNATA.

A book, by Henricus Kitschius, concerning finger-rings : "De anulorum origine," etc., published at Leipzig in 1614, is thus dated :

ANVLOS PRETIOSOS AMORIS LVDIBRIA } = 1614.
REOR.
i.e., I suppose precious rings to be the playthings of love.

It is dedicated to a certain distinguished family, with the date thus :

ANNI INITIVM FAVSTÆ PROCEDAT OPTO. = 1614.
i.e., I pray that the beginning of the year may proceed auspiciously.

A rare little book, by Gabriel Grisley, "Viridarium Lusitanum," describing the medicinal qualities of plants growing in the neigh-

bourhood of Lisbon, is appropriately dated by this hexameter line :

ANNOSAS STIRPES PANCHRESTVS LEGE } = 1661.
MEDETVR.
i.e., *The sovereign remedy heals aged trunks (or persons) by its power.*

A doctor of philosophy and medicine, and rector of the University of Breslau, Petrus Kirstenus by name, published several works dated by chronograms alluding to himself and the subjects of his writings; his work *Vita Evangelistorum quatuor* is dated :

ANNO MEDICI VERI. = 1608.

An Arabic grammar which he prepared for his university is dated :

ANNO DOMINE CHRISTE VENI. = 1608.

and a section of the same work, *Tria specimina characterum Arabicorum*, is dated :

ANNO GERMANI ARABIAE STUDIA CAPTENT. = 1608.
i.e., *In this year may the Germans take to the studies of Arabia.*

TVNC LVX AVGVSTI SI QVINTA EST FVLSERAT ORBI, } = 1610.
TECTA NOVVS RECTOR GAVDET ADIRE SCHOLAE. }
i.e., *Then the daylight, if it was on the 5th of August, shone on the world, the new rector rejoices to approach the house of the university.*

In the Royal Library at Vienna there is a book—a poem—bearing this hexameter and pentameter couplet :

VINCULA SEXCENTIS (EHEV!) GERIT AMPLIVS HORIS, } = 1598.
OB SACRAE LARGVS RELIGIONIS OVVS.
i.e., *Largus wore his chains, alas! for more than 600 hours on account of his work of sacred religion.*

The author was one Nicholas Largus, a Lutheran theologian, who, imprisoned on account of his religion in 1598, composed the poem during his captivity, under the title *Δεσμωτήρια*, which was printed at Wittemberg in 1599.

Among other books printed in Germany, I find the following dates on their title-pages :

ECCE FLORENT VALLES CVM EVANGELIO. = 1516.
ANNO CHRISTI MEDIATORIS NOSTRI. = 1605.
CHRISTVS REDEMPTIO ORBIS. = 1608.
ANNO REGNANTIS VERÆ MISERICORDIÆ. = 1609.
ANNO REDEMPTIONIS CHRISTIANÆ. = 1604.
ANNO SALVTIFERO CHRISTI DOMINI. = 1660.
DEVs SIT VOBIS CVM. = 1617.

A small book printed at Erfurt, condemning the use of dice and other gambling at the university, is dated only by this chronogram :

STVDIOSI AB ALEA ET LVDIS } = 1620.
IVRE PROHIBITIS ABESSE DEBENT. }
i.e., *Students ought to be absent from dice and games forbidden by law.*

His *Notæ in Evangelium S. Matthæi* bears the date :

ANNO IN QVO NOTÆ HISTORIÆ SANCTI } = 1611.
MATTHÆI EDITÆ.
i.e., *In this year these notes of the history of Saint Matthew were put forth.*

His notes on *Epistolæ S. Judæ* is dated :

ANNO IMPRESSIS BRESLÆ HIS NOTIS } = 1611.
EPISTOLÆ IVDÆ.
i.e., *These notes of the epistle of Saint Jude being printed at Breslau in the year 1611.*

Two orations delivered by the author on his being appointed as rector, in 1610, were published by the senate of the university, accompanied by complimentary verses, in which this date appears :

MITIS DOCTOR KIRSTEINIVS. = 1610.

and further on this hexameter and pentameter couplet :

At Frankfort I met with a book dated thus :

O PII IN TOTO ORBE, } = 1620.
DATE SVA CÆSARI ET
DEO QVÆ SVNT DEI. }

The title-page was sometimes a mixture of chronogram and plain print, as in the following examples : A rare volume in the library of the Rev. Walter Begley contains a series of congratulations, it describes also the demonstrations of public joy, the decorations of churches and towns arranged by the Jesuits, or through their influence, on the birth at Easter-time, April 13, 1716, of Leopold, son of the Emperor Charles VI., the heir to the throne of Austria; printed at the Clementine College at Prague. The whole is exceedingly curious, abounding in chronograms; a few extracts will illustrate the title-pages. The general title begins thus :

Augustales Cunæ
Serenissimi Archiducis Austriae
Ducis Asturiae

Leopoldi Joannis Josephi Antonii Francisci de Paula
Hermenegildi Rudolphi Ignatii Balthasaris,
Augustissimarum Majestatum
Caroli VI. et Elisabethæ primo-geniti,
Europæ Cimeli,
Regnorum Spei,
Seculorum Pretii,
Patriæ Pupillæ,
Sub festivæ Orbis incendia Genethliacis honoribus,
Flammisque nocturnis illustratæ

A

SOCIETATE IESV

HÆREDITARIE PROVINCIE BOËMÆ.

FERIA SECUNDA PASCHÆ PRIMOGENITVS INFANS HISPANIE, = 1716
Serenissimus Archidux Austriæ, princeps Asturiæ Leopoldus.

ORBIS TOTIVS DELICIVM, ET LÆTITIA, = 1716

in communi populorum applausu, pro theatro publicè erecto, in montibus Kuttinis ad sanctam Barbaram,
representatus a

DEVOTA CÆSAREÆ MAIESTATIS INFANTI HESPERO SOCIETATE IESV. = 1716.

Another subordinate title is entirely in
chronogram; it describes a festival held at
Teschen in honour of the little infant arch-
duke, commencing thus:

APPLAVSVS GENETHLIACVS }
AVGVSTÆ PROLI, NEO-NATO } = 1716.
ARCHIDVCVLO LEOPOLD
INTER RENOVATOS EVROPÆ FESTIVOS
IGNES, REVERENTER OBLATVS }
AB }
INDIGENIS MISSIONARIIS CÆSAREIS } = 1716.
SOCIETATIS IESV, }
ÆRÆ CHRISTIANÆ }
TESCHINII DIE TERTIO VIRENTIS MAIL. } = 1716.

Another subordinate title is of a more com-
plex character, combining a chronogram and
a cabala; the latter is an ancient method of
notifying a date by means of all the letters
of the alphabet, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and
other languages, according to this key:

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90
T U X Y Z.
100 200 300 400 500.

The title is handsomely printed, covering
two folio pages, and reads as follows:

VERNA HILARIA }
LÆTO, ET FESTIVO INCENDIO ANIMATA } = 1716.
Quibus

Inter exultantium Provinciarum gaudia hinc pas-
chalia, inde genethliaca, augustissimo imprimis patri
Carolo VI. augustissimæ matri Elisabethæ, deinde

SERENISSIMO PARITER ARCHIDVCI }
AVSTRIE; } = 1716.

ASTVRIE DE OVIEDO, ET DE }
SANTILLANA* PRINCIPÍ; } = 1716.

MAGNI LEOPOLDI PII CÆSARIS AVGVSTO }
NEPOTI; } = 1716.

The date thus given is 1716. The whole
volume is a notable example of the language
of Court flattery and grandiloquent praise;
the fireworks and the bonfires which blazed
were to symbolize the light which Austria was
to experience from the event; the Emperor
is personally addressed as the origin of the
light, "Sed enim felicissime Cæsarum Carole
Sol es inter tot Sidera in Cælo Austriæ," and
so forth. The whole volume is exceedingly
curious. A subordinate title runs thus:

CÆSAREÆ REGIÆQVE MAIESTATIS }
VICTORIOSO HÆREDI, } = 1716.
Leopoldo

Sub florida ejusdem genethlia, vernis deliciis coeva,
Submissimè et devotissimè applausit
Academicum Collegium Societatis Jesu
Pragæ ad Sanctum Clementem
Anno, quo orbi nata est
Soboles dilecta Deo Magnum Jovis incrementum.
307 142 59 308 358 542

Such is this singular title; the concluding
line is a near adaptation of the words of a
familiar line in Virgil (Ecl. iv. 49):

"Cara Deûm soboles, magnum Jovis incrementum."
i.e., *Dear offspring of the gods, illustrious progeny
of Jupiter.*

By a trifling alteration in two of the words,
the line of the ancient poet is made to give
out a modern date, while in its application it
attains to the very apex of flattery. The
sums placed under each word when added
together make the date 1716. How great is
the ingenuity which drew out the hidden
meaning, almost a prediction! This illus-
trious infant, so greatly desired to succeed to
the throne and dominions of Austria, the
descendant of a long line of Kings of Spain,
was invested with the decorations and dignity
of the order of the Golden Fleece at the age
of eight months; the volume now cited is
but a fragment of the public adulation ac-
corded to him: the national joy was un-
bounded. But disappointment soon followed;
the infant died before he reached the age of
twelve months, and with him ceased the hope
of male descendants to Charles VI., who,
before his own death, procured, by the Prag-
matic Sanction, such an alteration in the

* The Spanish titles of the infant Leopold.

national law or custom, as enabled his daughter, Maria Theresa, to succeed to the crown of Hungary and Bohemia on the death of her father, which happened in 1740.

A lamentation in Latin verse on the death of a daughter of the Emperor Leopold I., the wife of Maximilian Emmanuel, Duke of Bavaria, Count Palatine, etc., is contained in a rare tract with a title-page commencing thus: "Epicedion in obitum serenissimæ principis ac ducissæ Mariæ Antoniæ Josephæ Benedictæ Rosiliæ Petronillæ, augustissimi principis Leopoldi Ignatii Romanorum, Germanorumque imperatoris filiæ dilectissimæ, serenissimi principis Maximiliani Emmanuelis . . . nuper conjugis defunctæ in aula Viennensi 24 Decembris 1692," etc. A solemn "pomp" in memory of her was performed in the Royal Chapel at Brussels, on February 10, 1693, as indicated by this chronogram at the foot of the title-page:

EJVS FIEBANT EXEQVILÆ DECIMA FEBRVARII
ASSISTEBATQVE INTEGRA AVLA = 1693.
i.e., They performed her obsequies on the tenth of February, and the whole Court assisted.

The last page gives the date and other particulars by chronograms:

The place, year, month, and day:

MARIA ANTONIA VIGILIA NATIVITATIS
CHRISTI DEVOTE VIENNÆ EXPIRAT. } = 1692.

Another of the year, month, and day:

PRIDIE QVO DEIPARA PARIT ABSQVE
DOLORE, ANTONIA LVGENTIS BELGII
GVBERNATRIX PIE OBIIT. } = 1692.

Another of the year:

PIE JESV! PROPITIVS SIS PLÆ MARIÆ-
ANTONIÆ VXORI PLANGENTIS DVCIS
BOIARIÆ. } = 1693.

Another of the aforesaid year containing the name of the author:

FRVATVR ANTONIA REQVIE PERPETVA,
HIS PETIT
GVILIELMVS VANDER SLOOTEN
PRESBITER = 1693.

i.e., Maria Antonia expires in the faith at Vienna, on the vigil of the birth of Christ, 1692.

On the day before the mother of God brought forth without pain, Antonia the governess of grieving Belgium died piously, 1692.

Holy Jesus! be thou propitious to Maria Antonia, the wife of the sorrowing Duke of Bavaria, 1693.

May Antonia enjoy eternal rest, for this prays William Vander Slooten the priest, 1693.

The foregoing examples are selected from an extensive collection of others of the same kind; they suffice to indicate the more simple form of title-page exhibiting the date, without figures, as commonly used for the purpose. I now proceed to give examples of the more extended application of chronograms, showing the whole title-page composed in that form. It will be seen that the exigency of the chronogram tends to limit the use of words and to cramp the language, and also leads the author to adopt quaint and circuitous phrases at the risk of obscuring his meaning. This possibly suited the taste of the period, and fulfilled a public demand not entirely to the taste of the modern general reader. It was some time after I commenced chronogram-hunting that I encountered a whole title in that form, and that only at second-hand. The book which bears the title is mentioned in Kayser's *Index Librorum* and Graesse's *Trésor des livres rares et précieux*. The title is as follows, thrice repeating the year of publication:

CHRONOLOGIA SACRA EXCERPTA EX
CLARIS SENTENTIIS SOLIS TEXTIBVS
DIVINI CODICIS. } = 1801.

ASSIGNANS VARIAS SERIES, ANNVA
SPATIA, OBVIAS TEXTVRAS, ANNOSQVE
INITOS SACCVLI DECIMI NONI. } = 1801.

SERVIENS DIVERSIS OCCASIONIBVS,
INSCRIPTIONIBVS CONCIONIBVS,
OPERIBVS VEL PVBLICIS VEL
PRIVATIS PRO CVIVSCVNQVE SEV
GENIO SEV INGENIO AC PLACITO. } = 1801.

i.e., Sacred chronology chosen from conspicuous sentences, in single texts of the Holy Volume, marking various series, annual periods, obvious constructions, and years at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Serving for divers occasions, inscriptions, preachings, and works, both public and private, of any sort, whether for good taste or for wit and pleasantry.

The book is described in the *Bulletin du bibliophile publié*, par J. Techner, xii^{me} série, 1856, p. 591, as very rare, and the writer goes on in effect to say: "This sacred chronology is one of the most singular books that have been composed in the nineteenth century; you will recognise there the German patience and tenacity; what time must have been lost in submitting ten thousand verses of Holy Scripture to so *bizarre* a transformation! The reader, however, ought to think himself happy that the wars of the period and the expense of printing compelled the author to

put forth only two thousand five hundred verses instead of the ten thousand which he had prepared. Each year of the nineteenth century, inscribed in small capitals, is accompanied by twenty-five verses, forming twenty-five numerical anagrams* of the year under which they are placed. The title of the book, divided into three paragraphs, furnishes three numerical anagrams* of the year 1801. To what use can this volume be put? What is the end the author proposes? We reply to these questions by referring to the last paragraph of the title, which seems to say, 'My friend, make whatever use you please of this collection.' Some persons profiting by the right thus conceded to them by the author, have perceived in this 'chronogia sacra' a series of prophecies! At this hypothesis we smile." I cannot trace this rare book in the catalogues of either the British Museum or the Bodleian Libraries. I have had the pleasure of examining books in chronogrammatic literature of greater singularity than this particular one.

Another book, published at Agram (Zagrab) in Hungary, mentioned in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricum*, by J. G. Schwanter, vol. iii., 784, has a chronogrammatic title-page commencing thus:

VETERIS ET NOVÆ GEOGRAPHIÆ COM- } = 1714.
PENDIOSA CONGERIES
(SEU) COMPENDIOSA EXPOSITIO GEO- } = 1714.
GRAPHICA
EVROPÆ, ASIÆ, AFRICÆ, AMERICÆ. } = 1714.
QVE TIPO DATA

i.e., *A compendium of ancient and modern geography—otherwise, a concise geographical exposition of Europe, Asia, Africa and America, given in print.*

This work is by Nicolaus Merzliak. I cannot find a copy of it in the British Museum Library; indeed, I have never seen one, and cannot say whether it contains any other chronograms. The author of the work from which I take this notice, remarks quaintly enough: "Annus titulo, scholastico artificio, innixus est, quem facile fuerit lectori eruere."

A very rare tract in the library of the Rev. Walter Begley, printed at Tyrnau, in Hungary, has a very conspicuous title-page

* Probably meaning chronograms; the paragraphs of the title are certainly not anagrams.

entirely in chronogram; I give a facsimile of it on the following page. It may be read as follows, in sentences giving the date 1714 ten times repeated. The stars in the original are placed at the end of each chronogram: "Palma ætatis quaternæ religioni, Cæsari, patriæ, ac literis consecratæ, Pannoniæ florens (1714), seu * excellentissimus generalis bellicus præclaris virtutis, et * strenuus veræ religionis propugnator (1714) stabile piæ fidei fulcrum (1714) Cæsari, religioni, patriæ, devota fidelitatis idea (1714) lunatæ gloriosissimus debellator gentis (1714) Comes Stephanus Kohari hæreditarius in Csabragh (1714) læto patriæ plausu utilitati publicæ votis secundis electus iudex curiæ (1714) recurrente annua sancti Stephani proto-martyros die (1714) a devotissima sibi et pia Calliope Nitriensi (1714) ipso natali die metricè salutatus" (1714). I venture on the following translation of this somewhat intricate composition: *The palm of the quaternian age consecrated to the emperor, to the country, and to learning, beginning to blossom in Pannonia [Hungary]. In other words, The most excellent warlike general, the strenuous champion of eminent virtue and of true religion, the well-established support of pious faith, the devoted representative of fidelity to the emperor, to religion and to his country, the most glorious opponent of the crescent-bearing nation [the Turks], hereditary Count Stephen Kohari of Csabragh; by the joyful approbation of the country, by the wishes of those favourable to the common weal, chosen judge of the Court, on the recurring annual day of saint Stephen the proto-martyr, he is metrically saluted by the pious, and to him the most devoted Calliope of Neustra, on his own natal day.* The contents of the tract are Latin poems by the "pious scholars" of the college of Neustra, in Hungary (of whose class he was the founder), and a long acrostic on his name and titles, consisting of 158 alliterative hexameter verses.

Another very rare and curious tract printed at Salzburg, also possessed by Mr. Begley, has a title-page entirely in chronogram, of

* The word AC in the seventh line of the original is no doubt the author's error for ET, as corrected in this transcript, because the chronogram as it stands makes the date 1810; the word by itself in the fourth line should probably be SEV, but that would bring the chronogram to 1715, still leaving an error in the sentence intended to make 1714.

which I give a facsimile on the adjoining page. The chronograms are separated by stars, *The great and ever to be venerated glory of the secular priesthood; or, in other words, A*

PALMA ÆTATIS QVATERNÆ
RELIGIONI, CÆSARI, PATRIÆ, AC LITERIS CONSECRATÆ,
PANNONIÆ FLORESCENS.*

S E U

EXCELLENTISSIMVS GENERALIS BELLICVS,
PRÆCLARIS VIRTVTIS,
AC STRENVVS VERÆ RELIGIONIS PROPVGNATOR.*
STABILE PLÆ FIDEI FVLCRM.*

CÆSARI, RELIGIONI, PATRIÆ, DEVOTA
FIDELITATIS IDEA.*

LVNATÆ GLORIOSISSIMVS
DEBELLATOR GENTIS.*

COMES STEPHANVS KOHARI
HÆREDITARIVS IN CSABRAGH.*

LÆTO PATRIÆ PLAVSV
VTILITATI PVBLICÆ
VOTIS SECVNDIS ELECTVS

IVDEX CVRIÆ.*

RECVRRENTE ANNVA SANCTI STEPHANI
PROTO-MARTYROS DIE.*

A

DEVOTISSIMA SIBI ET PLA
CALLIOPE NITRIENSIS.*

IPSO NATALI DIE

METRICE SALVTATVS.*

TYRNAVIÆ Typis Academicis, per Georgium Andream Roden.

making the date 1726 eight times repeated; *calendar of this new and fleeting year, from*
it will admit of the following translation: *the nativity of our Lord and gracious Saviour*

*Jesus Christ, 1726, in which Michael Wine- simply secular priests who have been numbered
paher, priest and "pastor Paludanus" in among the saints, and has sketched them out in*

MAGNA,
ET
VSQVE VENERANDA
PRESBITERII SÆCVLARIS
GLORIA.

*
SEV
CALENDARIVM NOVI ISTIVS
LABENTIS ANNI

*
A NATIVITATE DOMINI,
AC GRATIOSI SERVATORIS NOSTRI
IESV CHRISTI,

*
M. DCC. XXVI.

*
In quo,
præter DIVOS, atqVE beatos ROMÆ
CHRISTI VICARIOS,

*
Meros prope presbiteros sæCVLares, qVI
Inter DIVOS reLATI, proposVerat,

*
VersVqVE ChronographICò aDVMbraVerat.

*
MICHAEL VINEPACHER, presbiter, & pastor
PALUDANVS In Passyria.

SALISBURGI, Typis Joannis Josephi Mayr, Aulico-Academici Typogr. p.m. Hæredum.

*Passyria, has set forth as well the saints and chronographic verse. Printed at Salzburg by
blessed vicars of Christ at Rome, as also the the Court printer, J. J. Mayer. The author*

proceeds to give a daily calendar of saints with appropriate Latin hexameter and pentameter verses in chronogram for each month of the year, filling thirty-seven pages and making upwards of 730 chronograms. This is followed by an "appendix," with the following title boldly printed; (observe the abbreviation of the conjunction QUE in the second and third chronograms, the word if printed at length would give five years too much in each):

APPENDIX VERE INSIGNIS, SEV PRACTICA MAIOR, *	}	= 1726.
EX QVA CVNCTA VIDES; TEMPESTATESQ: SONORÆ *		
CLARIVS, EXORTO TANDEM QVOQ: SOLE, NOTANTVR. *	}	= 1726.
EX FVNDA MENTO HANC PRÆFATVS SCRIPSERAT AVTHOR.		

This title is composed in four hexameter lines, as divided off by the stars, each one making the date 1726. It is enigmatical of the author's troubles and subsequent comfortable circumstances. It will admit of this rendering: *An appendix truly worthy of note, or a superior practical compendium, from which one sees all the events of the year; and loud sounding tempests are more clearly marked, as the sun too at length has arisen; written on a sure basis by the aforesaid author.* The rest of the contents are curious, and apparently a humorous representation of the author's circumstances; it is to be inferred that he was a poor country curate or coadjutor to the parish priest, and after working hard for thirty years was still without promotion. When the parish priest died he expected the post to be given to him, and in his disappointment he describes what probably he witnessed, namely, the rapacious ransacking and plundering of the house by the relatives of the deceased; and this, he would have us to understand, was not an unusual proceeding on the death of a priest. This is told in upwards of 120 hexameter and pentameter chronogram verses each making the year 1726, the whole of which I have reprinted

elsewhere. The enigmatical language of the title seems to imply that fortune "at length" favoured him; the expression "Pastor Paludanus" at the conclusion of the first title-page may be taken as a sign that he had gained his promotion by becoming the priest of a parish answering to that appellation.

(To be continued.)



A Priest-Poet of the Fourteenth Century.

(From the Spanish.)

BY GEO. H. POWELL.

(Concluded.)



HAT a writer of such an age should not reflect to some extent the objectionable manners of his time would, of course, be impossible; but the imagination of Ruiz was far from being engrossed by the dreary or licentious ideas which make so much of the literature of those periods unreadable. Popular vices, on the contrary, are freely satirized—the corruptions of the Church, and the gambling (and cheating, apparently) of the "Caballeros;" but the satirist is not inclined to weary himself or his readers by the contemplation of the folly or wickedness of his contemporaries.

The etiquette of the day made it obligatory upon every poet at least to pretend the existence of some Dulcinea, in whose cause he was prepared to go through the usual catalogue of adventures, and the fictitious gallantries of the archpriest are various. We find him falling in love, like Mr. Friswell, with one lady as she says her prayers, and as he presumably should have been saying his prayers, in church; and on another occasion wooing a Moorish maiden, who repels his overtures by answering them in *Arabic*.* But the principal

* Somewhat like the heroine of a modern ditty, who "always answered 'no,'" she replies at the end of each verse "ysnedeý," "amxis," etc., etc., which has the desired effect of bringing the conversation to an end.

romance* describes the wooing of a certain Doña Endrina and Don Melon, who, after clandestine meetings at the house of a certain "vieja," are ultimately married, in spite of the opposition of the lady's parents, who had apparently promised her hand to a rival suitor, a subsequent line of the poem specially informing us that

Doña Endrina é Don Melon—en uno casados son.

The lament of the lover when he imagines himself rejected, forms a complete poem in itself—a poem, we venture to think, of considerable merit even apart from the sonorous cadence, the remarkably melodious flow of the original :

"Farewell, then," he cried, "hopes so cruelly slain,
Farewell to the joys I shall ne'er know again ;
To the thoughts of the heart and the fancies of the brain,
For my life and my strength are but sorrow and pain.

"O my heart, foolish heart, fount of woe ever welling,
Why torture the breast, why disquiet thy dwelling ?
How long wilt beat for her still thy constant love repelling ?

Ay me ! Evermore for thy grief's unavailing.†

"Fond heart, say how couldst thou in bondage be taken

By one who ne'er prized thee and now has forsaken ?
Poor captive trebly bound, by sighs and tears shaken,
To what bitter anguish thou now dost awaken !

"Eyes, longing eyes, first her loveliness discerning,
Could ye gaze on those orbs no like passion returning ?
Felt ye not the fatal pang in the inmost soul burning ?
Now fade into blindness, for vain is your yearning.

"O tongue, idle tongue, why so hardily daring
To the ears of the heedless my passion declaring,
To the ears of the deaf for thy accents uncaring ?
O woe, woe is me ! Let me die in my despairing !

"Most fair and most false of all false maidens living
No bounds to your falsehood—no shame in deceiving
For the fancy of a moment your leal lover leaving,
Die, false one, like him, sad, lonely and grieving !"

* * * *

"Hush hush, foolish youth, this complaining and crying :

What boots all your wailing of pining and dying ?
Let thought temper sorrow, true comfort supplying
Take counsel of wisdom these idle tears drying."

* Founded, apparently, upon a low Latin drama in five acts ; subsequently published at Paris, with a French version, entitled *Des Amours de Pamphile*, etc." Vêrad, fol. 1494.

† Ay Corazon quejoso—cosa desaguisada,
Porque matas al cuerpo do tienes tu morada ?
Porque amas la dueña que non te precia nada ?
Corazon per tu culpa viviras vida penada !

But he answered "What counsel, what skill or endeavour

Can salve the sore heart that is sick of love's fever ?
For my darling this day from my arms they will sever,
And the hope of my life is undone and for ever !"

He is assured, however, that his mistress is still faithful to him :

"Nay, nay, she is yours. Though thousands admire,
None other on earth to her hand shall aspire.
On you alone is fixed her whole heart's desire :
And your passion matched with hers is a spark to a fire."

But he cried, "It cannot be. Are ye jesting, are ye playing,

Like a mother to her babe, when his tears she would be staying,

Like a mother to her baby boy his idle fears allaying,
When ye tell me she is mine ? Is it truth ye are saying ?"

Then she answered, "Ye are fearful—as a bird of the air

That has scaped the hawk's talons but crouches everywhere

For he thinks 'the hawk is gone but the fowler may be there,'

And trembles at a breath to be taken in the snare."

Still he answered, "Nay, good mother—but how can ye know

If indeed it be I whom the maiden loves so ?

By the language of sighs, by the cheek's ruddy glow,
And the sure signs and tokens Love's presence that show ?"

"Yes, yes ; there is love in the silent reply—

If I name but your name—of her glance and her sigh.

By the smile on her lips and the light in her eye
With you she were happy to live and to die."

To pass at once to what is perhaps the most finished production in the book. The "Coming of Don Amor," a piece of such length that no more than a brief abstract can here be attempted, is certainly not inferior to the classical model which the poet may be supposed to have imitated.

"It was," he tells us, "the Feast of Easter. The sun rose in glory and brightness, and men and women, trees and flowers, went forth to welcome Lord Love ; the trees with their gay blossoms, the flowers with their fragrance, and men and women with song and dance and all kinds of music. * * The pavilion of Don Amor was pitched in an

* A most melodious stanza :

Señora madre vieja que me desides agora ?
Fasesdes como madre quando 'l mozueto llora
Que le dise falagos porque calle esa hora,
Por eso mii desides que es mia mi Señora ?

open plain that all lovers who pleased might come and do homage to him. How shall I tell," says the poet, "of the glory of it? yet I must not leave it untold, for *men will oft leave the feast for a good lay*. The central pillar was of glistening ivory, of eight sides, all set round with precious stones; the tent shone with their radiance; and at the top of the pillar was set a stone most like a ruby, fiery red, and the sun paled before it, so bright it was: and the cords that bound the pillar were all of silk. * . . . Had I all the paper in Toledo, I could not tell all there was within. For on the right of the entrance was a richly spread board, and before it a great fire, and each that sate at the board looked at the other askance. * . . ." Then follows a description of the four groups seated each at a separate table, representing the four seasons of the year. "At the first table sit three gallants, each turned to the fire by himself: the first of these is he who feeds the stalled beasts with carrots; he makes the days short and the mornings cold. . . ." We are soon lost, so to speak, in the region of tapestry and painting. "He roasts chestnuts at the fire, orders the wheat to be sown, the fat porker to be killed, while the old women tell stories over the hearth." The three "Caballeros" are, of course, the months of January, February, and March. "The second eats but salted meat, *the fog hangs thick about him*, he makes the new oil, and rejoices in the blaze of the fire; ever and anon he 'blows his nail' for the cold." March orders the *silos* (which apparently contain *bread*, or perhaps grain) to be opened. July, August, and September are "three rich fellows. * . . ." The last brings wheat and rye to the threshing-floor, and shakes the fruit from the trees. He eats the young partridges. Now the hornet begins to sting the ass. The buzzing gnat makes the cattle bow their necks, and lower their heads to the earth. * . . ." "Next three sturdy swains come one after the other. He who goes foremost waits for the second, and the second for the third, but *he who is coming never reaches him that waits*. * . . ." "The first eats the ripe grape and the fig from the hard tree; he threshes and casts away the brittle straw: * . . . with him come the cares and sorrows of autumn: * . . . The third

presses the good wine; he fastens up his casks like a good husbandman. * . . . He scatters the seed on the land * . . . and winter draws nigh as at the first." The whole work—for it is, as has been said, a long and elaborate composition—exhibits, in addition to the characteristics above assigned to the author, an interest in, and observation of, Nature still more remarkable in a mediæval author.

Fables in verse are interspersed throughout the whole book. The lion, the wolf, and the dog reappear in the usual company, and under the usual variety of circumstances. The flattery of the fox, on a celebrated occasion, is carried even beyond the traditional limits:

O crow, lovely crow, so white and so fair
Thy plumes are the swans but more dazzling and rare,

Let me hear from thy beak but one musical air,
For no voice in the forest with thine can compare ! *

The popinjay, the parrot, before thy hues must pale;
Compared with thy strains what are thrush and nightingale !

Thy voice, lovely fowl, and nought else can avail
To banish the cares that my bosom assail.

The last lines which we will cite from the archpriest's book are again an example of a totally different style. In a sort of Ode to Death, he apostrophizes the "*enemigo del mundo*." "Ay, Muerte !" he cries.

With thy terrors all the world dost thou shake,
At the very thought of thee I tremble and quake.

What mortal may hide or flee from thy sway?
Who shall struggle with Death in a fearful affray?
Thy awful step never is heard by the way:
And when thou art come, for none wilt thou stay.

Man's body thou leavest to the worms and the mould,
But the soul dost thou ravish, thou plunderer bold !
Who can point to thy path or thy goings behold?
I cannot hear thy name but my blood runneth cold.

At thy word the wealthy lies down with the poor:
Nought of all his gold shall he handle any more.
Though riches and honour he boasted good store
This vile loathly carcase we spurn and abhor.

No scroll of lore or learning the wide world doth know

Can teach wise or simple to 'scape from thy blow.
To all things that be dost thou bring only woe,
Save to thy dusky pensioner, the old carrion-crow.

* O cuervo tan apuesto ! *del cisne eres pariente*,
En blancura en dono, fermoso, relusiente;
Mas de todas las aves cantas muy dulcemente,
Si un cantar dixieres, diré yo por el veinte.

Each morn dost thou promise him a rich dainty prey
We cannot say when or whom next thou wilt slay.
Who now can do good let him work while he may,
For Death and his henchman will brook no delay.

Man's life is a vapour. His strength is soon o'er.
In a moment it flies : let him think on't before :
What thou wilt do to-morrow 's a word bare and
poor,
*Go clothe it in deed ere Death stand at thy door.**



Some Early Church and Chantry Dedications in Kent and Essex.

BY J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY, F.S.A.

MORE than once during the past ten or twelve years have we heard a puzzled clergyman say, when alluding to his recently-restored church, "I do not know when to ask the Bishop to reopen it; my church, unfortunately, has no dedication that I am aware of." In answer to this, we have in our turn put the question, "Is a fair held in your parish? because, if so, it is most probable that your church is dedicated to the saint whose festival falls upon that fair day, or the one nearest to it." That there is good warrant for this assertion is evinced by a comparison of known dedications with the dates of the fairs held or formerly held in the respective parishes. Yet it would seem that even in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the dedications of many of our churches were equally unknown. Can it be possible that some of our oldest churches had originally no dedication names at all, but were simply consecrated to the honour and glory of God? It may have been so, but we can scarcely think it, because in times long since passed away religious sentiment took the form of special devotion to this or that particular saint—as, for example, that of the Royal Confessor to St. Peter "his friend," and to St. John "his own dear one." Witness also the especial reverence of Edward the Black Prince for the Holy Trinity, as evinced in his will, by the minute-

ness of the instructions for his burial in the Trinity Chapel of Canterbury Cathedral, "*où le corps du vray martir Monseigneur Saint Thomas repose;*" and it is strange that it was on Trinity Sunday, 1376, he, the

Sable warrior,
Mighty victor, mighty lord,

departed to his rest. We are all of us aware, too, of the wholesome dread with which Louis XI. of France regarded St. Lo. Therefore we think it highly improbable that the founders of our ancient churches—"the gates of heaven, the ladders of prayer"—would omit to associate with their good and great work the name of the saint they held in highest reverence. To many old churches other names than those originally invoked have without doubt been added or substituted. Mistakes, too, may have frequently arisen either through neglect or ignorance, and in this arises one of the greatest difficulties we have to contend with in forming an estimate of the flow of the tide of religious fervour in a bygone time. For the purposes of comparison we have selected the dedications of most of the churches built prior to 1525 in Kent, as an early home of English Christianity, and Essex, its neighbouring county. Local martyrs and mediæval Churchmen enter, of course, largely into county dedications; but as at least eight thousand parish churches were built in England within a century after the Norman Conquest, religious houses, chantries, and altars in the already erected churches became the means by which especial honour to the memory of such men as St. Thomas Becket could be paid. We must remember that the fatal field of Senlac, however disastrous in its effects upon most men, did not much affect the position of the priesthood, nay, even to some it brought a vast accession of power, both moral and material, and most certainly gave an impetus to Church work which extended throughout the length and breadth of the land—an impetus much needed, for doubtless the belief so prevalent during the tenth century, of the impending dissolution of the world, had been the cause of very many churches falling into decay, if not utter ruin. Hence it is possible that in the case of substantial reparation or rebuilding, the donor of large contributions or works might have

* El bien que farás cras palabra es desnuda,
Vestidla con la obra antes que muerte acuda.

consecrated his benefactions to his own particular favourite saint, and so the older dedication may in time have been forgotten or amalgamated with the new ascription. We have in each county an example of this. In Kent, during the year 1179, Richard de Lucy, the Justiciary of England, built a priory and church at Westwood in Lesness, near Erith, which he dedicated to the honour and the glory of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and wherein he shortly afterwards terminated his eventful career; and yet only a few years later we find King John in one of his charters alluding to this edifice in the following terms: "Johannes Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, etc. Sciatis nos. . . . confirmasse Deo et Ecclesia beati Thomæ martiris de Westwuda, in Liesnes." So, too, at Ilford in Essex the old hospital or almshouse chapel, originally founded by the abbess of the Benedictine Abbey at Barking in the early part of the reign of Henry II., was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, but after the canonization of Becket his name was added, and, despite the injunctions of the eighth Henry and the re-foundation by his daughter Elizabeth, it is to this day used and known as the Chapel of St. Mary and St. Thomas of Canterbury. It will be remembered that Becket's sister Mary became Abbess of Barking, which is said to have been the first religious house established for women in the kingdom, it having been founded about the year 670 by St. Erkenwald, Bishop of London, in the reigns of Sebbi and Sighere, Kings of the East Saxons. It may, perhaps, be in many cases of joint dedications to St. Mary and another, that although St. Mary be placed first, it was often used as a prefixed and expletive term, the last-named saint being the special dedication, as at Great Waltham in Essex, where the invocation is St. Mary and St. Lawrence; and at Boxley, in Kent, where the Blessed Virgin and All Saints are united. It seems worthy of notice that church names in some parts of England appear to run in groups of almost adjoining parishes, as though some dominant influence had exercised its power upon the early piety of the ancient days in that particular district; though we must acknowledge that the two churches of Willingale Spain and Willingale Doe in Essex, standing within one and the same churchyard, bear

dedications widely dissimilar, the former being ascribed to St. Andrew and All Saints, while the latter is dedicated to St. Christopher.

A very curious fable respecting the origin of these two churches still lingers in the minds of some of the more aged peasantry of the neighbourhood, which, like one of the several attaching to the double-towered church at Reculver in Kent, bears reference to two sisters, the local tradition in Essex being that a lady, having built the church of Willingale Spain, her sister, stirred by the spirit of emulation, erected another close to it, in order to prove to the world at large that she was a *willing girl too*. As this explanation of the cause of the juxtaposition of the churches appears to be satisfactory to the rustic mind, and also impresses upon it the importance and advantage of a good example, it would seem almost wrong to dispel the illusion, for we know "When ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise."

A Dutch author has said that no Englishman can write a book without dotting its pages with quotations from Shakespeare. Now we, with no intention of writing a book upon any subject, must confess to having examined most of his plays with the object of discovering, if possible, what saints appear to have been popular, or, at any rate, common in the mouths of the people when he wrote. The result has been unsatisfactory, for although it is most evident that our great playwright had a masterful knowledge of the Bible and its contents—using that knowledge to a very great extent, and far too frequently placing the names of the Deity on the lips of his various personages—we find very rare mention of the members of the celestial hierarchy. Among the few alluded to are SS. Philip and James, St. Nicholas, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Dennys, St. George, St. Helen, the mother of Constantine, St. Francis, St. James the Great, St. Katherine, St. Philip, St. Alban, St. Lambert, All Souls, with our Lady and the Holy Rood.

From the appended lists it will be seen that in these counties—as, indeed, is generally the case all over England—the dedications were, as a matter of course, most numerous to St. Mary. To her the eyes of

all were raised, for all generations shall revere her blessed name. Then came All Saints, so inclusive and so very conveniently comprehensive in form, securing, as was believed, the intercession of all, as all were equally appealed to. St. Peter "the Rock" gives his name both by itself and in conjunction with St. Paul to many churches in both counties; while St. Paul, unless united with St. Peter, appears to be a rather rare dedication in all parts of the kingdom, even the parish of Belchamp St. Paul in Essex having its church dedicated to St. Andrew, the name of St. Paul being added because King Athelstan in the year 930 gave most of the land in this parish to the cathedral church of St. Paul in London.

It appears remarkable that so many churches in Essex should be dedicated to St. Andrew, he being the special saint of Scotland. But it may be mentioned that many manors in Kent and Essex were formerly held from the Lord of Swanscombe in Kent, by service of castle guard for the defence of Rochester Castle, and that when money payments were substituted for military service, the custom was held that unless the payment was made on St. Andrew's Day, the amount was doubled each time the tide flowed under Rochester Bridge, and this custom was confirmed in the eighteenth century by the result of an action at law. It will be remembered that the monastery founded by St. Gregory on Mount Cœlius at Rome was dedicated to St. Andrew, and that from it Gregory sent St. Augustine on his mission to christianize Britain. Can it be that this association had anything to do with the veneration in which St. Andrew was evidently held in these counties? The name of St. Gregory appears once in each county, and once with St. Martin in Kent. St. Augustine gives his name to four churches in Kent and two in Essex, while St. Martin appears twelve times in Kent and three in Essex. St. Helen, the Christian Empress, figures with St. Giles at Rainham in Essex, being, it is believed, the only example of such dedication in England. She founded the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. From the circumstance that her son Constantine the Great was in Britain when he assumed

the purple, Helen or Helena was supposed to have been a British princess, whereas she was really a native of Bithynia; but the British tradition, revived most probably in the Crusading period, made her name very popular throughout England. Another probably unique dedication is that at Bethersden, in Kent, to St. Beatrice. There are, we believe, two Italian saints of this name recorded in the *Acta Sanctorum*, but which is thus honoured in Kent is apparently unknown. Churches bearing the name of St. Nicholas are generally found near the sea-coast, or on the banks of rivers, he being patron of the sailor, the captive, the poor, and children. This dedication appears to have been generally popular. He was Bishop of Myra in Asia, and died about A.D. 326.

St. Giles, the French recluse, who died circa 712, is commemorated to an equal degree in both counties; we can only presume that the intercourse between France and England was the cause of his evident popularity here. Five churches—three in Essex and two in Kent—are dedicated to St. Edmund; this must be the martyr king slain A.D. 870, although this dedication may sometimes be confounded with St. Edmund the Bishop, who was Archbishop of Canterbury about 1240, and, after his decease, was canonized as St. Edmund of Pontigny. But it is, however, very doubtful whether any of our churches commemorate this good man. It will be observed that SS. Simon, Jude, and Mark alone of the eleven disciples are conspicuous by their absence from our list of parochial dedications; indeed, throughout England they appear very rarely among ancient invocations, though they seem to have been more favourably regarded in later days. It would appear that four parochial churches in the two counties bore the name of the most uncompromising champion the Church ever possessed—Thomas Becket—the first Englishman since the Conquest raised to any high position. There can be little doubt, as we have seen, that his name was added to many already existing churches, and that for a time the original dedications, like that of Canterbury Cathedral itself, were little thought of, all honour and devotion being rendered to the purely English martyr. Some idea of the great popularity of this

saint may be formed from the accounts of the offerings made to the various altars in Canterbury Cathedral. Bishop Burnet, in his "History of the Reformation," tells us that in one year there was offered to Christ's Altar, £3 2s. 6d.; to the Virgin's Altar, £63 5s. 6d. But to the altar of St. Thomas the Divine was given £832 12s. 3d. The next year, he says, the odds were even greater, for there was not even a penny offered at Christ's Altar, and only £4 1s. 8d. to the Blessed Virgin; while the offerings at the shrine of St. Thomas Becket rose, irrespective of jewels and bequests, to no less than £954 6s. 3d. The following list gives the dedications of some of the early churches in Kent:

To St. Mary.—Ashford, Barfreton, Bexley, Betteshanger, Brabourne, Bishopsbourne, Brook, Canterbury (2), Capel le Ferne, Chalk, Great Chart, Little Chart, Chart-ham, Chiddingstone, Chilham, Chislet, Crundale, St. Mary Cray, Eastling, Eastry, Eastwell, Ebony, Eltham, Fawkham, Fordwich, Faversham, Frittenden, Goudhurst, Gravesend, Hadlow, High Halden, Lower Hardres, Hastingleigh, Hayes, Higham, Hunton, Hinxhill, Horton Kirby, West Hythe, Kenardington, Kennington, Lamberhurst, West Langdon, Langley, Leigh, Lenham, Lewisham, Luddenham, Luton, Lydden, West Malling, Minster, Nackington, Nettlestead, Newington, Nonnington, Norton, Orlestone, Plaistow, Patricxbourne, Postling, Poulton, Reculver, Rochester, Hoo St. Mary, Sandwich, Sellinge, Selling, Sevington, Smeeth, Speldhurst, Stalisfield, Stansted, Stelling, Stodmarsh, Stone, Stone near Dartford, Stowting, Sutton-Valence, Teynham, Walmer, Westerham, Westwell, Willesborough, Wingham, and Woodnesborough.

To St. Mary the Virgin.—Chatham, Dover, Downe, Greenhithe, Hoath, Ripple, Rolvenden, St. Mary's, Upchurch.

To the Virgin Mary.—Broadstairs, Denton, Thurnham.

To the Blessed Virgin.—Burham.

To the Blessed Virgin and All Saints.—Boxley.

To SS. Mary and Sexburgh.—Isle of Sheppy.

To SS. Mary and Eanswith.—Folkestone.

To SS. Mary and Eadburgh.—Lyminge.

To St. Mary and the Holy Cross.—Milstead.

To St. Mary Magdalen.—Cobham, Cowden, Canterbury, Denton, Gillingham, Longfield, Monkton, Ruckinge, Stockbury, Woolwich.

To St. Edith.—Kemsing.

To St. Katherine.—Kingsdown.

To St. Margaret.—Addington, East Barming, Broomfield, Canterbury, Chelsfield, Darenth, South Darenth, Halstead, High Halstow, Lower Halstow, Horsemenden, Hothfield, Hucking, Ifield, Lee, Rainham, Rochester, St. Margaret-at-Cliffe, Womenswold, Wychling.

To St. Mildred.—Canterbury, Nurstead, Preston, Tenterden.

To St. Beatrice.—Bethersden.

To St. Eanswith.—Brenzett.

To St. Helen.—Cliffe.

To the Holy Cross.—Bearstead, Canterbury, Goodnestone.

To the Holy Innocents.—Adisham.

To St. Matthew.—Warehorne.

To St. Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury.—Capel, Fairfield.

To St. Augustine.—Brookland, East Langdon, Northbourne, Snaue.

To St. Anthony the Martyr.—Alkham.

To St. Rumwold.—Bonnington.

To St. Cosmus.—Blean.

To SS. Cosmus and Damian.—Challock.

To St. Paulinus.—Paul's Cray.

To All Saints.—Hoo, Biddenden, Boxley, Birchington, Birling, Boughton-Aluph, Brenchley, Burmarsh, Canterbury, Chillenden, East Church, Foot's Cray, Frindsbury, West Farleigh, Graveney, Hartley, Hollingbourne, Hope, Iwade, Loose, Lydd, Maidstone, Murston, Orpington, Petham, Isle of Sheppy, Snodland, Stanford, Staplehurst, Stourmouth, Ulcombe Waldershare, Westbere, Whitstable, Woodchurch, Wouldham.

To St. Pancras.—Canterbury, Coldred.

To SS. Gregory and Martin.—Wye.

To St. Oswald.—Paddlesworth.

To St. Werburgh.—Hoo.

To St. Dunstan.—Canterbury, Cranbrook, Frinsted, West Peckham, Snargate.

To SS. Peter and Paul.—Appledore, Ash near Sevenoaks, Bilsington, Borden, Boughton, Bromley, Charing, Cudham,

- Dymchurch, Edenbridge, Ewell, Eythorne, Farningham, Headcorn, Upper Hardress, Leybourne, Luddesdown, Lynsted, Milton, New Church, Newnham, Saltwood, Shadoxhurst, Shoreham, Shorne, Sutton-by-Dover, East Sutton, Swanscombe, Teston, Tonbridge, Trotterscliffe, Worth, Yalding.
- To St. Peter.*—Aylesford, Bekesbourne, Boughton Montchelsea, Bridge, Bredhurst, Broadstairs, Canterbury, West Cliffe, Ditton, Hever, Ightham, Moldash, Monks Horton, Newenden, Oare, Pembury, Ridley, River, Sandwich, Seal, Swingfield, Whitfield.
- To St. Paul.*—Canterbury, Swanley.
- To St. Giles.*—Farnborough, Kingstone, Shipbourne, Tong, Wormshill.
- To St. Martin.*—Acrise, Aldington, Brasted, Canterbury, Cheriton, Detling, Eynsford, Guston, Herne, Great Mongeham, Ryarsh, Wootton.
- To St. Alphege.*—Canterbury, Greenwich, Seasalter.
- To All Souls.*—Crocken Hill.
- To St. Lawrence.*—Allington, Bapchild, Bidborough, Godmersham, Hawkhurst, Hougham, Leaveland, Mereworth, Otterden, St. Lawrence.
- To St. Michael.*—Canterbury, Chart, Cuxton, Hartlip, Kingsnorth, Offham, East Peckham, Sittingbourne, Smarden, Throwley, East Wickham, Wilmington.
- To St. Botolph.*—Chevening, Lullingstone, Northfleet.
- To St. Edmund.*—Kingsdown, Canterbury.
- To St. Nicholas.*—Ash, Boughton Malherbe, Canterbury, Chislehurst, Leeds, Linton, Milton, Newington, Otham, Plumstead, Pluckley, Ringwould, Rochester, Rodmersham, New Romney, St. Nicholas-at-Wade, Sandhurst, Sevenoaks, Sholden, Southfleet, Sturley.
- To St. Leonard.*—Badlesmere, Deal, Hurst, Hythe.
- To St. John the Baptist.*—Barham, Bredgar, Doddington, Eltham, Erith, Lower Halden, Harrietsham, Hildenborough, Margate, Mersham, Meopham, Penshurst, Stoke, Sutton-at-Hone, Swalecliffe, Tunstall, Wateringbury, West Wickham, Wittersham.
- To St. John the Evangelist.*—Groombridge, Ickham, Sidcup.
- To the Holy Trinity.*—Broadstairs, Old Brompton, Dartford, West Marsh, Milton.
- To St. Andrew.*—Canterbury, Sibbertswood, Tilmanstone, Wickham-Breaux, Buckland.
- To St. Clement.*—Knowlton, Rochester, Old Romney, Isle of Sheppy.
- To St. Vincent.*—Littlebourne.
- To Christ.*—Kilndown.
- To St. George.*—Benenden, Gravesend, Ham, Ivychurch, Ramsgate, Wrotham.
- To St. James.*—Bicknor, Cooling, North Cray, Dover, Egerton, Elmstead, Isle of Grain, East Malling, Sheldwich, Isle of Sheppy (2), Staple.
- To St. George the Martyr.*—Canterbury.
- To St. Bartholomew.*—Bobbing, Goodnestone, Otford, Sandwich, Waltham.
- To St. Luke.*—Charlton.
- To St. Stephen.*—Canterbury, Lympne.
- To St. Thomas.*—Isle of Harty.
- To St. Gregory.*—Canterbury.
- Dedications Unknown.*—Ashhurst, Elmstone, Keston, Knockholt, Plaxtole.
- In Essex the dedications appear to have been as under :
- To St. Mary.*—Great Baddow, Great Bardfield, Great Bentley, West Bergholt, Boxted, Little Bromley, Bulpham, Burnham, Little Burghstead, Buttsbury, Great Canfield, Chadwell, Chelmsford, Chigwell, Colchester, Debden, East Thorpe, Fairsted, Farnham, Foulness, Frinton, Gestingthorpe, Harlow, Hatfield Regis, Great Henney, Langham, Lawford, Leyton, Maldon, Manuden, Matching, Munden, Little Oakley, Ovington, Panfield, Little Parndon, Ramsden Crays, Salcot, Shopland, Little Stambridge, Stanford Rivers, Stapleford Abbots, Stapleford Tawney, Steeple Bumpstead, Stifford, Sturmere, Takley, Theydon Bois, Thorpe le Soken, Little Thurrock, Tollesbury, Little Wakering, Walthamstow, Wanstead, Widford, Wix, Woodham Ferriers.
- To SS. Mary and Lawrence.*—Great Waltham.
- To SS. Mary and Margaret.*—Stow St. Mary's.
- To St. Mary and All Saints.*—Great Burghstead, Lambourne, Rivenhall.
- To SS. Mary and Leonard.*—Birchanger, Broomfield.
- To SS. Mary and Edmund.*—Ingatestone.
- To SS. Mary and Edward.*—West Hanningfield.

To SS. Mary and Clement.—Clavering.

To St. Mary the Virgin.—Ardleigh, Little Baddow, South Benfleet, Belchamp Walter, Little Bentley, Bocking, Great Broxton, Little Chesterford, Chickney, Corringham, Dedham, Dunmow, Little Dunmow, Dunton, High Easter, Elsenham, Fryerning, Little Hallingbury, Hawkwell, Henham, Little Ilford, Kelvedon, Little Laver, Layer Marney, Great Leighs, Moreton, Newport, High Ongar, Peldon, Radwinter, Ramsden Bellhouse, Aythorp-Roothing, Runwell, Saffron Walden, Little Sampford, Sheering, Shenfield, North Shoebury, Prittlewell, Stansted-Mount-Fitchett, Stebbing, Stretchall, Tilty, Virley, Wendens-Ambo, Widlington, Wivenhoe.

To St. Mary the Virgin and All Saints.—Langdon, Great Stamburgh.

To All Saints.—Ashdon, Barling, North Benfleet, Great Braxted, Brightlingsea, Great Chesterford, Childerditch, Chingford, Colchester, Wakes Colne, Crecksea, Cranham, Cressing, Dovercourt, Doddington, Epping, South Fambridge, Feering, Fordham, West Hanningfield, West Ham, Great Holland, Great Horkesley, East Horndon, Hutton, Inworth, High Laver, Messing, Nazing, Norton Mandeville, Great Oakley, Purleigh, Rayne, Rettenden, Rickling, High Roothing, Springfield, Stisted, Stock, Great Sutton, Terling, Theydon Garnon, Tolleshunt Knights, Little Totham, Ulting, Vange, Walton le Soken, Wickham St. Paul, Wimbish, Wrabness, Writtle.

To St. Ethelbert and All Saints.—Belchamp Otten, Stanway.

To St. Michael.—Aveley, Braintree, Berechurch, Colchester, Fobbing, Kirby, Laindon, Manningtree, Pitsea, Ramsey, Roxwell, Old Sampford, Theydon Mount, Woodham Walter.

To St. Andrew.—Abberton, Althorne, Ashingdon, Boreham, Belchamp St. Paul, Bulmer, Greenstead, near Colchester, Earls Colne, Colne Engaine, White Colne, Good Easter, Fingrinhoe, Greensted, Hatfield Peverill, Helion Bumpstead, Hempstead, Heybridge, Hornchurch, Langenhoe, Netteswell, Rochford, Sandon, Shalford, South Shoebury, Marks Tey, North Weald, Weeley, Wormingford, Great Yeldham.

To St. Andrew and All Saints.—Willingale Spain.

To St. Nicholas.—Berden, Little Braxted, Canewdon, Castle Hedingham, Chignel Smealy, Little Chishall, Colchester, Elmdon, Fyfield, Harwich, Hazeleigh, Ingrave, Kelvedon Hatch, South Ockendon, Rawreth, Tillingham, Tolleshunt Darcy, Tolleshunt Magna, Great Wakering, Witham.

To St. Margaret.—Arkesden, Barden, Bowers Gifford, Downham, Margaretting, Markshall, Margaret Roothing, Stanford le Hope, East Tilbury, Toppesfield, Woodford, Woodham Mortimer.

To St. Lawrence.—Asheldham, Blackmore, Bradfield, East Donyland, Eastwood, Elmstead, Ridgwell, St. Lawrence Newland, Upminster.

To St. Lawrence and All Saints.—Steeple.

To St. Peter.—Alresford, Birch, Great Coggeshall, Goldhanger, South Hanningfield, Heydon, Hockley, Horndon, Nevendon, Pagglesham, Roydon, Little Saling, Shelley, Sible Hedingham, Stambourne, Thundersley, Great Totham, Ugley, Great Warley, Little Warley, South Weald, Wennington.

To SS. Peter and Paul.—Dagenham, Foxearth, Grays Thurrock, Little Horkesley, West Mersea, Black Notley, St. Osyth, Shellow Bowels, Stondon.

To St. Giles.—Colchester, Great Hallingbury, Langford, Great Maplestead, Mountnessing.

To St. Giles and All Saints.—Orsett.

To SS. Helen and Giles.—Rainham.

To St. Leonard.—Beaumont, Colchester, Southminster.

To St. Mary Magdalen.—Billericay, East Ham, Magdalen Laver, North Ockendon, Pattiswick, Thorington, Wethersfield.

To St. John.—Great Easton, Langley, Little Leighs, Mount Bures, Twinstead.

To St. John Baptist.—Great Clacton, Danbury, Finchingfield, Latton, Loughton, Mucking, Pebmarsh, Little Yeldham.

To St. John of Jerusalem.—Little Mapplestead.

To St. Thomas of Canterbury.—Brentwood, Ilford, St. Osyth.

To St. Edmund.—East Mersea, Abbots Roothing, Tendring.

To St. James.—Chignal St. James, Little Clacton, Colchester, Dengie, Hadleigh, Great Saling, Little Tey, West Tilbury.

To St. Katherine.—Little Bardfield, Gosfield.

To the Holy Trinity.—Bradwell, Chrishall, Colchester, North Fambridge, Littlebury, Pleshey, Rayleigh, Southchurch.
To St. Augustine.—Ashen, Birdbrook.
To St. Germain.—Bobbingworth, Faulkbourne.
To St. Thomas the Apostle.—Bradwell-juxta-Mare, Navestock.
To St. George.—Great Bromley, Halstead, Pentlow.
To St. Martin.—Colchester, Ongar, White Roothing.
To St. Swithun.—Great Chrishall.
To St. Botolph.—Colchester, Hadstock, Beauchamp Roothing.
To St. Paul.—Lexden.
To St. Barnabas.—Mayland, Great Tey.
To St. Bartholomew.—Wickham Bishops.
To St. Runwald.—Colchester.
To St. Stephen.—Cold Norton, Great Wigborough, Little Wigborough.
To the Holy Cross.—Felstead, Bassildon.
To the Holy Cross and St. Lawrence.—Walham Abbey.
To the Holy Innocents.—Lamarsh.
To Christ and Peter.—Latchingdon.
To St. Clement.—Leigh, West Thurrock.
To St. Edward the Confessor.—Romford.
To St. Dunstan.—Wendon Lofts.
To St. Christopher.—Willingale Doe.
Dedications unknown.—Aldham, Alphamstone, Barnston, Borley, Little Canfield, Chappell, Copford, Little Easton, Frating, Havering-atte-Bower, Little Henny, Little Holland, West Horndon, Layer Breton, Layer de la Haye, Berner's Roothing, Leaden Roothing, Thaxted, Thorndon, Tilbury, Middleton, White Notley, Great Parndon, Quendon, Wickford.

Of the Christian saints of later days included in the foregoing lists, we may conclude that St. Margaret, whose name appears more than thirty times, is the legendary St. Margaret, virgin martyr of Antioch. The following list will show at a glance the number of dedications to each saint in the two counties:

	KENT.	ESSEX.
To St. Mary	87	57
To St. Mary the Virgin	9	47
To the Virgin Mary	3	—
To the Blessed Virgin	1	—
To the Blessed Virgin and All Saints ...	1	—

	KENT.	ESSEX.
To SS. Mary and Sexburgh	1	—
To SS. Mary and Eanswirth	1	—
To St. Mary and the Holy Cross	1	—
To St. Mary Magdalen	10	7
To St. Edith	1	—
To St. Katherine	1	2
To St. Margaret	20	12
To St. Mildred	4	—
To St. Beatrice	1	—
To St. Eanswith	1	—
To St. Helen	1	—
To the Holy Cross	3	2
To the Holy Innocents	1	1
To St. Matthew	1	—
To St. Thomas of Canterbury	2	2
To St. Augustine	4	2
To St. Anthony the Martyr	1	—
To St. Runwold	1	1
To St. Cosmus	1	—
To SS. Cosmus and Damian	1	—
To St. Paulinus	1	—
To St. Pancras	2	—
To SS. Gregory and Martin	1	—
To St. Oswald	1	—
To St. Werburgh	1	—
To St. Dunstan	5	1
To SS. Peter and Paul	33	9
To St. Peter	22	22
To St. Paul	2	1
To St. Giles	5	5
To St. Martin	12	3
To St. Alphege	3	—
To All Souls	1	—
To St. Lawrence	10	9
To St. Michael	12	14
To St. Botolph	3	3
To St. Edmund	2	3
To St. Nicholas	21	20
To St. Leonard	4	3
To St. John Baptist	19	8
To St. John Evangelist	3	5
To the Holy Trinity	5	8
To St. Andrew	5	29
To St. Clement	4	2
To St. Vincent	1	—
To Christ	1	—
To St. George	6	3
To St. George the Martyr	1	—
To St. James	12	8
To St. Bartholomew	5	1
To St. Luke	1	—
To St. Stephen	2	3
To St. Thomas	1	2
To St. Gregory	1	1
To All Saints	36	51
To SS. Mary and Lawrence	—	1
To SS. Mary and Margaret	—	1
To St. Mary and All Saints	—	3
To SS. Mary and Leonard	—	2
To SS. Mary and Edmund	—	1
To SS. Mary and Edward	—	1
To SS. Mary and Clement	—	1
To St. Mary the Virgin and All Saints ...	—	2
To St. Ethelbert and All Saints	—	2
To St. Andrew and All Saints	—	1

	KENT.	ESSEX.
To St. Lawrence and All Saints ...	—	1
To St. Giles and All Saints ...	—	1
To SS. Helen and Giles ...	—	1
To St. John of Jerusalem ...	—	1
To St. Germain ...	—	2
To St. Swithin ...	—	1
To St. Barnabas ...	—	2
To the Holy Cross and St. Lawrence ...	—	1
To Christ and Peter ...	—	1
To St. Edward the Confessor ...	—	1
To St. Christopher ...	—	1
Unknown ...	5	25

The list of dedications here given, though probably far from correct, is of much later date than that of the Kentish churches included in an article upon Darenth, published in a recent number of this magazine.



Midland Folk-Rhymes and Phrases.

LABOUR, LOCALITY, HUMOUR, ETC.

LABOUR.

HALLIWELL, in his *Popular Rhymes* (1849), writes :

“ ‘Awa’, birds, awa’,
Take a peck, and leave a seek,
And come no more to-day,’

is the universal *bird-shooer’s* song in the Midland counties.” But there are other jingles, as proved by the following :

Shoo, all ‘e birds !
Shoo, all ‘e birds !
I’ll up wi’ my clappers,
And knock’e down back’ards,
Shoo, all ‘e birds !

And

Shoo over !
Out of the wheat into the clover,
Powder and shot shall be thy lot,
And I’ll cry out shoo over.

Gloucestershire.

How dar’ you ?
How dar’ you
Steale the master’s wheat
While I’m so near you ?
King’s Norton, Worcestershire.
Coo-oo !

I’ve got a pair of clappers,
And I’ll knock ‘e down back’ards :
I’ve got a great stone,
And I’ll break your back-bone,
Coo-oo !

Staffordshire.

Churning.

Come, butter, come,
Come, butter, come,
Peter’s standing at the gate
Waiting for a butter’d cake,
Come, butter, come.
Ady, “Candle in the Dark” (1665).

This, also, is subject to variation :

Churn, butter, churn,
In a cow’s horn,
I never seed such butter,
Sin’ I was born,
Peter standing, etc.

And

Churn, butter, churn,
Come, butter, come,
A little good butter is better than none.

Washing.

Verses on this subject seem to have but one thesis. There is, however, a slight change from this in Northamptonshire, and for the better :

They that wash on Monday Have all the week to dry.	They that wash on Monday Have all the week to dry.
They that wash on Tuesday Are not so much awry.	They that wash on Tuesday They have very nigh.
They that wash on Wednesday Are not so much to blame.	They that wash on Wednesday <i>Have half the week past.</i>
They that wash on Thursday Wash for shame.	They that wash on Thursday Are very near the last.
They that wash on Friday Wash in need.	They that wash on Friday Wash for need.
They that wash on Saturday Are sluts indeed.	They that wash on Saturday Are sluts indeed.

General.

Baker’s “Northamptonshire Words and Phrases” (1854).

“Navy” Work.

The following doggerel is well known throughout the Midlands, and appears to be extremely popular with juveniles, for, whenever a railway is in course of extension, the nonsense verse is yelled out everywhere about the scene of operations. It has the countenance of some antiquity, too, as many persons remember it as having been sung when the first railway between London and Birmingham was being made.

I’m a navy, you’re a navy,
Working on the line :
Five-and-twenty bob a week,
And all the overtime.

Roast beef, boiled beef,
Puddings made of eggs,
Up jumps a navvy
With a pair of sausage legs.

Farming.

In July
Some reap rye :
In August
If one will not the other must.

General.

Hay is for horses,
Straw is for cows,
Milk is for little pigs,
And wash for old sows.

*Oxfordshire.**Locality.*

More folk-rhymes come under this than any other head. Some have been sheaved, and may be found in the garner of Fuller, Ray, Halliwell, etc., but others still await the literary gleaner. Here are a few not generally known :

Bloxham for length,
Adderbury for strength,
And King's-Sutton* for beauty.

Aynho on the hill,
Clifton in the clay,
Drunken Deddington,
And Yam highway.

Yam is a corrupted form of Hampton, a hamlet of Deddington.

Hawley, Crawley, Curbage, and Coggs,
Witney spinners and Duckington dogs,
Finstock on hill, and Fawler down derry,
Beggary Ramsden, and lousy Charlbury.

Woodstock for bacon,
Budlow for beef,
Handborough for a scurvy knave,
And Coombe for a thief.†

Oxfordshire.

* King's Sutton, though unmentioned in most gazetteers, seems to be a place of mark. James Orchard Halliwell in his *Nursery Rhymes* (1853), quotes this :

King's Sutton is a pretty town,
And lies all in a valley ;
It has a pretty ring of bells,
Besides a bowling-alley :
Wine and liquor in good store,
Pretty maidens plenty ;
Can a man desire more ?
There ain't such a town in twenty.

† This is similar to a well-known Warwickshire rhyme :

Sutton for mutton,
Tamworth for beef,
Walsall for bandy-legs,
And Brummagem for a thief.

Sometimes the third line runs—

Yenton for a pretty girl.

Yenton is the place pronunciation of Erdington.

The following places are within a mile of each other :

Stramshall and Bramshall,
Beamhurst and Fole,
Leachurch and Parkhurst,
And Chetley i' th' hole.

Millmeece and Yarnfield,
Coldmeece and Slyn,
Four of the dirtiest countries
You were ever in.

Wootton under Weaver,
Where God came never.

This Wootton, near the morelands, is surrounded by hills which hide it from the light of the sun. In folk prose and poetry, any dismal locality is spoken of as "God-forsaken."

In April Dove's flood
Is worth the king's good.

Staffordshire.

The river Dove overflows in April, and the alluvial mud is very fertilising.

Higham on the hill,
Stoke in the vale,
Wykin for buttermilk,
Hinckley for ale.

Nottingham where they knock 'em down,
Oakham where they catch 'em,
Bringham where they bury 'em,
And Cottesmore where they cry.*

Leicestershire.

Derbyshire born,
Derbyshire bred,
Strong i' th' arm,
And thick i' th' head.

Derbyshire.

The next rhyme is common in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Somersetshire, these counties containing the places mentioned :

Buckland and Laverton,
Stanway and Staunton,
Childswickham, Wickamford,
Badsey and Aston.

This, on first sight, appears remarkably ill constructed. But Staunton is pronounced *Stawn*, and Aston, *Awn*.

* This rhyme is quoted by Evans in *Leicestershire Words and Phrases* (Eng. Dialect Soc.), and he says : "In *Doomsday* the whole of the western part of the country, under the name of Roteland, appears as an appendage, for fiscal purposes, to the county of Nottingham, from which it is topographically separated by the Leicestershire wapentake of Framland. The entries and measurements follow the Nottinghamshire, and not the Leicestershire system."

Piping Pebworth, Dancing Marston,
 Haunted Hilboro', Hungry Grafton,
 Dudging Exhall, Popish Wixford,
 Beggarly Broom, and Drunken Bidford.
Warwickshire.

There have been people bold enough to
 attribute the above to Shakespeare !

HUMOUR.

You thought a lig,
 Loike Hudson's pig.

"And what did Hudson's pig thought?
 Whoy a thowt as they was a-goo'in' to kill
 un, an' they oon'y run a ring threu its
 nooze."

This is Leicestershire, and seems to be
 founded on the well-known country joke on
 people proved to be mistaken in some sur-
 mise, and which runs thus: "You're like
 Joe Stokes's pig; he thought as how he was
 a-goin' to have his breakfast, but they was a-
 goin' to kill him."

In Leicestershire, too, the following rebuke,
 says Evans, is addressed to fanciful folk:

If all the waters was wan sea,
 And all the trees was wan tree,
 And this here tree was to fall into that there sea,
 Moy sirs! what a *splish-splash* there'd be.

There is a nursery version of this rhyme:

If all the world was apple pie,
 And all the sea was ink,
 And all the trees were bread and cheese,
 What should we do for drink?

In other counties a handkerchief is placed
 loosely over the thumb and forefinger, and
 these taking certain motions give some idea
 of a gowned parson, and the operator says:

If all the food was paving stones,
 And all the seas were ink,
 What should we poor mortals do
 For victuals and for drink?

[Here certain bowing movements intended
 to express a doubtful frame of mind.]

It's enough to make a man like me
 Scratch his head and think.

Several school tales run in the same groove,
 and there is an extended version of the
 original that embraces "a great axe," etc.

There is a capital satirical stroke at social
 forms in the following lines, which are pretty
 well known, not only in the Midlands, but
 throughout England:

Dad, mam, and *porridge*,
 Father, mother, and *broth*,
 Pa, ma, and *soup*.

Here are two versions of a rhyme framed
 as guide to fishers:

When the wind's in the east, The fishes bite least:	When the wind is in the east, 'Tis neither good for man nor beast:
When the wind's in the west, The fishes bite best:	When the wind is in the north, The skilful fisher goes not forth:
When the wind's in the north, 'The fishes won't come forth:	When the wind is in the south, It blows the bait in the fish's mouth:
When the wind's in the south, It blows the bait in the fish's mouth.	When the wind is in the west, Then 'tis at the very best.

PHRASES.

"Spotted and spangled like Joe Danks's
 devil." This is frequently applied to people
 with blotchy skins. Joe Danks was an
 itinerant showman who exhibited at fairs an
 "attraction" called "The Devil," a wretched
 being possessed of a skin eruption and a
 spangled suit.

"That'll never pay the old woman her
 ninepence" (Gloucestershire): a phrase in-
 dicative of small profit or reward on any
 outlay, etc.

"You should never think till the crows
 build in your hair, and then you should
 wonder how they got the sticks there": a
 reproof to persons that always qualify an
 error with "I thought so-and-so."

"He'd slide on your eye." This is intended
 to convey an idea of vilest brutality—of one's
 making a sport of the misfortune of another.
 Mr. George R. Sims, in one of his recent
 articles on Birmingham, writes that he heard
 a woman of that town say she would "knock
 so-and-so's eye out, and make a slide on it."
 That is evidently the phrase in its pristine
 purity.

"Old Sarbut told me." This actually
 means, "My information is correct; but I do
 not choose to give the name of the teller. It
 is to the Midlands what '*A little bird told
 me so*' is to England generally; so that it is
 perfectly understood when used in local news-
 papers or politics." Attempts have been
 made to prove that there *was* a person named
 Sarbut, whose knowledge of the affairs of
 everybody was remarkable, based, probably,
 on mere surmise.

"To go away with the breech in the hand": to retire crestfallen. Breech is a refinement of the usual term in use among folk.

"Babby's pig, and daddy's bacon": an expression pointing to the fact that salable property, though called a child's, is legally the father's.

"He sings like a Bromwich throstle." Spoken contemptuously of one with a discordant voice. In the vernacular "Bromwich throstle" means *donkey*.

GEORGE F. ERIE.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Maria Theresa Relics.—To the Maria Theresa Exhibition, recently opened in Vienna, several hundred persons have contributed objects of great value, which give a perfect picture of the surroundings in which the great Empress lived, of her disposition and hobbies, her relations with the members of her family, her government and foreign potentates, and the force and the weaknesses of the time in which she reigned. The exhibits are arranged in rooms, every article of which stands in some connection with the Empress, but they are not all in one style, and indeed very little of what belonged to her was, strictly speaking, in the style of her time, which showed a tendency to abandon the rich ornaments of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., and was but the forerunner of the simplicity and stiffness introduced by the Empire. Maria Theresa loved the objects she had inherited, and we therefore find that the furniture among which she moved is rich and handsome. About four hundred pictures of her, her children, relations, ministers, and friends are comprised in the collection, with views of Vienna and the castles she resided in. The furniture, paintings, jewels, plate, medals, dresses, the letters, books, and miniatures have all been dispersed, and the Imperial family has a very incomplete collection of relics. These have been brought together in the interesting exhibition of the present year. There are three rooms completely fur-

nished with rosewood chests and corner cabinets, the wood inlaid, and the ormolu handles and ornaments so elaborate as to conceal a good third of the wood. The tops are covered with pale pink marble slabs. Tortoiseshell and bronze clocks, glass candelabra, caskets, and miniatures on stands complete the furniture. On the walls are interesting pictures of ladies of the times, some very beautiful in pastel, water-colour, oil, and even in tapestry. In a boudoir with pink sofa and armchairs, embroidered in silver, stands a gilt harp, close to a beautiful writing-table, the inlaid work of which is of surpassing delicacy. Quite lately an English nobleman, through an agent, made an offer of £25,000 for this writing-table, but the Princess Metternich refused to part with it. On the chest, at either side of a wonderful casket of tortoiseshell and gold, stand two large Wedgwood vases. The Duc de Choiseul's historical writing-table, now belonging to the Metternichs, almost entirely fills the next cabinet. It is 12 feet long, intended to be placed with the narrow side between two windows. At the upper end a kind of *étagère* rises and supports a complicated piece of clockwork in which smiths, beating their hammers, tell the hours and quarters. It is in rosewood, and lavishly adorned with ormolu. On one of the walls is a picture of the child Maria Theresa, in a blue and gold embroidered dress, with a cloak of ermine and purple. In several pictures the Empress is represented sitting in the centre of her circle of sixteen children, and as they are dated from the later years of her life, the Emperor Joseph, her eldest-born and co-regent, generally stands at her side. For daily wear black seems to have been her favourite colour, and after the date of her husband's death she is always portrayed with a veil which envelops her hair and descends in a narrow line from the throat to the dress, which is cut square and very low, according to the custom of the time. One of the most interesting pictures is that which represents her on horseback in the act of swearing allegiance after the coronation at Presburg. She wears a crown and all the jewels, a coronation mantle lined with ermine, and a dress stiff with gold embroidery. Reining her horse with the left hand, her right holds up

the Imperial sword. In the background is the picturesque castle of Presburg. The large room which contains most of these pictures is occupied in the centre by sledges, carriages, and sedan-chairs, all of the most luxurious description, carved, gilt, and painted, but not so much as the vestige of a spring. The sledges and carriages must, moreover, have found some difficulty in turning sharp corners, their length being quite double that of a carriage of our times. The splendidly carved sledge reminds us of the passionate love entertained for sledging in those days, when five or six streets were shut off from public traffic for a week together to prepare the ground for a "schlittade," as it is called, and when the young nobles, having fixed a certain day for sledging, when no snow was forthcoming, covered three miles of road with a thick layer of salt, and enjoyed their sport in spite of the adverse elements. The sedan-chairs look most comfortable, some being built so as to conceal the occupant from all eyes; others with plate-glass windows all round, for state occasions it must be supposed. One of them is entirely gilt, and afterwards painted with scenes from mythological subjects. It is well preserved, if it be considered that it was used for many years in the open air, and in all weathers. There are several hundred letters in the Empress's characteristic hand in the Exhibition, most of them to Kaunitz, her Prime Minister. These are in German, but the notes to her daughter-in-law, Maria Beatrix of Naples, are in excellent French, full of motherly advice and faith in the wisdom of the Almighty. There are also some letters conferring nobility upon families of distinction, the Imperial seals pending from them being the size of a dessert plate. The miniatures are framed with a hoop of pearls or diamonds; some are locketts, but the greater part are in velvet frames, several of a family forming one larger picture. There is a very pretty one of Marie Antoinette when she was quite a girl. The miniature, about the size of a sheet of notepaper, represents a very handsome woman with blue eyes, a straight nose, a noble mouth, unsurpassed lines of throat and neck, a fine complexion. The expression is as intellectual as it is haughty. Of course the hair is fluffy and powdered, but it stands out in broad masses at either side of the

face. Another young girl—it might be Marie Antoinette—looks triumphant in the possession of a spinning-wheel, which looks something like a hand sewing-machine. Perhaps the finest part of the exhibition is that which consists of about twenty glass cases full of precious objects, works of the silver and gold smiths' art, which was at that time more closely related to art in the fullest sense of the word than it is in our days. It is impossible to enumerate all these pretty things, which should be seen. There is in a glass case of its own a golden toy-kitchen, about a foot and a half square. It contains every imaginable utensil in pure gold, including a bottlejack with machinery, a hearth with saucepans, tables, cupboards, kettles, cullenders, basins, glasses, spoons, plates, pails, a stool, a well, a clock, etc. The cook, cat, fowls, joints, and vegetables are in old china. This marvel was a Christmas present from Marie Antoinette when a child to a little play-fellow, whose family have preserved it intact to this day. A chest of plate belonging to the Emperor Joseph stands near it, and contains an entire table service for twenty-four persons in gold, worked in a very handsome pattern. A dozen coats and waistcoats used for theatricals show the costume of the time. They are in bright silks and satins, with very gorgeous embroidery of flowers, brilliant with an imitation of precious stones. One glass case contains saddles, rifles, daggers, pistols, all with elaborate ornaments; in another are displayed the rarest objects of the jeweller's art. They are miniature clocks, watches in cases, prayer-books, snuff-boxes, bonbonnières, card-cases, chatelaines, thimble-cases, compasses, needle-cases. There is one card-case of pale pink enamel with tiny diamond stars, another of ivory with a beautiful miniature in a frame of large rubies, a third with a picture on it representing a group of ten persons, scarcely to be distinguished with the naked eye. Two needle-cases of blue enamel have four medallions each, with scenes from mythology. Beautifully painted enamels of oval form also serve as cotton-reels. A box for a scent-bottle is an onyx cut hollow, on which silver branches, with ruby flowers and emerald leaves, form the ornaments. Mother-of-pearl, with gold ornaments applied, is so common that we scarcely

notice it. The watch-cases are studded with precious stones ; but these are never applied for themselves, but only to serve some artistic purpose. A ring, no larger than the usual size, has four babies' heads painted on enamel. One card-case is made entirely of a cameo. Two golden obelisks, about three inches high, bear the busts of a man and woman, beautifully carved, and adorned with tiny stones. The snuff-boxes are such as we read were given by wealthy potentates to persons of rank or distinction. They are generally painted and adorned with precious stones. On one is a splendid life-like eye, of violet hue. There is an outfit for a toilet-table, a tall mirror, and thirty objects all of sterling gold, which show elegant and quaint forms. A collection of fans comprises specimens of rare beauty. One glass case contains personal relics of the Empress—her black muslin head-dress, brocade slippers, her prayer-book, watch, penknife, a locket with her hair (pale-yellow, almost white), a tall walking-stick, thimble, needle-case, nail-scissors, carefully kept in a well-worn leather case. Among the presents Maria Theresa gave to persons she esteemed are a pink porcelain casket fitted with bottles, and boxes of the same, with a series of beautiful miniatures ; a wonderful inkstand, porcelain and gold ; wax busts of herself and the Emperor, too literal to be real works of art, and therefore startling in the effect they produce. There are three hundred medals of gold coined in the time of Maria Theresa and the Emperor Joseph.

Notes on Plans of Churches in West Cornwall.—Many of these churches present some curious divergences from the accustomed village model, and the regularity with which the peculiarities occur would seem to point either to their having been designed from some special example, or that the form was adopted as being the most suitable for the district. The first is very improbable, but in either case the form points to peculiar uses in the early Cornish Church. In the place of nave, with aisles of equal length, and an aisleless chancel, which is the usual plan of a village church, the aisles are in Western Cornwall continued either quite to, or within a yard or so of, the end of the chancel. Another peculiarity is that the aisles are of greater proportionate

width than they usually bear to the nave. A third peculiarity is the prevalence of a north without trace of a south transept ever having been intended, or *vice versâ*. Squints or hagioscopes from the transept towards the chancel are also common, and of unusual size ; they are frequently formed in projections which fill up the angle between the outer walls of the transept and chancel. These projections are straight, walled at an angle of 135 degrees, or thereabout, from the exterior of the main building ; but in one case, Cury, the projection is formed (exteriorly) by two irregular arcs of circles. The inner wall is straight. These projections are not carried to the whole height of the chancel walls, but, notwithstanding their small size, are separately roofed. In this hagioscope, what is termed by Blight a low side-window is inserted, but in the case of Cury, at least, this is a misnomer, as the base of the window is considerably higher than that of the chancel lights. The angular position of these lychnoscopes militates against the idea held by many, that their use was for the sacristan to see whether the altar lights were burning, and this would evidently be equally true if there were altars in the transept whose angle the hagioscope covers. The rood-screen appears to have been, as might be expected, at the junction of the transept and the chancel, and if so, and it were lighted, the lamps might perhaps be seen, although, if this were so, the screens must have been specially constructed, and of this there is no evidence. With regard to the transept being only on one side, Mr. Blight (*Churches of West Cornwall*) is of opinion that it was literally only a half-transept, and that the corresponding half on the opposite side has been merged into an aisle ; if this be so, the early Cornish churches were usually cruciform, which is certainly peculiar, and would again point to differences of Church usages. Mr. Blight's view is supported by the half-transept being found in one-aisled churches. It is noteworthy that the transept is frequently of earlier date in its details than the rest of the church, this being accounted for by the body being altered and renovated at various dates, for the walling of both transepts and chancel appear to be usually contemporaneous.

The subject of the half-transept is worthy of investigation, as a good deal may be said in favour of their being erected as chapels to the patron of the church. No investigation will be satisfactory that does not take into account the near connection of the Brito-Cornish churches with those of Wales, Ireland, and Brittany, and the likeness of the primitive ecclesiastical edifices of all these countries. It should also be remembered that the Cornish saints were accustomed to spend a considerable time (forty days) in prayer and fasting before they consecrated a church; and there is a theory that these half-transepts were chapels erected over the spot they occupied during their devotions, the church being added for the worship of the Deity, while the chapel was retained for the honour of the saint. This must always remain a theory, as there are no records of the erection of these ancient churches; but it gains strength from the fact that the half-transept only occurs in very early churches; St. Burian and Lelant, for example, being without them. Another tenable theory is that these adjuncts were intended as vestries, and in the older churches there does not seem to have been any other provision for vestries or sacristies; but this is common to all old churches in Britain. Against this theory is the fact that the transepts are to the west of the rood-screen, and several of them have piscinæ. The presence of piscinæ is, however, of slight weight, as they may have been simply channels for the conveyance of waste water. In Manaccan Church there is a piscina in the eastern wall, but its position is such as would militate against the supposition that there ever was an altar on the *eastern* wall of the transept. In this instance the piscina is divided by a shell; the upper part may therefore have been used as an almonry, and not as a credence. The continuous aisles, mostly of third pointed, probably served both as chapels and vestries. As the roof of the nave and chancel were continuous, and, except in the case of Towednack, there is no chancel-arch (there appears to have been one, either completed or intended, at St. Gwithian), the rood-screen became of great importance in marking off the sanctuary, and, as in the case of St. Burian, it was often of great magnificence. The

stairs to the rood-loft are frequently made features of considerable importance, and are in passages rather than newels. In place of the arch to mark the division between the chancel and nave, there are at St. Paul and St. Ruan Major narrow openings inserted between the nave and the chancel arcades; this possibly marked roughly the width of the rood-loft, but it is not an unique feature. The height of the roofs of the aisles and nave are generally about the same, and as the widths vary, it follows that the aisle roofs are the most acute; the roofs are commonly waggoned in wood, but Manaccan has a point, and is not unlike that of Manorbier in Pembrokeshire.—A. C. B.



Antiquarian News.

NOTHING but praise can be said for restoration in the case of the "Muckle Cross" of Elgin. The first cross was a wooden one of the fourteenth century; this was replaced by one of stone in 1650, having on its summit the same effigy of a lion which now surmounts the restored cross. On the removal of the cross in 1792, the lion was taken to the college garden in Elgin, and placed on the college wall (once part of the precinct wall) near the Fans port, the property at that time of the Hon. Skene Duff. This heraldic lion has now been restored, to the satisfaction of the people of Elgin, and surmounts a new cross, due to the local patriotism of Mr. Macandrew.

The style of architecture is Scotch baronial. It is hexagonal in form, with a niche in every face or side, which is arched above with a cusped shell. On the side facing the east is the figure of a well-known patron saint of the burgh, St. Giles, with his book in his right hand and a staff in the left, and having the motto "*Sic itur ad astra*" neatly cut in circular or scroll form over his head. On the western face, access to the interior and the top is gained by an oaken door, with hinges of the Scotch thistle pattern, and marked all over with studs of brass. Over the door is the following inscription, neatly cut in sanserif letters, run in with lead to the depth of three-eighths of an inch on the surface of the stone, to preserve the record of the gift and of its donor as long as possible, after the stone itself shall have mayhap crumbled into dust:

YE MUCKLE X OF ELGIN.

Built about 1650; destroyed about 1792.

Rebuilt and Presented to
His native City by

WILLIAM MACANDREW,
of

Westwood House, Little Horkesley, Essex,
1888.

James Black, Lord Provost.

The column or shaft of the cross is of Corennie granite.

Among collections recently dispersed is that of Wimpole Hall. The Earl of Hardwicke has parted with the library formed by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and also the historical portraits and pictures from Wimpole Hall. The following are some of the prices realized:

Scottish tracts (political), 1547-8, 4 vols. in one, black letter, £52; collection of American tracts, in one vol., £555; Bible, translated into the Indian language by John Eliot, with the rare dedication to Charles II., Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1663, £580; first edition of Caxton's Game and Play of Chesse, black letter, £260. The library realized £3,242. Lord Hardwicke's pictures sold fairly well, the best prices being as follows: Interior of a Kitchen, with a woman seated, fruits, dead birds, and utensils at her side, two peasants smoking in the background, by D. Teniers, 300 gs.; Prospect of the beginning of the Ryserberg and the Voerhout at the Hague, with the cavalcade of his Excellency, Sir J. Yorke, Ambassador of Great Britain in the Dutch coach of State, 1761, by J. E. Fargue, 1762, 115 gs.; A view of London from the Thames opposite the Tower, by S. Scott, 1753, 420 gs.; View of Old Covent Market Garden, with numerous figures, by Canaletto, 200 gs.; Viscount Hampden, in wig, lilac coat, and lace scarf, by T. Gainsborough, R.A., 200 gs.; Charles Watson Wentworth, second Marquis of Rockingham, K.G., in his robes and collar of the Garter, holding a paper in his right hand, half-length, 530 gs.; the pictures realized £4,090. Other properties: Portrait of Mrs. Jodrell, by Sir J. Reynolds, 430 gs.; portrait of Richard Paul Jodrell, Esq., by T. Gainsborough, 610 gs.; The Annunciation, by Raffaele, 250 gs.; Tycho, in black dress, by Le Chevalier Mathieu Le Nain, 200 gs.; portrait of Francis Synders and his wife, by C. De Vos, 265 gs.; Lord Loughborough, after Sir J. Reynolds, 255 gs.

The book-thief Libri earned a notoriety by his nefarious proceedings which almost resembles fame. We learn with interest that the 166 manuscripts

which he and Barrois stole from French collections, after having been generously restored by M. Leopold Delisle, are now being exhibited at the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the hall of the Parnasse Français.

Some county histories—the property of Mr. Christopher Sykes, M.P.—have been recently sold at auction. Among the prices realized were the following:

Suckling's History of the County of Suffolk, royal quarto (1846), £10 10s. (Pickering); Hunter's South Yorkshire, the Deanery of Doncaster, Hallamshire, and the Parish of Sheffield, plates, 3 vols., folio, £17 (Quaritch); Thoresby's Ducatus Leodiensis, or the Topography of the Town and Parish of Leedes, original edition, 3 gs. (Such); Buck's Views of Abbeys and Castles, Cities and Towns, plates, oblong folio, £36 (Bain); Sir William Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, second edition, with plates after Hollar, £21 (Hutchinson); Whitaker's History of Richmondshire, County York, views after Turner, £22 (Sutton); Richardson's Monastic Ruins of Yorkshire, subscribers' copy, £5 5s. (Annadale); Whitaker's History of Craven and the original Parish of Walley, County of York, £7 10s. (Wild); Clarkson's History of Richmond, County of York, £3 5s. (Dodgson).

The church of Orton Longueville, a fourteenth century fabric, within easy reach of Peterborough Cathedral, having a picturesque gray mantled tower, is about—to adopt the current phrase with its unconscious irony—to *undergo* the process of restoration. It was treated in this way in 1840; but a much more extensive affair is contemplated now. Let us hope that representations of its existing state will be made and preserved for reference. Details of no apparent meaning are liable to be lost in these processes, their interest only appearing too late.

Sweeting puts the erection of the church down to the close of the thirteenth century, and apparently does so because he finds records of its value in 1291. The south aisle of the church is supposed to be the newest, having been erected in the early part of the last century, and is interesting as being part of the old church of St. Botolph, which was united with Orton Longueville in 1721. The site of the old church of St. Botolph is a mound by the side of the new Great Northern cutting, at its junction with the London and North-Western Railway, to the north of the Orton road. When the cutting was made some years ago, what was supposed to be a path to the church was excavated, whilst the old cypress-trees, in all their funereal stateliness, which used to stand in the ancient graveyard, were left standing, through the consideration of the company, and may still be seen. The exact spot of the destroyed church is marked by a

single upright gravestone, with a much-worn inscription in black-letter. This stone (adds Sweeting) has only lately been thus placed, having previously been utilized on the farm near at hand. The registers of St. Botolph are, we believe, still in the custody of the Rector of Orton. The monuments in the church at Orton are numerous and costly, says the same authority. One is of the same date as the fabric, and may be supposed to commemorate its founder. It is a cross-legged figure of a knight under the arch dividing the chancel and chantry. Its date is determined by the armour; above it hangs a helmet. The slab and monument of Sir Ch. Cope record that he was "distinguished By true greatness; If the great Man is the Honest one." There is also a fine altar-tomb of granite to the late Marquis of Huntly, the tenth holder of the title. In the churchyard are several historical monuments, and there is also the grave of Frank Buckle, the famous jockey of a past generation. Saunders, in his *Legends and Traditions of Huntingdonshire*, in referring to the demolition of St. Botolph's and the re-erection of a portion of it at Orton, adds that the late Rector of Orton Longueville (Rev. J. Watson) informed him that the stones which constitute the pavement in the south aisle are the gravestones taken from the churchyard of Bottle Bridge and placed with the inscription downwards.

The Rector of Crowland (the Rev. T. H. Le Bœuf), has written the following description of twelve copper coins found last month secreted under a stone about two inches from the surface of the ground-level, near the east end of the nave of Crowland Abbey. Ten of the coins are in a good state of preservation. They were contained in a leather case, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length by 3 in. in breadth: Coin No. 1, on the obverse, "Peace, Plenty, and Liberty." On the reverse, "David Hood, carver, gilder, and picture-frame maker, Cambridge." Coin No. 2, on the obverse, "Macclesfield Halfpenny, 1781," with the figure of a man surrounded by machinery; whilst on the reverse, "Cha . . . Roe, established copper works." Coin No. 3, on the obverse, a figure of Lady Godiva on horseback, dated 1794; and on the reverse, "Coventry Halfpenny," with the Market Cross. Coin No. 4, a cart-wheel, with figure of Britannia, diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Coin No. 5, the head of "The Young Roscius" on the obverse; and on the reverse, "Not yet mature, yet matchless." "Born Sept. 13th, 1791." This coin is $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. in diameter, and much damaged by fire. Coin No. 6, on the obverse, the head of "John Howard, F.R.S." On the reverse, Mercy bidding the debtor "Go forth," with the inscription, "Remember the debtors in gaol." Coin No. 7, on the obverse, "Birmingham Halfpenny, 1795," with figure of a man holding the key of some machinery. On the reverse, a shield and superscription,

"Industry has its sure reward." Coin No. 8, on the obverse, figure of Britannia, "Halfpenny, 1793." On the reverse, "H. Campin, haberdasher, Goat Lane, Norwich," with figure of a leg, hand, knife, and fork. Coin No. 9, on the obverse, "Success to the City of Norwich," under which are the City arms. On the reverse, the entrance to a building, date 1792. Coin No. 10, a copper coin, much defaced. Subscription, "Georgius II." Coin No. 11, on the obverse, the head of a Bishop, with mitre and pastoral staff, and superscription, "Cronebane Halfpenny." On the reverse, a shield, with three pick-axes, horn, two spades crossed, and a windlass, with the superscription, "Associated Irish Mine Company, 1789." Coin No. 12, a very small coin, in diameter three-quarters of an inch. On the obverse, with three crowns, "A Boston Halfpenny to be;" and on reverse, "Changed by ye Overseers."

Chester has been the centre of much archæological interest during the past year, and the city is sufficiently stored with remains to occupy the local antiquaries for a long time. Recently a curious line of massive blocks of sandstone has been unearthed in Foregate Street, extending for nearly 100 yards in a line with the present street, and four feet in depth. The Chester antiquaries—among whom are some of more than local importance—are investigating this discovery, which was made near the site of the Roman Amphitheatre, and may lead to interesting results.

Dr. Tschakert, Professor of Church History at the University of Königsberg, has communicated to the press a valuable discovery made lately by him in the great town library of that city. He has found a number of sermons and scholia by Luther, which have never been published, and are, the professor believes, quite unknown. They are of special interest, because they belong to the period between 1519 and 1521, the most active time of Luther's reformation work, lying between the burning of the Papal bull of condemnation and his journey to Worms. The sermons were preached either at Wittenberg or at some place in the immediate neighbourhood, and they give a clear insight into the nature of the conflict in which Luther was engaged. Dr. Tschakert declares that there cannot be the slightest doubt as to their genuineness.

Mr. Justice Kay, in the Chancery Division, recently directed a partition action with respect to the Irish estates of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. The interest in the case is derived from the fact that the sale of the Irish estates is intended to avert the necessity for parting with Hampden House, the historic seat of the Earls of Buckinghamshire, which the present Earl is anxious to retain in the family. The money to be raised is required for charges on the property.

There was an interesting sale of ancient manuscripts and autograph letters on July 31, at the rooms of Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, the attention of buyers centring in a lot comprising the originals of over 300 of the celebrated Paston letters, written during the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., Edward V., Richard III., and Henry VII., covering the period from 1422 to 1509. The collection comprised the long-lost document quoted by Sir J. Frere in the third and fourth volumes of the edition of the *Paston Letters* published a century ago, together with 95 additional letters discovered by the late Mr. Frere at Roydon Hall, Norfolk, in 1875. Of the 220 printed in Fenn's third and fourth volumes, four only were missing from the collection offered for sale, one of which is in the British Museum, and another in the collection at Holland House. The letters were offered in one lot. No one seemed disposed to bid for it until Mr. Quarish offered £10. This bid the auctioneer ridiculed, observing that £800 had been obtained from the authorities of the British Museum a few years ago for a smaller number of the Paston letters than those now placed with him for sale. He asked for a bid of 500 guineas. No response being made, the property was withdrawn, and the sale of the other documents was proceeded with. The bidding for the Paston papers, comprising 14 letters from various persons to Sir William Paston and Clement Paston, 1564 to 1600, failed to reach the reserve price; but the Gawdy correspondence, being 124 letters written by Philip Gawdy to his relatives, was sold at £85. Amongst the autographs was an official letter of the first Napoleon, which was sold for £3 8s.; a letter of Dr. Johnson's was purchased for 4 guineas; one from Lord Byron to Mr. Hoppner priced at £7, and a two-paged letter of Washington's, which realized £9 10s.

At Pilshed the old Norman font of the parish church has for more than forty years adorned the vicarage lawn; but the present vicar is exerting himself to secure its restoration and replacement.

While a quantity of rubbish was being removed from the cellar of the Warrington rectory recently, a window was found which formerly belonged to what, before the restoration of the parish church in 1860, was known as the Boteler Chapel. The window consists of a centre panel of frosted glass, which bears the arms of the Boteler family, round which is a border of navy-blue and ruby. The window has been fitted in one of the windows on the south side of the parish church, next to the Patten Chapel. A portion of the window bearing an inscription was shattered beyond remedy. The inscription read as follows: "Beneath this window lieth the body of Sir Thomas

Boteler, of Bewsey, knight, founder of Boteler's Free Grammar School, Warrington. Sir Thomas died April 27th, mcccccxiii." The following inscription has been added to the restored window: "In memory of Sir Thomas Boteler, of Bewsey, knight, who died April 27th, 1522, founder of Boteler's Free Grammar School. Re-erected by N. B. Percival, churchwarden, 1888." A number of ancient candle-brackets have also been discovered.

Two more extensive caves, presenting many beautiful features, have been discovered at the celebrated Fish River or Jenolan caves in New South Wales.

Dr. Julius Wiessner has been making a microscopical examination of some old manuscripts, in order to discover of what ingredients the paper on which they are written was composed. He has conclusively proved that linen rags were used in the manufacture of paper as early as the eighth and ninth centuries. The fibre is chiefly of linen, but there are also traces of cotton, hemp, and animal fibre present. The manufacture of paper, he says, is an Eastern and not a German or Italian invention, as has hitherto been supposed. Out of 500 Oriental and Eastern specimens, not a single one was raw cotton paper. All those that were examined had likewise been "clayed," like modern papers. The material used for this purpose was starch-paste manufactured from wheat, and in some cases buckwheat. Animal substances do not appear to have been employed for claying before the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

There have been of late rumours that the ancient Norman church of Barfreston, Kent, was about to be restored, and that in such a manner as to destroy much of the beauty of the building, and permanently injure its unique character. Such a report could not fail to interest and alarm every antiquary, and to fully justify the strongest measures being taken to prevent the desecration of a church which ranks with Adel and Iffley, and is in many respects the finest of the three. Accordingly a representative was sent to the church to inspect its condition, and to ascertain the truth of the reports, and we are glad to say that they are utterly unfounded. The truth is that the church is in urgent need of repairs, not of restoration, and only the necessary repairs are to be undertaken. The roof is in a miserable condition, and having sunk, is most unsightly. Instead of the present churchwarden roof it is intended to impose one of the original pitch; this is to be of open timber-work of a style consonant with the architecture of the building, and sufficiently strong to prevent the walls spreading any further. This is absolutely necessary, as the walls are considerably out of the straight, and the plaster having fallen off, showing the laths in a number of places, the present ceiling is

ugly and dangerous. The west end is also in need of attention; the style does not accord with the rest of the edifice, nor is the work of the same date. The proposal to erect a bell-turret—which, however, it is not now intended to do for the present—has also been strongly reprobated, but only by persons unacquainted with the church. At present the bell hangs in the roof, the sound escaping by an opening in the western gable—an arrangement neither useful nor beautiful, and which has not even antiquity to recommend it. There does not appear to be any possible objection to a suitable bell-turret being erected at the west end, always provided that it is not built in such a way as to attempt to deceive as to the date of its erection. The present rector, Mr. Austin, is, we may add, fully alive to the importance of preserving uninjured the magnificent relic in his charge, and antiquaries may rest assured that during his incumbency no vandalism will be perpetrated upon the church. He has suffered from a plethora of unasked advice, and it may be hinted that a few unasked contributions would not be an unpleasant change, the more so as the parish is both small and poor.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Oswestry and Welshpool Naturalists' Field Club.—July 25.—Meeting at Ellesmere, the party first tried to make out the extent of the old castle, and the line of the moat. The latter would seem to have been fed by the Mere and an old stream, now bricked over, which ran into it at the bend of Watergate Street. There was a bridge over this stream—Sparbridge. At the bottom of St. John's Hill, which was the main entrance to the Castle, a bridge crossed the moat, and the house at the corner was called till lately "Bridge House." In the gardens to the left of Birch Row may still be seen some old masonry, which is probably all that is left of the stone walls of the old castle. The bowling-green was the site of the keep; and in the field behind it there are distinct traces of at least two fosses. The Mere probably came up to the foot of the Castle Hill, the present road being of a much later date. The Mere, or at least low marshy ground, seems to have extended behind the Castle and Mill Hills, by the Blackwater Gate, as far as the present cricket-ground, except in the narrow place where possibly the old Salop Road crossed. Mr. H. Peake acted as guide, and pointed out the various points of interest which he has been indefatigable in trying to elucidate.

Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association.—July 25.—Visit to Richmond and Easby Abbey.—The excavations and other features of interest

at the abbey having been visited and exhaustively described, the little parish church closely adjoining was inspected, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite acting as cicerone during this part of the proceedings. The party then returned to Richmond.—Mr. Leadman (Boroughbridge) read a short and interesting paper with reference to a recent discovery of human remains at Minskip, near Boroughbridge. Some workmen, he said, were employed in draining a field near Boroughbridge when one of them came across what he thought was a large stone. He struck the top, and it gave way at once, disclosing a large vessel. Being dug out, it was found to be a fine specimen of a funeral urn. At the shoulder and under the lip were two perfect handles. The urn was nearly filled with clear water, and in the bottom were some calcined bones, which had evidently belonged to a young person. The field in which the urn was found had evidently been an ancient burial-ground, and it was probable that some more urns might be discovered.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—July 7.—Special meeting for visiting local churches.—The members met at the door of St. Mary's, Gateshead, and were conducted round the church by the Rev. J. R. Boyle, who gave a short account of the history, and pointed out the principal features of the building. Mr. Boyle said that they would be able to visit the four churches of St. Mary, Gateshead, St. Nicholas, St. John, and St. Andrew, Newcastle, he believed, in chronological sequence. Gateshead, he observed, had a very early ecclesiastical history. Bede made mention of a place named *Ad Capræ Caput*, which was evidently Gateshead, Bede having fallen into the error of thinking that the old pronunciation "Goteshead" meant "the head of a goat," translating it accordingly. Bede had taken the pronunciation of the people. There was plate in that church on which the name was written "Goatshead." So early did this idea of "Goat's Head" take root that when Bishop Pudsey granted the charter which made Gateshead a borough, the figure of a goat's head formed part of the arms. The earliest history there was of Gateshead related to the year 653. From this time there was a blank till the year 1080, when Walcher, Bishop of Durham, was murdered here, after being burnt out of the church, whither he had fled to escape from the fury of the people. The old church of Gateshead might or might not have stood on the present site of St. Mary's. There was some reason to suppose that the present chapel of St. Edmund's, now called Trinity Church, was the original site where the bishop was killed. The present church of St. Mary had been greatly altered. There was nothing really old except the walls and the arch of the south doorway within the porch, which belonged to the same period—about the end of the twelfth century. Alluding to the style of arcade in St. Mary's, Mr. Boyle said they would see the same type of piers at St. Nicholas' and St. John's, and though all were poor, those of St. Mary's were the best. They had evidently been put up with the idea of getting most work out of the least money. The party, after examining the carved bench-ends of the seventeenth century, the windows, and other interesting portions of the church, walked across to Newcastle and entered St. Nicholas' Cathedral, of which Mr. Boyle gave a descriptive and historical account. He quoted from

the Ellison MSS. the statement that the church was founded in 1091 by Osmund, the first Norman Bishop of Salisbury, which he considered correct. Not a fragment, as far as he knew, of the original building now remained. The earliest stones of St. Nicholas' which they met with and to which they could ascribe a precise date, were a considerable number of Norman stones of date about 1150, most of which were in the garden of Ald Cail at Low Fell. These were saved from destruction at the time of Sir Gilbert Scott's restoration of the church. There were also two stones of the same character lying neglected in St. Nicholas' churchyard. Many of these relics seem to be portions of "responds," but a smaller number were "voussoirs," and all of them were moulded with chevrons. The architecture of almost the whole church was of a cheap and plain character. He had to repeat what he said at St. Mary's, that the church bore evidences of a desire on the part of the builders to get as great results as possible at the least possible cost. He considered that the rebuilding and restoration had not been done so well as it might. Speaking of the tower of St. Nicholas', Mr. Boyle alluded to the admiration in which it was held by the natives of Tyneside, and also to the contrary opinions of critics such as Freeman, who called it "grotesque arrangement," "a strange anomaly;" and Dibdin, the bibliographer, not a great authority, however, on architecture, who described the steeple as "one of the heaviest, coarsest, and most stunted church-towers in the kingdom," adding "there is nothing ecclesiastical about it." Mr. Boyle's own verdict was strongly in favour of the tower, which he considered simply perfect. The bolts and buttresses would never have been necessary for its support had it been properly dealt with. The churchwardens of a former day had allowed graves to be dug close under it, and the Corporation of Newcastle, which never had any perception of art, had caused a large sewer to be built right under the foundations. The visitors then walked round the church, examined the windows, the font, the lectern, the Bewick porch, the Maddison, Surtees, and Hall monuments, the transepts, and inspected the plate and various relics in the vestry. The font and font-cover, with mimic vaulting, were specially admired, and it was pointed out that the cover, though of later date probably than the font itself, must have been placed in the church before the Reformation, since there was in the centre of it a large boss with a design representing the coronation of the Virgin. The lectern was considered "old and beautiful." For a long time it had dropped out of sight, and on one occasion it was known that the former churchwardens had agreed to sell it and enjoy themselves on the proceeds. In the Bewick porch notice was drawn to the three grave-covers, which were considered of great interest. They were found under the northern wall of the tower. In the vestry the "Hexham Bible" was exhibited—a manuscript copy, with illuminated letters, of the Gospels and Acts, written on parchment, by the monks. Many of the best illuminated letters, however, had been cut out.—July 25.—Canon Franklin read some notes on excavations in Fayoum, Upper Egypt, and described many of the objects exhibited by Mr. Petrie at the Egyptian Hall in London. Mr. Petrie, among other objects, showed

some husks and shells of mummy wheat, but said that he had never found real mummy wheat, and had never known it fructify.—The chairman, in moving a vote of thanks to Canon Franklin, said he had been in correspondence with Mr. Petrie about the mummy wheat, and he (the chairman) was rather hopeful of being able to lay a paper before the society, and to prove that mummy wheat would germinate and grow. He had received a communication from the Hon. Mr. Strutt, near Derby, in which that gentleman said he had superintended the growing of mummy wheat which had yielded grain.—Canon Franklin said it was quite an open question with regard to the mummy wheat.—Dr. Embleton said his brother had told him the other day that he had some mummy wheat. How it was proved to be mummy wheat he could not say, but he planted the grains twenty years ago, and they bore grain. His brother attempted to make bread with it, but this could not be done, as there was no glutine in it. On Tuesday he (Dr. Embleton) had received two peas which were supposed to be mummy peas, and these he would send to his brother to plant.—Mr. J. V. Gregory read a few notes on the Northumbrian "burr," suggested by the paper on the same subject by Dr. Embleton. Whatever might have been the origin of the Northumbrian "burr," there were very strong reasons against the opinion that it was due to Danish influence. If the origin of the "burr" were Danish, it ought to be found most strongly marked where the Danish settlers were most numerous—in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, in Lincolnshire, and in East Norfolk; and being entirely absent there, it seemed plain it had not been derived from the influence of the Danish settlers. There were no Danish settlers on the mouth of the Tyne. The "burr" was indigenous to Newcastle, and not to Sunderland; and there were Danes at Sunderland and not at Newcastle. Neither could it be maintained with certainty that the "burr" was a survival of Anglian speech. It was, however, not at all improbable that a later origin should be assigned to it.—Dr. Embleton said it was quite possible that all the Danes did not "burr," and perhaps those who came to the present Northumberland did, and those who immigrated further south did not. However, the matter should be farther investigated, and the truth arrived at if possible.—Mr. R. O. Heslop referred to the investigations of Dr. Trautmann with reference to the "burr" on the Continent, and the statement of that eminent authority that this mode of pronouncing the letter *r* only dated from the reign of Louis Quatorze. He also mentioned the fact that Dr. Murray had stated that he remembered reading somewhere that the "burr" was a peculiarity of Hotspur, and that it was imitated by his retainers, and thus became general in this district.

Kent Archaeological Society.—Aug. 1.—Thirty-first annual meeting at Hythe.—From the Town Hall the company visited the church, where the vicar, the Rev. T. G. Hall, pointed out every salient feature. The bones in the crypt were regarded with much curiosity. The members then drove up Hythe Hill and past the Shepway Cross, where the Lord Wardens were sworn in, to Lympe Church. The Rev. Scott-Robertson detailed the architectural history of the church, which was built in the time of Archbishop Lanfranc, and finished before 1100. The church was

enlarged in the twelfth century, at the time of the transition from Norman architecture to Early English, and a pointed arch inserted of the Early English character. Until then the Norman tower formed the greater portion of the church. From the church the visitors made their way to Lympe Castle, otherwise called the Archdeacon's House, which was courteously thrown open by the occupiers. A grand view of Romney Marsh and the upland valleys was obtained by those who ventured up the dark and winding staircase to the top of the tower. The canon fulfilled the duties of cicerone in the interior. About Studfall Castle, on the slope below, the company had the advantage of hearing from the distinguished archaeologist, Mr. C. Roach-Smith, F.S.A. This port was one of three great entrances to Britain, the others being at Dover and Richborough. It appears to have been silted up and disused before this castrum was built. Evidence of this was brought to light when he (Mr. Smith) and the late Mr. James Elliott, of Dymchurch, caused excavations to be made, and discovered that the large squared stones, from three to four feet in length, which formed the foundations of the main gateway, had been previously used in important buildings. Among them was an altar dedicated to Neptune by a præfect or admiral of the British fleet. This altar, from the marine shells which adhered to it, had been under water, and doubtless must have come with the other stones from the site of the *Portus Lemanis*, then becoming useless as a port. They made another interesting discovery: the tiles used in the main walls and in the interior buildings were stamped with the letters, "CL. BR."—"Classarii Britannica"—British marines, who were, of course, the builders. Long anterior, similar tile-marks had been found at Dover, so that these military sailors were equally masons and carpenters. The coins he and Mr. Elliott found, 261 in number, were chiefly of the Lower Empire, those of the Constantine family being numerous, the latest of Gratianus. The Saxon shore was so named from the piratical depredations the Saxons were continually making. For a time they were kept in check by the British fleet; but this power being inadequate of itself, this powerful line of fortresses was established, securing the province for a time. The disjunct state of the ruins of the castrum is owing to a landslip, so violent that in places the walls have been turned upside down. In the upper part extensive rooms, strongly built, could only have been the quarters of the garrison. In the lower part was found an important building which had been warmed by means of hypocausts, while the rooms had remains of wall paintings, the colours being well expressed. Of course the soldiers' quarters must have been heated in the same manner. As to how the Roman soldiers spent the dreary winter evenings, they not only had gymnastics, but in their coins they found material for thought, for they give a history of national events. The coins of Probus alone, it has been estimated, include 4,000 varieties. By the coins of past times veterans could relate to their young comrades stories of marvellous interest. From Lympe the archaeologists went to Aldington. At the church a halt was made, and many interesting details learned from the rector, the Rev. G. J. Blomfield, and Canon Scott-Robertson. The church has some early

Norman or late Saxon work, so that the original fabric may be Saxon, and is certainly not later than early Norman. The place was the resort of the mediæval archbishop, and there are remains of an archiepiscopal manor-house. Archbishop Peckham held an ordination service in the church in 1286, and was here almost every week. The learned Erasmus was presented to the rectory by Archbishop Warham, but he never resided in the parish, and in a twelve-month resigned with a substantial pension. A successor, the Rev. Mr. Masters, espoused the cause of one Elizabeth Barton, an epileptic servant-woman who lived in the parish, and who was called "The Holy Maid of Kent;" she and the rector suffered the penalty of death for their impostures. From Aldington the company returned to the Town Hall at Hythe, where dinner was served. Afterwards a paper was read by Mr. George Dowker on Studfall Castrum, and Mr. Wilks read a paper on Hythe town. In digging out the foundation of houses under the High Street shingle appears from 15 to 20 feet deep; and underneath is the sand of the original shore. In the meadows between the town and the sea the shingle is covered with river silt. This formation gives us an insight into the state of Hythe at a very early date. The sea washed the foot of the hills; the north side of High Street formed the shore; and all between that and the Parade was covered with water to a considerable depth, forming part of a magnificent harbour, which extended from Shorncliffe to Studfall Castle, and further westward, over the marshes, as far as Rye. This harbour is distinctly shown in the Ptolemaic maps. The land on the side hills consisted of waste scrub and wood, with the vast forest of Anderida extending from Lympe far into Hampshire on the west, and to the north stretching to the Thames. Mr. Wilks passed over the disputed question of the landing of Julius Cæsar with the remark, "We, of course, say it was at Hythe." Of the few British remains discovered in the district the heads of arrows, javelins, etc., which they saw, showed that the manufacture of iron into implements of war, at any rate, was not unknown to the Britons. The closing of the harbour was the work of ages. This began before the Romans left the country to silt up, partly from natural causes, partly from the Roman works. The building of the great Rhee Wall from Appledore to Romney prevented the waters of the Rother from flowing over the marshes to the east of it, and, in conjunction with the shingle bank, which was gradually laying the foundation for the Romney Marsh sea-wall, enabled the Romans to reclaim some 28,000 acres of land. The Rhee Wall would only leave the fresh waters from the side hills between Appledore and Lympe to come out at Hythe, and, as the watershed from the top hills falls to the north, and so into one of the streams which supply the Stour, passing out at Sandwich, there would be but a small stream of water to come eastward to keep the harbour clear. The sea would deposit shingle and sand at each tide, and gradually shut up the outlets, which were shifted to the eastward, towards Hythe, from time to time. For some centuries after the river between Hythe and Lympe had become silted up; indeed, as late as the fifteenth century a water-way, probably little more than a wide ditch, was kept open at the expense of the

town to bring down the fresh waters from the marshes into the harbour at Hythe, which at that period extended from Shorncliffe to Stade Street. As the bank of beach now forming the Marine Parade slowly but surely crept along in front of the harbour, shutting it in, desperate efforts were made by the townspeople to keep it open. The town lands were mortgaged and then sold from time to time; and every man in the town was called upon to do several days' work in the harbour, or to find a substitute. But all their efforts could not prevail against the natural causes which were at work. Early in the fifteenth century the outlet at Shorncliffe became silted up; but the efforts to clear it continued until the middle of the seventeenth century. The final attempt was made about 1654, when a minute in the Assembly Book attributes the decay of the town to "the swarming up of the haven or harbour," orders it "to be cut open," and a subscription was entered into by the members. The amounts promised are entered in the book; but a note by John Handfield, the town clerk, somewhat facetiously informs us "There never was a penny paid." The work, however, was completed; but was again destroyed in 1676, and was for ever after closed. Hythe from the earliest time formed a hundred. It was governed by twelve men elected by the people for one year only, with absolute power. This form of government continued until 1575, when the town was incorporated under the title of mayor, jurats, and commonalty. The election of mayor was continued in the church up to the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. At the church those entitled attended before the jurats (generally on a Sunday) to claim their right of admission to share in the privileges of the town, to give an account of their business done during the year, and to pay their maltote, or, in the case of a cess, to admit the amount of their property. Transfers of houses and land were there completed by the simple process of the vendor and purchaser attending before the jurats of their own town, and admitting that one had sold and the other had purchased the property. The transaction was thereupon entered in the town books, and a conveyance given to the purchaser. Mr. Wilks read a translation from the original Latin of one of these conveyances. A further paper was read by Mr. Wilks on Hythe Church. The fabric, as it now stands, consists of western tower, nave, with north and south aisles, south porch, north and south transepts; and choir, with north and south aisles. The architecture belongs mostly to the thirteenth century; but it has some considerable remains of the twelfth, and some restorations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The date of the choir, which is a beautiful example of Early English architecture, may be placed in the first quarter of the thirteenth century; it was evidently designed with the intention of bearing a vaulted roof, but the work was stopped, and it remained for the present age to see it faithfully completed by the vicar, the Rev. T. G. Hall, from the plans of Mr. Pearson. The nave, consisting of four bays, is somewhat later than the choir. The walls and buttresses of the north transept are Norman, and there is a good Norman doorway in its west wall, and in its north an aumbry, and the canopy of a tomb. The south transept was restored by the Deedes family in the last century, and the tower, which fell in 1748, was rebuilt at the same

time. The church externally presents a very grand appearance, especially when viewed from the east end, the massive buttresses, the doors of the crypt, and the narrow lancet windows forming a picture which must be seen to be realized. The earliest mention of Hythe in ecclesiastical history occurs in the reign of Alfred, when he gave Hythe to the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury. In a charter of King Ethelred, about a century afterwards (994), it is stated "Wulstan holds Saltwood," showing that it was still in the possession of the Church, Wulstan being Archbishop of York. This prelate took part with the insurgents against King Eadred, and was overcome and imprisoned. Saltwood then came into the possession of the Saxon thane Haldene, who, in the reign of Canute, gave the lands of Hythe and Saltwood to Christ Church, Canterbury. Mr. Wilks showed a photograph of the original grant for inspection. Edward the Confessor confirmed the grant of Hythe to Christ Church. We next find Saltwood in the possession of William the Conqueror, who restored it (with Hythe) to Archbishop Lanfranc. Mr. Wilks read the letters patent granted by the Conqueror, and a later document disclosing the fact that Saltwood and Hythe once belonged to the powerful Earl Godwine, and also to Hugh de Montford; he also read the description in Domesday of Saltwood, which says: "To this manor belongs 225 burgesses in the borough of Hede." The borough and manor were worth, it is stated in Domesday, in the time of the Confessor, £16; when Montford received them, the value had fallen to £8; but when Domesday was taken they were "worth now in the whole £29 6s. 4d." In the reign of Henry II. we find them held of the Archbishop by knight service by Henry de Essex, Constable of England, King's standard-bearer, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; but for his cowardly behaviour at a skirmish in Wales all his possessions were seized by the King. Archbishop Becket demanded homage for the holder, and maintained ineffectually that Saltwood and Hythe belonged to the See of Canterbury. They were not, however, restored to the Church until the time of Richard I. At Saltwood Castle, it is said, Becket's murderers assembled on their arrival in England. In 1541, Archbishop Cranmer exchanged the manor of Saltwood with Hythe with the Crown, for other lands. Up to that time the Archbishop appointed the Bailiff of Hythe; and there are appointments by the Archbishop among the town records. The bailiwick eventually came into possession of the Corporation, and among the town records is a receipt for nine years' rent of the bailiwick and town lands. The history of this is as follows: The profits of the bailiwick of the town were alleged in a commission issued in Elizabeth's time to search for "concealments," to be granted to the Archbishop for the support of "a morrow-mass priest"—that is, one who sat up at night to perform a service at daybreak. If such grant ever existed it should have been surrendered to the Crown in virtue of the suppression of Chantries Acts 1545 and 1547. A conveyance of the profits was actually made to "Hill and James," who were probably nominees of Court favourites, and afterwards sold by them to the town. No doubt it was a case of levying blackmail on the town. Leland, writing in the time of Henry VIII., says: "Hithe hath bene a very

great town in length and conteynd fiii paroches that now be clene destroyed, that is to say, St. Nicholas paroch, our Lady paroch, St. Michael's paroch, and Our Lady of West Hythe. There remain yet the ruines of the churches and churchyardes." Leland also says: "In the top of the church yard is a fayre spring (still existant) and thereby ruines of howses of office of the abbey, and not far off was an hospital of a gentleman infected with lepre." The site of St. Nicholas Church was to the north of the present barracks, and Mr. Wilks said he had been told by one who was engaged in the excavations at the building of the barracks, that several human skulls and bones were dug up. "Our Lady Church" might have been the existing church. St. Michael's is supposed to have been on the side hill between Hythe and West Hythe, in a field called at this day "St. Michael's Ash Field." The ruins of West Hythe Church the company would have an opportunity of inspecting. The spring at the bottom of the churchyard had only been closed recently. The hospital must have been the present St. John's Hospital. Leland said that where the parish church now is was "sumtyme a fair abbey," but there is no record of any such abbey. As to the collection of human bones, for which the crypt of Hythe is famous, Mr. Wilks quoted Harris, who conjectured that possibly when the town came into decay the bones of persons buried in the four other churchyards were collected and piled up in the vault of this, perhaps then, new church. But he rather inclined to the view that they were collected on some eminent occasion—either the French invasion in Edward I.'s reign (1295), or, more likely, that they were the bones of Saxons and Britons who fell here and at Folkestone in the last battle which Vortimer had with the Saxons, when the latter were driven back with great slaughter to their ships. In a vault in Folkestone churchyard, he says, a similar quantity of bones is piled. With regard to the state of the church previous to the Reformation, thanks to Mr. Mackeson, who saved from destruction papers condemned to be burnt, we had preserved to us some of the churchwardens' accounts of the early and latter part of the fifteenth century. Another portion had been reported by the late Mr. Riley. From these we could form some idea of the magnificence of the building previous to the Reformation. Mr. Wilks described something of what had been learnt from these records, and said one item was "Pay two men for watching Our Lord's sepulchre," showing that our Saviour's death and burial were commemorated here by the passion play, something after the manner in which it is performed in Switzerland. Coming now to the dark period of the Church's history, after the Reformation, Mr. Wilks said it was evident from the entries in the Corporation books that the services in the church were for upwards of a century at a very low ebb. If a clergyman was appointed he was either non-resident or neglected his duties. From some of these entries it was clear that the town had to rely upon itinerant preachers for the performance of the services in the church. As to when the church was stripped of its ornaments and splendour, we might well imagine that the excess of zeal of the Reformers did a great deal, and that the Puritans in Cromwell's time finished the work, and handed the church down, in all its baldness, as it was previous to

the recent restoration. There are several entries in Elizabeth's reign to one Mr. Stubbings, who appears to have been an itinerant preacher brought to Hythe from Ashford and Sandwich. Sometimes he received a gift of fish, and other times of wine. Indeed, the entries go to show that total abstinence in those days was by no means thought of. In 1610 it was agreed to pay "Mr. Lumsden, the preacher, £5 yearly so long as he shall continue to exercise here." In 1618 "£6 a year was voted Mr. Chester, our minister" (apparently to distinguish him from the itinerant preachers). In 1635 a decree was passed that every minister preaching at the weekly lecture was to have "18d. allowed for his dinner." In 1636 there is the memorandum, "Collected to be conferred upon Mr. Kingsmill, our preaching minister, by way of voluntary gratuity, in consideration of the great pains by him taken in his weekly lecture, the sum of £3 5s. 5d." In 1639 Mr. Kingsmill received another gratuity of £6. Among other curious records this occurs in 1650. The 2nd of February, the day of the election of mayor, fell this year on a Sunday. At a meeting held a day or two previously to consider whether the usual proceedings should take place, it was decided in the affirmative, and the minutes expressly state, "being the Lord's Day," the only business transacted was the election of mayor, after which the meeting adjourned until the next day, when it was resolved that "Mr. Wallace shall have 10s. for his election sermon yesterday; 30s. more in regard of his present necessity." In 1663 this same Mr. Wallace, "our minister, in regard to his present necessity, and being by long experience to be a well-deserving man, shall have £10 premium allowed him out of the town's revenues for one year, besides his house-rent, living, and augmentation." As there were no funds in hand, however, the members of the assembly guaranteed the money. In 1670 a decree was passed "That no person shall be admitted a freeman but such as shall receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." Large numbers of payments to the minister for such administrations are on the records. In 1681, by another decree, twelve families of French Protestants were allowed to settle in the town, having been forced to leave their country. In 1692 there is an entry, "Yesterday, being the 8th September, about two o'clock in the afternoon, there was a great trembling of the earth in the town, so that all the houses moved and trembled, and the steeple opened in the old crack, and a great stone fell off from the same into the churchyard; the inhabitants, having a swimming in their heads, were greatly amazed at the same."

Shropshire Archaeological Society.—July 11.—Annual excursion.—At Llanfair Waterdine, the Rev. C. H. Drinkwater read a paper: "Llanfair Waterdine (or Waterdene) Chapel of the B.V.M. was formerly a chapel-of-ease to Clun, *i.e.*, before 1593. It is now a perpetual curacy. The old chapel was a mean building, without a steeple. On taking down some wainscot in the old chapel, some ancient carving was found, forming a panel about 34 inches long by 3 inches wide. This contains two lines of curious characters, of which no other instances exist. There are, in all, nearly 70 of them, containing 19 distinct letters. Two of them have been thought to resemble the word "Maria," in Greek letters. If this conjecture is correct

the character for M occurs twice, that for A five times, that for R five times, and that for I seven or eight times, which would be about the proportion in any ordinary inscription for such letters. It has been thought that they are musical notes or neumes, but they do not agree with the musical notation of the eleventh century, which is probably about the date of the carving. Of other letters, P occurs twice, and O three times. A more satisfactory conjecture is that they are the very rough copy, made by an illiterate workman, of bad writing, the strokes of each letter being taken separately, at an unusual distance from each other; but even then they cannot be made out, and whether they are Saxon, Welsh, or Latin cannot now be determined. The introductory character is something like what printers call an index. This is common enough in an Irish treatise, usually known as the *Book of Ballymote*, a vellum MS. preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. This was compiled between 1370 and 1390. It is written in ancient Irish, and several characters in it correspond to the letters of this inscription, if inscription it be. A fac-simile may be found in the second volume of the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, pp. 269, 404. It has been discussed in other archaeological publications without any satisfactory result." A good rubbing was secured of an inscription on the altar rail. At Selly Hall, where a stoppage was made for the examination of a well-preserved section of Offa's Dyke, which runs along the summit of a neighbouring hill, Mr. Hatfield, of Llanfair Waterdine, led the party, and it was found that in proportion as the hill rose above the margin of cultivation, the Dyke became more distinct, until on the summit of the hill it formed a well-defined trench, 25 feet in depth from the top of the "agger" to the bottom, with a base about 20 feet wide. The Dyke itself varied from 10 to 12 feet in depth. Here Mr. Drinkwater read another short paper: "Offa's Dyke is seen to high advantage on the hill, about two miles north of Llanfair Waterdine, where it has been but little disturbed. It was topped by a fence of living trees, the indigenous trees of the country. In many places the remains of this fence may be seen. That it was a line of defence as well as of demarcation may be shown from the remains of camps and fortifications protecting weak places. These are on the western or Welsh side of the Dyke, and in some places connected with the Dyke by entrenchments. Clun Forest, through which it passes, is full of ancient remains. The Saeson bank, about three miles north-west of Clun, is well worth a visit and careful examination."—At Clun, the first point of interest was the church, with its well-preserved lych-gate. The vicar described the condition of the church before its restoration by the late Mr. Street, which he illustrated by means of drawings of the original building.—The Rev. C. H. Drinkwater read a paper: "Clun is said to be named from the river, which is questionable; but as it was a fortified post before the Conquest, and Roman coins and other things have been found there, it was, no doubt, a Roman station, and a better derivation would be from Colonia, and not from the stream, whose old name, Colunwy, or the Clun river, would seem to corroborate this conjecture. The castle was built in Norman times—in Stephen's day, or in that of Henry III.—most probably considerably enlarged and strengthened

in the latter reign. William Fitz-Alan, of Clun, about Stephen's time, married the heiress, Isabel de Say daughter of Helias de Say, and then Sir William is said to have built (i.e., enlarged) the castle, 24 Henry III., between October, 1239, and October, 1240. It was taken by Rhys, Prince of Wales, in Richard's time, and again retaken. Its area contains about 600 square yards. The mound is 40 yards in diameter at the top, and height above the ditch 60 feet. The ditch is 30 feet above the bed of the river. There are three earthworks on the side where it is not defended by the moat, and it was, no doubt, surrounded also by a strong, lofty wall. The church, dedicated to St. George, who became the patron saint of England under Edward III. (1327-1377), in the early years of his reign, must have had a previous dedication, probably to a Welsh saint, as portions of it are as old as the twelfth century. It lies on the opposite side (the south) of the river, at some distance from the castle. This fact would also point out an older date for the town, as churches usually were built subsequently to the castles, which protected them. Before its restoration in 1876 it consisted of a long nave and chancel, with broad aisles, and a western tower. The aisles had both been widened. The whole of the arcade was rebuilt. There are four pointed arches, enriched with chevron mouldings. The south aisle is restored to its original width, clerestory windows restored, the old roof, which had been removed to the south aisle, moved back to the nave, and continued to the chancel, roof of north aisle carefully repaired, and all ceilings taken away. The whole roof of eighteen arched principal trusses, with traceries and quatrefoil wind-braces above the purlins, forms quite a forest of timber. The east end is quite new, with triplet lights, over which is a fine baldachino or tester. A high traceried screen, with carved cornice, divides nave from chancel; other screens elsewhere. North porch restored, and staircase and parvise replaced, lych-gate replaced, picturesque tower, low tiled spire. Monument in churchyard, with twelve lines of poetry. Cost of restoration, £5,552 12s. 10d. Chancel restored by the Earl of Powis at a cost of £1,802." At the ruins of the castle, the Rev. T. Auden read the following paper: "Picot de Say, first Norman Lord of Clun, whose real name was Robert, occurs in Normandy six years before the Conquest, where he and his wife, Adeloya, and his sons Robert and Henry are mentioned in a deed of gift to the Abbey of St. Martin de Seez. In Domesday he held twenty-seven manors under Roger de Montgomery, one of which—Clun, the most important—is said to have been held by Edric, probably Edric Sylvaticus, the 'Wild Edric' of whom Shropshire legend still tells. Picot de Say had other estates nearer Shrewsbury, as after Domesday we find him granting the tithes of Fitz to Shrewsbury Abbey to help in the building of the conventual church. Picot's great-granddaughter, Isabel de Say, married William Fitz-Alan, lord of Oswestry, and thus the two privileged franchises became united in one family. Isabel de Say was married three times, and it was in the time of her third husband, William Botterell, that, according to the Welsh chronicler, Clun Castle was stormed by the Welsh Prince, Rees, and burnt to the ground. It was about this time (1195) that Isabel, Lady of Clun, and William Botterell, granted the

church of St. George, at Clun, to Wenlock Priory. Among its dependent chapelries are mentioned the chapel of St. Thomas in the same town, the chapel of St. Mary de Waterdene, the chapels of St. Swithin of Clunbury, St. Mary of Clunton, St. Mary of Oppetune, and the chapels of Edgton and Sibdon, and all other chapels and belongings. In 1291 the same list of chapels is given with the addition of Bettws-y-Crwyn. In a valuation of the great tithes of Clun, made early in Henry VIII.'s reign, the places mentioned are as follows; Clunbury, Clunton, Kympton, Obley, Coston, Clunbury and Purslow, and Coroton; Waterdene, Iskeborn (Skyborrah), Trebyrt, Solley, Waterdene, Kyllwylsey, Monyth-Estney; Clun, Monyttyn, Hobarys, Porthredye, Hobendryd, Perloye, Treburward, Westun, Whytcott Jevan, Ffad, Newcastle, Yutcott Keyset, Chadwall, Byctun, Collsty, Atton, Botthouse (? Bettws), Cloun, Downe . . . Purslow, St. Thomas' Chapel, Sybton, Clobury (and Thomas Mason), the total of all being £37 9s. 10d."—Some members of the party next visited the hospital founded by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton: "Clun Hospital, founded in 1614 by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, for twelve inmates and a warden. Inmates now increase to sixteen. Neat chapel attached. The inmates receive 10s. weekly, clothing, and some food. Handsome window in chapel, and adorned with the arms of the founder, the Bishop of Hereford, and Lord Powis. Two services daily. The inmates wear long gray gowns on work-days, blue sleeves on Sundays; badge, white lion on sleeve. Income of hospital from tithes of Churchstoke and Knighton about £1,800 per annum." The leading hotel, "The Buffalo," was visited, and here the party were shown by Miss Lane the rooms and the furniture used by Sir Walter Scott when on a prolonged visit to the town.

Hampshire Field Club.—Meeting at Wherwell and Longparish, June 22.—Wherwell Church possesses no features whatever of antiquarian interest. It appears that it was entirely rebuilt about thirty years ago, when every vestige of the old church (which there is reason to believe was a fine Gothic building) was ruthlessly got rid of, sculptured niches and bits of carving being in the possession of different villagers, and some monuments being placed against the churchyard wall exposed to the destructive effects of rain and frost. In the church itself an inscribed slab was pointed out in the floor of the aisle—where it will soon be trodden out by the feet of the worshippers—to some members of the West family, to whom the Priory of Wherwell was granted. To this family is due the clean sweep made of the antiquities of the church. A move was made into the gardens of the Priory, as the house is still called which occupies the site of the monastery. As in the case of the church this spot is entirely devoid of any remains of the Priory, of which, indeed, all that is not preserved in recorded history is scattered about in the walls of houses in the village, where the carvings are regarded merely as so many bits of ornament. Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, of Andover, read a paper on the Abbey: "There are no remains of Wherwell Priory, and there is very little recorded of it. The history remains to be written. Dugdale gives a short account. Tanner mentions it, and gives an immense

number of references, but those references do not appear to have ever been worked out. There are scarcely any traditions. No views, or scarcely any, exist; and, in a word, so far as popular history is concerned, Wherwell is a blank, and all who are even deeply interested in it have a perfectly good excuse for knowing very little. I am exceedingly indebted to the Vicar, Rev. W. Harrison, to the Rev. E. Iremonger, and to Captain the Hon. V. Montagu for information they have communicated to me; but as I have said, there is very little indeed to be got locally; almost all that can be gathered is from chronicles and records. An abbey for Benedictine nuns was founded here in A.D. 986, by Elfrida, the widow of King Edgar, and mother of King Ethelred II., who took the veil here, and was here buried. Assuming that she had been the same age as her husband, she was about forty-two when she took the veil. But her history was a most remarkable one, and as it explains the monument in Harewood Forest, I must take up a few of our short moments to narrate it. Edgar had among his favourites Earl Athelwold, who, I expect, owned all this immediate neighbourhood. He sent him to visit Elfrida, daughter of Ordgar, Earl of Devonshire, of whose extraordinary beauty he had heard. His commission was, if the lady's beauty were equal to the report, he was to make her an offer of marriage from the King. We may assume that even the many-tongued rumour had not done justice to the girl's loveliness, for Athelwold fell in love with her at first sight, said nothing about his embassy, and asked and obtained her for his own wife. He then returned to the King, and, saying nothing of his marriage, told him that Elfrida was but an ordinary commonplace woman; so Edgar thought no more of it. Then, in a while, Athelwold asked him to let him marry her for her money, and Edgar made no objection. Not long, however, was rumour still, and tidings reached the King how completely he had been sold. He thereupon dissembled with Earl Athelwold, and said he would come and see this far-famed lady. The Earl, frightened, as well he might be, at having both the King and his wife to reckon with, hurried home and begged her to conceal her beauty—but he was forgetting that he had sold her as well as his master. Elfrida, who was not a very scrupulous lady, did just as she pleased, and set off her matchless charms to the best advantage. This time the King was a captive to her incomparable beauty, and, arranging a hunting party in Harewood Forest, in which Earl Athelwold was to meet him, he ran him through with a javelin. William of Malmesbury says when the natural son of the Earl approached with his accustomed familiarity, he was asked by the King how he liked that kind of sport, and is reported to have said, 'Well, my liege sovereign, I ought not to be displeased with what gives you pleasure.' Colonel Iremonger in 1835 erected what is commonly known here as the Monument, in Harewood Forest, with this inscription: 'About the year of our Lord DCCCCLXIII upon this spot beyond time of memory, called Deadman's Plack—tradition reports that Edgar, surnamed the Peaceable, King of England, in the ardour of youth, love, and indignation, slew with his own hand his treacherous and ungrateful favourite Earl Athelwold, owner of this forest of Harewood, in

resentment of the Earl's having basely betrayed and perfidiously married his intended bride, the beauteous Elfrida, daughter of Ordgar, Earl of Devonshire, afterwards wife of King Edgar, and by him mother of King Ethelred the 2nd, which Queen Elfrida, after Edgar's death, murdered his eldest son, King Edward the Martyr, and founded the Nunnery of Whorwell.' I think Colonel Iremonger was very charitable when he wrote that. Bishop Tanner says that Elfrida was the lady that caused the murder of Brithrude: the first Abbot of Ely. However, after this murder in Harewood Forest, Edgar married Elfrida, and they had a son who was named Ethelred, and was afterwards Ethelred II. Edgar died in 975, and was succeeded by his son, by a former marriage, Edward, whom Elfrida had stabbed in the back at Corfe Castle as he was drinking to quench the burning thirst his eagerness in the chase had caused. This treacherous murder is said to have been the origin of the ceremonial of the loving-cup. Just another incident in the history of the foundress of this abbey. When her son Ethelred was ten years old, a report reached him that his half-brother Edward had been killed, at which he wept; which so irritated his furious mother that, not having a whip at hand, she snatched up some candles and nearly beat his life out with them, so that, as the Chronicler says, he dreaded candles all the rest of his life. Edward the Martyr, as he is called, was murdered March 18, A.D. 978. Ethelred II., the son of Elfrida, then came to the throne. During his reign Elfrida founded this nunnery and that at Amesbury. I will not take the time to say why, but I feel sure Elfrida endowed it with the manors her husband had hereabouts, and the spot was chosen because of the vill existing here. Ethelred II. confirmed the gift of his mother in A.D. 1002, and he used these words: 'A certain noble convent with the vill roundabout connected with it, which the common people are aptly accustomed to call Warewell, from the nearness of a spring' (a vicinitate fontis). I wrote to Canon Isaac Taylor, and he kindly replied that he considered the meaning of the name Wherwell equivalent to the common forms of the Nash Kettlewell, the well with the ewer or jug. In the Domesday survey we have the 'church' mentioned, which I feel sure means the monastery. Thus I think you have the reasons why this spot was closed when Elfrida elected to express her penitence by erecting a nunnery. Ethelred married Emma, sister of Richard, Duke of Normandy, a lady so lovely as to be called the Pearl of Normandy. After his death, she married as her second husband, Cnut, King of England. By Ethelred she had two sons, Ælfred and Edward; by Cnut she had a son named Hathacnut. Emma's son Hathacnut and Cnut's son by a former wife, Harold, disputed the succession; but the former carried the day by the voice of the Witenagemot. But Wessex and Winchester were reserved for Queen Emma. However, Harold did not keep his engagement, but seized everything the poor Queen had, and either then or in 1043 when the three great Earls, Godwin, Leofric and Seward, came upon her after her return to Winchester, Queen Ælfgifu Emma, the daughter of a great duke, the widow of two kings, and the mother of two kings, was a sojourner, voluntarily or involuntarily, in Wherwell Abbey. She died in 1052, and was buried at

Winchester, where the mortuary chest of her husband Cnut, her son Hathacnut, and her own are to be seen. Hathacnut died 1042, and then Emma's son, called Edward the Confessor, came to the throne. He put away his wife, the lovely Edith, over whom Ingulf goes into such enthusiastic eulogies, and the chronicler says the King, on account of the resentment he entertained towards her father, Godwin, put her away, and with one sewing-maid and without honour sent her to Wherwell, and committed her to the care of the abbess. This abbess was the King's sister. Malmesbury's words are, 'All the property of the Queen to the last penny was seized, and she herself was delivered unto the custody of the King's sister at Warewell, lest she alone should be void of care whilst all her relations were sighing for their country.' This was in 1048. There is something very remarkable that Warewell should thus have become, and each time under such sad circumstances, the dwelling-place of three queens of England, Elfrida, Queen of Edgar, mother of King Ethelred II.; Emma, widow of Ethelred II. and of King Cnut, and mother of Hathacnut and of Edward the Confessor; and Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor, besides having the daughter and sister of a king among its lady abbesses. In 1141, when Stephen and the Empress Matilda were contending, the Empress for a time held Winchester, Stephen's Queen, and the Earls who had come with her, watched the roads on every side of Winchester lest supplies should be brought to the Empress Maud. 'The town of Andover was burnt.' The Abbey of Wherwell was also burnt, because some partizans of the Empress had secured themselves in it. We know the names of eighteen of the abbesses, among whom were members of the families of Rowse and Lavington. The last abbess was Muphiet Kingsmill, who surrendered the abbey in 1540. She had a pension of £40 a year; most of the nuns had £3 6s. 8d. a year. The site was granted to Sir Thomas West, Lord Delawar. Now, of the conventional buildings we have no trace. I am almost certain that the present church, which, like the abbey, is dedicated to Holy Cross and St. Peter, which was rebuilt in 1858, stands nearly on the site of the abbey church. I believe the abbey church was cruciform, and that the transepts and choir and tower were pulled down, and the nave left for the parish church. It is said in White's *Directory* that in the old foundations several ancient carved stones were found, and one of them, representing an abbess, was sent to Winchester Museum, but they knew nothing of it there. I think the figure in the churchyard wall may be Joan Cithut, 1361, Cecilia Lavington, 1375, or Alice Paris, 1412. There is, Mr. Harrison informs me, a tradition that a peal of silver bells is buried under a rise in the churchyard. Bells for churches are never silver; but the five bells judged to weigh 307 cwt. were, at the Dissolution, 'deemed superfluous.' There is an inscription on the wall of the Priory which I doubt being of the date it claims to be. If so, it is very remarkable: 'Anno Dom. 1649.' Here was the Monastery of Wherwell. Erected by Queene Ethelred. Demolished by the overacted zeale or avarice of King Henry, and of its last ruins here buried there yet remains this his monument.' I will only hazard one more conjecture. That if the bed of the present stream is the same now as it was in 1540,

then I think the present house would more or less correspond with the abbess's lodgings, and the stalls and other buildings may correspond with the outer court. Captain Montagu writes me: 'I think part of the stalls is old. The lofts overhead might be any age. The garden, or rather raised ground to the right in coming in at the gate, is the old burial-ground, and full of bones. The old beer-cellar and coalplace might have been the slaughterhouse. A fair was granted by King John to be held on the feast of the dedication of the Church. Holy Cross day is September 14, but the fair is now held on September 24. A weekly market within the manor was granted by Henry III.'"

—Returning to the station a short railway journey brought the party to Longparish, whence a walk was taken in a south-easterly direction to the ancient earthwork known as "Danesdyke," An-dyke or Van-dyke. Arrived at the dyke, Mr. Shore related a Hampshire legend or two. When the road here was made, he said, they had to cut through the dyke, and in all probability the dyke would have been destroyed more than it was, but that the people thought they had better not do so, as there were so many dead bodies found there, the remains of some battle. It was said, Mr. Shore continued, that the people of Wherwell would not eat duck's eggs. For "once upon a time" a duck laid an egg in a cellar in which there was a toad. Now this toad sat on the egg and hatched it, and as a consequence there came out a creature that was neither bird nor beast. That was a cockatrice, a horrid thing which devoured everything that came into the cellar, even men who ventured in in order to destroy it. How to put an end to it was a problem, till someone suggested that if two such animals met together they would fight till one killed the other. So the temper of the cockatrice was put to the test by lowering a mirror into the cellar, when he rushed with such force against it to attack what he supposed was an enemy that he severely injured his head. It was then but the work of a moment to descend and despatch him. The dyke is a deep trench, with a bank on each side, reaching from one branch of the Test to another, and thus cutting off and fortifying a peninsular site, the other sides of the protected space being guarded by the rivers. Mr. Shore described the earthwork, which, he said, was a very ancient fortification, defending a small peninsular area within the fork of the rivers, and was similar in character to those at Hengistbury and (he thought) also the old north ditch at Southampton. It reached from stream to stream, or at any rate to the marshy ground on each side, when there was doubtless more water than there is now. At the south end there had been great destruction of the dyke for agricultural purposes, some of the chalk having been removed even in recent times. It was prehistoric and probably Neolithic, and was probably intended for use in case of necessity, when the whole tribe would withdraw into it for shelter. None of the Hampshire forts were permanent fortifications, but places for retiring to when threatened. Here there was a large area where a great number of cattle might be kept. The name was variously given; An-dyke could be derived from the Gaelic *an*, meaning water. An-dyke was thus a dyke between the two streams. It had nothing whatever to do with the Danes. Mr. Hammans said it was also called Ans-

dyke, and suggested that it might have been named from a tribe or from a Saxon king named An, but Mr. Shore said he had already threshed out the legend as to the Saxon king, who had nothing to do with this part of the country. Mr. Wm. Dale said he would class this interesting relic of prehistoric times amongst the oldest remains in the country. It was similar in construction to the ditch round Avebury, where the stones are not hewn as they are at Stonehenge. It would thus be older than Stonehenge, and would be at least 3,000 years old. It would be interesting to correlate it with some of the camps. It was like the camps at Sidbury and Walbury. Alluding to the lamentable destruction that was going on by digging the chalk, he expressed the hope that resident members of the Club would keep their eyes on it, to see that nothing more was done in this direction.

Caradoc Field Club.—June 26.—The members assembled at Church Stretton Station, where carriages were in waiting to convey them *via* Hope Bowdler and Rushbury to Holgate. The first halt was made at Rushbury for the purpose of inspecting the tumulus there, which is thought by some to have been an outpost to defend the Roman road that came down the valley from the Roman causeway at Cardington on its way towards the stronghold on Nurdy Bank. Others have thought that it may have been the site of a Saxon manor-house, like the moated enclosure at Shawbury. Many traces of the Roman settlement at Rushbury may be found in the names of places in the neighbourhood, as for instance the Roman bank, where the present road crosses Wenlock Edge. In the valley on the southern side the Edge the party stopped to look at Upper Millichope, probably one of the oldest houses in the county, and possibly at one time the lodge of the hereditary foresters of the Long Forest, who, though tenants of the Abbot of Wenlock, were as foresters in the direct service of the Crown. The Long Forest was of great extent, reaching from the outskirts of Shrewsbury (Sutton and Brace Meole being within its jurisdiction) nearly to Lydbury North, embracing the whole of Wenlock Edge and the Stretton Hills. The house at Millichope, now part of a modern farmhouse, was remarkable for its elaborate precautions against attack. The ground-floor seems to have been used as a storehouse or barn, and the upper story as a dwelling, to which access was gained by strongly-defended stairs. The details of the chief door and window have a semi-ecclesiastical look, and apparently once formed part of some other building, possibly of the Church of Upper Millichope, which existed in early days as a chapelry of Eaton-under-Heywood. At Holgate the church and the remains of the castle were visited. The former contains several points of interest, especially a remarkably fine Norman doorway and quaintly sculptured font. The castle, of which the fragments are incorporated in a modern dwelling-house, has little left to attest its antiquity but the portion of a round tower of massive workmanship. It was in a dilapidated condition at the time of the civil wars, 1643, and, after being garrisoned for the King for some time, was dismantled by the Royalists themselves to prevent its being of use to the enemy. This tower probably belonged to the "Capital Message" (*i.e.*, chief house) mentioned among Bishop Burnel's possessions in Holgate in 1292, while the site of the "Old Castle,"

spoken of then, is no doubt marked by the tumulus overlooking the churchyard. A division of the party made their way by the fields to the foot of the Brown Clee, and thence to the summit of Abdon Burf, the highest point in Shropshire, 1,789 feet above the sea. The entire summit of the hill is here surrounded by an ancient vallum of earth and rough stones, somewhat similar to that on the Breidden. Mr. Hartshorne, in his *Salopia Antiqua*, holds that it was an enclosure not for defence, but for purposes of worship, and as a burial-ground of great men, judging that the Romans would not have placed their important station of Nurdy Bank immediately under so strong a hostile camp as Abdon Burf would have made.



Reviews.

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, No. CLXVI. (Boston, U.S.A.)

The history of the New England States is so recent that we are not surprised to find this side of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society's labours has been practically worked out, and that its journal is now almost entirely devoted to genealogy. The articles are all written with much care, but it is certainly questionable whether it is worth while to take so much pains to get particulars of persons whose only claim to notice appears to be that they married and had children. Nathless, with much chaff there is a fair amount of wheat, and Dr. Lewis's list of American graduates of medicine at the University of Edinburgh, with the titles of their theses, is of considerable value. So also is the reproduction of a chart of Cape Cod in the last century.

Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, Record Series, vol. iii. *West Riding Sessions Rolls, 1597-1602*. Edited by JOHN LISTER, 1888.

Yorkshire is doing good work by the means of her active county archaeological society, and we should much like to see it extended to other county societies. These rolls are the earliest West Riding records known to exist, and the *miscellanea* of magisterial business which they reveal are most instructive to the student of local manners and customs illustrative of the progress of the nation. Offences against the rights of property are the most numerous class recorded, and they show *inter alia* that when an English jury was called to condemn a countryman for stealing, with the punishment of hanging attendant upon their verdict if the value of the stolen goods exceeded twelve pence, they kept strictly to their duty as to the fact, and found the culprit guilty, though they satisfied their objection to the punishment by finding for under the value which condemned to capital punishment. One of the most singular experts of English legal history, says Sir Henry Mairn, is its great regard for facts; and in these local records we see this phase brought out forcibly. Perhaps the most interesting class of offences is that against "internal public order."

Mr. Lister has done his work uncommonly well, and

we specially commend his method of classifying the crimes and offences under the system adopted by Sir James Fitzjames Stephen. We are thus able at once to trace new chapters in the history of law with some degree of precision and certainty, and these records of the West Riding at once find their proper place in the materials accumulating under this head. All students will at once recognise the services which Mr. Lister thus renders.

A Sketch of the Growth of Public Opinion. By SAMUEL KYDD. (London: Elliot Stock, 1888. 8vo., pp. 84.)

This book hardly comes within the meaning of the term antiquarian, but it contains a fair *résumé* of some salient points in the growth of public opinion. Its statements are clear and unbiased, but are so few and brief as to be of little value to even a junior student who is in earnest, and as practically no references are given, it will be of small help to those who, having read it, desire to know more. The account of Bushell's case (p. 41) appeared to us particularly meagre, and the chapter on the House of Lords does not contrast favourably with Bagehot's essay on the same subject. The chapters are wonderfully brief, and remind the reader a good deal of smart leaderettes. No doubt the book will be useful in working-men's clubs and the like, for what Mr. Kydd has to say he says with the skill of a practised penman.



Correspondence.

WOODEN PIPES FOR CONVEYING WATER.

The town of Aylesbury had a public water-supply as early as the year 1733, as is proved by a document still in existence. This document is an agreement between Mrs. Mary Meade, of Aylesbury, and Ben Burroughs and Jno. Delafield, Burroughs and Delafield, covenanting to pay a quit-rent to Mrs. Meade, as Lady of the Manor, for being allowed the privilege of laying down the service water-pipes. These conduits or pipes were of wood. I have seen several of them which were unearthed, when iron pipes were laid for a more modern water-supply. The old wooden pipes were formed of rough elm-tops, bored with a three-inch bore, were in lengths of about five feet each; one end was pointed and the other counter-sunk. The pointed end of one pipe appears to have been forced into the counter-sunk end of another. There is also an appearance of a system of caulking these joints, the material used being slips of linen cloth or calico driven into the joints for the purpose of making them water-tight, after the manner shipwrights caulk the hulls of vessels when in dock. There was, without doubt, a large quantity of waste, and the water after remaining a considerable time in these elm-pipes could not be used for culinary purposes. How long this system of water-supply continued is not now known, but is generally thought to have had a very short existence.

ROBT. GIBBS, F.S.A.

Aylesbury, August, 1888.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

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FOR SALE.

Life in London (Hotten's edition), 5s. 6d.—15B, care of Manager.

Walton (Izaak), The Compleat Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation; facsimile, produced in photo-lithography by Mr. Griggs; yellow cloth. Published by Quaritch, 1882; 12s.—14B, care of Manager.

Ancient English Metrical Romances, selected and published by Joseph Ritson, and revised by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S.; 3 vols., in 14 parts, 4to., large paper, bound in vegetable parchment; price £5 5s.—1B, care of Manager.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Carlyle; edited by R. H. Shepherd and C. N. Williamson; 2 vols.; Allen, 1881; 6s., cloth.—3B, care of Manager.

Sepher Yetzorah, the Book of Formation, and the thirty-two Paths of Wisdom. Translated from the Hebrew and collated with Latin versions by Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 30 pp., paper covers (100 only printed), 5s. 6d. The Isiac Tablet Mensa, Isiaca Tabula Bembond of Cardinal Bembo, its History and Occult Signification, by W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 20 pp., plates, etc., cloth (100 copies only), 21s. net.—M., care of Manager.

The Book of Archery, by George Agar Hansard (Gwent Bowman), Bohn, 1841, numerous plates, 8s.—M., care of Manager.

Berjeau's Bookworm, a number of old parts for sale or exchange.—W. E. M., care of Manager.

Letters and Essays in prose and verse, by Richard Sharp; 3rd edition; Moxon, 1834; calf, 3s. 6d.—10B, care of Manager.

Spiritual Wives, by William Hepworth Dixon; 2 vols, 4th edition; Hurst and Blackett, 1868; 12s.; cloth as new.—4B, care of Manager.

Life of William Wilberforce, by the late Bishop of Winchester; Murray, 1872; cloth, 4s.—5B, care of Manager.

The History of Civilization from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution, by F.

Gizout, translated by W. Hazlitt; 3 vols.; Bohn, 6s.—6B, care of Manager.

Old Trencher Boxes; Scotch Iron Cruisies, etc., for exchange.—Edward Lovett, 41, Outram Road, Croydon.

Malone's Shakespeare, with plates, 11 vols., 1790, fine uncut copy in boards, 30s.; Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian, translated by Booth, 20s.; Siege of Colchester, a scarce play, 1830, 8s.; Staunton's Embassy to China, 1797, 9s. 6d.; Kitto's Illustrated Family Bible, 7s. 6d.; Owen's Extinct Gigantic Sloth, 1842, 17s. 6d.—T. Forster, Colchester.

Old Pillion; Spinning Wheel; several pieces of Old Arms and Armour.—Dick, Carolgate, Retford.

Eight numbers of Urania for 1880, 3s.; Six various Orion's Almanacks from 1871 to 1881, 2s.; Eight Zadkiel's, 1868 to 1872, 3s.; Four vols. Whitaker's, cloth edition, 1884 to 1887, 4s.; exchange old English Coins.—31B, care of Manager.

Stow's Annals, by E. Howes, black-letter, 1615, 20s.; Foxe's Book of Martyrs, 2 vols., black-letter, 1576, £10; Shaw's Travels, Barbary and the Levant, 1757, 20s.; Browne's Travels, Africa, Egypt, etc., 1806, 15s.; Russell, The Natural History of Aleppo, 2 vols., 1794, 35s.—O. B., Carolgate, Retford.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Hardy's New Testament; The White Cat, illustrated by E. V. B.; Visitation of Pembrokehire; Burkett's Commentary on the Bible; Notes on Novelists, large paper; Theocritus, large paper; Lang's Odyssey, large paper; Hamilton's The Lamp and the Lantern; Gardiner's England, 8vo., vols. 1 and 2; Pleasures of a Book-worm, Roxburgh edition; Ball's State of Man; Lupot on Violin, English edition; Manual of Siege and Garrison Artillery, vol. 7; Notes on Ammunition, 5th edition; Oldmixon's British Empire in America, 2 vols. (1708); Finney's Gospel Themes; Finney's Systematic Theology; Fergusson's Antiquities; Early History of the County of Bedford; Kirk's Light out of Darkness; Bell Scott's The Poet's Harvest Home; The Laird O'Coull's Ghost; Shakespeare, vol. 7 (1818); Whittingham, Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, vol. 50; Martinsen's Christian Dogmatics; Thomas à Kempis' Works, 2 vols., 32mo., Jones; Thomas à Kempis' Works, Vandergucht.—Retail Department, Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

Berjeau's Bookworm, Nos. 3, 4, 9, 13, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36; new series, 1869, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; new series, 1870, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12; Printers' Marks, Nos. 5, 6.—Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C.





The Antiquary.



OCTOBER, 1888.

Byzantine Frescoes and Rock-hewn Churches in the Terra d'Otranto.

BY THE REV. H. F. TOZER.



THE occupation of the southern provinces of Italy by the Byzantines during the ninth and two following centuries forms an obscure episode, on which only a fitful light is thrown by the Greek historians. As early as the eighth century, a considerable immigration of Greeks into Italy took place in consequence of the iconoclastic controversy which was then raging in the Eastern Church and Empire, since the monks and other advocates of image-worship found in the western peninsula immunity from persecution and freedom in the exercise of their religious observances, which was denied them in their own country. This exodus was on so extensive a scale, that we are told that at one period as many as two hundred Greek monasteries, which had been founded in Apulia and Calabria, were subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople. On the cessation of iconoclasm in the middle of the ninth century followed the re-establishment of the Byzantine dominion in those lands by Basil the Macedonian; and though the power which was exercised by that empire fluctuated from time to time, yet its influence continued to be considerable, until it was brought to an end by the Normans in 1071. Subsequently to the withdrawal of the military forces and civil officers of the Eastern Empire, a large Greek population, composed both of laymen and churchmen, remained behind; and of their importance we have evidence in

the numerous charters, deeds of gift, transfers of land, and other documents of this period in mediæval Greek, which are preserved in the Neapolitan archives. But on such interesting questions as the transition of these Greeks from the Eastern to the Western Church, and the conditions under which it took place, history is almost silent; and therefore any incidental intimations are of value, which help us, however slightly, to understand this. Such a side light is furnished by the Byzantine ecclesiastical antiquities which remain in remote parts of the country. Of one of these, the rock-hewn monastery dedicated to St. Blaise, which lies six or seven miles north-west of Brindisi, I gave an account in the *Antiquary* five years ago. It is the object of the present paper to describe a number of other churches of a similar character in the Terra d'Otranto, or heel of Italy, which I explored during the autumn of 1887 in the company of Mr. Crowder, who was my companion on the previous occasion. Two of these have already been the subject of elaborate articles by M. Diehl in the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*; of the others, as far as I am aware, no description, or only the slightest, exists.

SUBTERRANEAN CHURCH AT GIURDIGNANO.

The first of these places that we visited was at Giurdignano, a village four miles to the west of Otranto. I had become aware of the existence of a rock-hewn church in that neighbourhood from Gsell-Fels's *Unter-Italien*, in which an accurate ground-plan of such a place is given, but (strange to say) not a word of explanation or description. When we arrived in the village, and found, in answer to our inquiries, that blank ignorance on the subject prevailed among the inhabitants, we began to think that we must be the victims of some mistake; but our doubts were dispelled by the parish priest, to whom we next applied, for he undertook to show us the object of our search. Beyond the last houses there was a small grassy level by the road-side, and at the edge of this appeared a narrow opening, where a stone had been removed, just admitting the body of a man. Our conductor was too portly to be able to enter himself; but, following his directions, we descended through this, and slid downwards over the rubble that had

accumulated below. As soon as our eyes were sufficiently accustomed to the darkness, we discovered that we were in a chamber nearly 30 feet square and 10 feet high, excavated in the soft sandstone which prevails throughout the whole of this part of Italy. It faces eastward, and is divided into a nave and aisles by four square piers, from which round arches are thrown across, both lengthwise and laterally, supporting the roof; and against each side of the piers stands a rounded pillar, from which the arch springs. The last bay both of the nave and the aisles is separated from the rest of the church by a massive stone screen about 5 feet high, and in this there are three openings, one under each arch, sufficiently wide to allow a man to pass through. The chancel thus formed ends in three semicircular apses, and in the central and southern ones stand altars, hewn out of the rock, but separated from the wall of the apse by a passage which runs behind. Both these altars have rude projections in front, resembling sections of the shafts of columns. The roof over the eastern compartments is incised in circular panels, the middle one of which is cut into concentric circles, enclosing a Greek cross. In the corresponding sections of the remainder of the roof the panels are square, and are either cut into bars, or into the figure of St. Andrew's cross. Beyond this there is no ornament about the place, except that on the southern wall there remain some traces of painting in arabesque patterns. There is no sign of a window, nor of an entrance. Though I have used architectural terms in the preceding description, it must be remembered that no process of construction has taken place in any part, but only excavation. To account for the strange position of this and other subterranean churches which are found in this district we are driven to the supposition that they must have served as places of refuge in troublous times, especially during the Saracen invasions. The name of the good parish priest who acted as our guide sounded like a memory of the past. He was called Constantino Greco; and, though he was not aware that he belonged to a Greek family, and did not admit that he was in any way connected with those Greeks, the descendants of Byzantine colonists, who inhabit some of the neighbouring villages, yet he

carries about with him a token of his origin which it is not easy to gainsay.

SUBTERRANEAN CHURCH AT CARPIGNANO.

Six miles to the north of Giurdignano lies the village of Carpignano, one of those in which the Greek language was in use until lately, though it has now ceased to be spoken. In one part of this there is an underground chamber, excavated, like the one just described, in the soft gray sandstone, but devoid of all architectural features; it is now called the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie. In shape it is an irregular oblong; and its length from east to west is about 58 feet, its breadth from north to south 23 feet in the widest part, while the roof, which is flat, though somewhat uneven in its level, is 10 feet from the ground. In the eastern portion, where the area is most extensive, four piers of the native stone have been left to support the roof. It is entered on the south side at two points by stone stairs which lead down from above, separated from one another by a mass of rock; and it is through the apertures at the head of these that light and air are admitted into the chamber. Opposite to the westernmost of these, where the rock projects from the north side, the altar now stands, and probably it did so originally, notwithstanding that this is the narrowest part, for there is no other position which it could have conveniently occupied. The most noticeable features in this church are the Byzantine frescoes on its walls: these have been carefully described by M. Diehl in one of the articles already referred to,* and I shall therefore content myself with noticing the most important points in them. As a form of decoration they are not impressive, for, as the separate pictures were votive offerings, dedicated by devotees to various saints, they do not form a series, but are scattered irregularly over the surface of the walls, without any attempt at grouping. To some of them, however, an extraordinary interest attaches on account of their antiquity.

On the west wall three saints are represented, Santa Marina, St. Antony, and St. Blaise. Of the two first of these the faces only are given, and that in a somewhat

* *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* for March, 1885.

sketchy manner, with their names underneath: ἡ ἀγία Μαρίνα, ὁ ἄγιος Αντώνιος ἀβάτης: the figure of St. Blaise (ὁ ἄγιος Βλάσιος) is in full length. In the portion of the north wall which intervenes between this and the altar there is an arched recess, containing a long Greek inscription in two columns, much defaced; and between the columns is painted a female figure, which is now called the Madonna delle Grazie, but in all probability originally represented Santa Christina, who would seem to have been the patron saint of the church, for in different parts there are at least three pictures of her. On the side walls which form the depth of the recess are, on the left hand the Madonna and Child, the Virgin wearing a blue robe and a veil, the Holy Child raising His hand to bless; and on the right hand St. Nicolas in the episcopal dress, giving the benediction in the Eastern manner: that is, not, as in the Latin Church, with the thumb and two first fingers erect, but with the first, second, and little finger, the third finger being depressed to meet the tip of the thumb.* On the further part of the north wall, beyond the altar, is a picture of Santa Christina, and opposite to it on the south wall there is another of the same; on one of the piers, also, that support the roof stands a group, much defaced, of three saints, who, as we were informed on the spot, are St. Theodore, Santa Christina, and St. Nicolas. These frescoes range, according to M. Diehl, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.

Far more important than any of these are two frescoes which occupy niches in the eastern wall, and are accompanied by their dedicatory inscriptions and dates. These are thoroughly Byzantine in their type, and show no sign of the softer treatment which at a later period, through the influence of the Italian schools, affected Greek art in South Italy. Both of them represent the Saviour seated, and they closely correspond to one another, except in their execution and in some details. The date of that on the left hand is 6528 of the Byzantine era of the world, *i.e.*, A.D. 1020, and the inscription records that it was the work of a painter

Eustathius, and the gift of one Adrianus, who had restored the church, and of his wife and children. On the wall to the left of the niche in which this stands is a painting of the same date, representing the Virgin and the Child, who holds a scroll. The second and earlier of the two figures of Christ is far the finer. In this the Saviour is seated on a richly ornamented throne, with a footstool under His feet; the features are dignified, and He has long hair, a rounded beard, and a moustache; round His head is a nimbus bearing the three letters that make up the words ὁ ὢν, in accordance with the traditional practice of the Greek Church. He is enveloped in a robe of reddish-purple hue, and holds in His left hand a gemmed volume of the Gospels, while with His right hand He gives the blessing. From the inscription below we learn that the artist who painted it was named Theophylactus, and that the donors were a priest of the name of Leon, his wife Chrysolea, and the rest of his family.* The date is 6467 of the era of the world, *i.e.*, A.D. 959. As far as is at present known, this is the earliest existing Byzantine fresco painting. It will be observed that the person here mentioned as the giver, being a priest of the Greek Church, was married.

ROCK-HEWN CHAPEL AT STERNATIA.

My discovery of this chapel was the result of accident. The township of Sternatia, which lies on the line of railway between Lecce and Otranto, is one of those that are inhabited by a Greek-speaking population; and to this I betook myself with the view of making inquiries concerning the dialect of Greek there in use. In the course of conversation with the priest of that place, whom I met at the hospitable house of the *sindaco*, the Cav. G. Orlandi, I mentioned that I was in search of Byzantine churches; whereupon he said that he remembered in his younger days to have seen, in a field at no great distance off, a chamber resembling those that I had already met with, which was known as

* The Greek of this last clause is quite clearly written in the inscription, καὶ παντός του υἱου αὐτοῦ, where υἱου is a mistake for οἰκου, arising from italicism. M. Diehl in his transcription, which is otherwise accurate, writes this passage as καὶ Παύλου του υἱου αὐτοῦ. He was misled, no doubt, by the unfamiliar υἱου.

* On the Eastern mode of blessing and the symbolism involved in it, see Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie chrétienne*, pp. xl. and 455.

the Chapel of St. Sebastian. Accordingly we all three proceeded to the spot, and there in an olive plantation we found a rude rock-hewn chapel, half filled with brushwood and leaves, which is entered by a square-headed doorway on the north side, and is about 10 feet long, 15 feet wide, and 9 feet high. At the present time this chamber stands detached, but, as the marks of quarrying are clearly visible along the outer walls, there can be no doubt that it once lay within a continuous face of rock, which has since been cut away for building purposes. A stone seat, 18 inches from the ground, runs round the interior, and in the middle the roof is supported by a pier, on the front of which there is a fresco, now mutilated, of St. Sebastian. The altar, which is a narrow block of stone, and is ornamented in front with arabesque patterns, stands against the south wall, but, in order to avoid the pier, is not placed in the middle. Behind it there is a painting of God the Father, holding the arms of the cross from which the Son hangs—a subject which is frequently represented in art from the thirteenth century onward.* The inscription, which is in Greek, is partly erased, but the date remains—7018 of the era of the world, *i.e.*, A.D. 1510. On the eastern wall is the Annunciation; in this the angel appears as a small figure in front of the Virgin, and above him the dove is seen approaching her. The date is the same as that of the preceding one, and is written in Greek characters. St. Sebastian is again represented on the south wall, and there are half-obliterated figures of other saints; but a picture on the north wall, to the right of the entrance, deserves more careful notice, because its inscription is in Latin. This represents a figure in episcopal robes, holding a pastoral staff and giving the blessing. The inscription—the second word of which has been erased, but can confidently be supplied—runs as follows: MEMENTO [DOMINE] FAMULO TUO DORNO PELEGRINO RICARDO DE STERNATIA, MDXXXV. The language here employed shows that Italian influence was for the time asserting itself; but, notwithstanding this, the devotee was probably a Greek, for the name Πιλεγρῖνος, which was

employed in Greek for “pilgrim” or “crusader,” is found in Greek documents written in Italy during the twelfth century.* Though the inscriptions which are attached to some of the other paintings are in Greek, the art displayed in them, from its more flowing lines and freer treatment, is Italian in style rather than Greek.

(To be continued.)



Branksome Tower.

IN January, 1802, were added to our national literature two volumes of historical and romantic ballads, written in the broad mother-tongue of the Border. They had been collected with enthusiasm, and were criticised with judicious care by “Walter Scott, Esq.,” and other kindred spirits, imbued with a keen perception and love of the relics of past times. On many a breeze and in many a year they had been wafted through the sequestered vales of the Border. Many were transmitted by oral tradition, and were taken down from the recitations of old folks, who remembered the great popularity they had enjoyed whenever sung or recited in their youth. The bold and rugged, or soft and loving, strains that characterize them had often sounded in the feudal hall and round the cottage hearth. They breathe of the raid, of rapine, of the fray, and they draw a distinction—a hair-breadth line—between a freebooter and a thief.

It's most clear a freebooter doth live in hazard's train,
A freebooter's a cavalier that ventures life for gain.

* * * * *

But since King James the VI. to England went
There has been no cause of grief,
And he that hath transgressed since then
Is no freebooter, but a thief.

History of the Name of Scott.

The following rather strong line occurs in the same work:

An arrant liar calls a freebooter a thief.

* Didron's *Christian Iconography*, Eng. Trans., vol. i., pp. 258, 384.

* See the lists of names given by Zambelli, *Ἱταλοελληνικά*, pp. 117, 120.

The peels, or keeps, or towers, for the Border fortresses are called these indifferently, now stand in ruins, but they afford evidences of great strength in the massive square walls that distinguish them, and in the strong, natural vantage-ground on which they have been built, their favourite site being a knoll, or crag, or a sequestered glade close to a river or mountain stream. Their appearance is in keeping with our ideas of the old moss-troopers, but in the nineteenth century they look strangely out of place, as brought out in strong relief they stand side by side with a cottage, farmhouse, or modern manorial residence, into which many have been incorporated. They are, however, like the ballads to which reference has been made. The same rugged features characterize both, and in order to understand the one, we must be acquainted with the other. The ballads are coeval with the peels, and in reading them you can restore the battlements of the fortress, with its outer fortifications, and can fancy issuing beneath the portcullis the laird or the laird's Jock (*Anglicè*, the squire or baron's son, John) with a troop of Border "prickers" and "hobblers," armed with spear and Jedwood axe, and protected by jack and basnet, bound on some burning feud or reiving expedition.

We are vastly indebted to Sir Walter Scott, as the editor of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. By his patriotic and antiquarian zeal he has supplied important links in the chain connecting the sixteenth with this century. Without those links the peels would be to us little more than specimens of a former architecture, but by the recovery of the Border ballads, they have come to be regarded with a lively interest as the scenes depicted by many of them, and as the homes of the chiefs whose deeds they faithfully narrate and eulogize. Especially so is this the case respecting Branksome Tower, the ancestral residence of the ducal house of Buccleuch, a description of which, as it now stands, together with a short historical sketch, forming the subject of this paper.

The remains of the celebrated castle of Branksome are situated three miles from Hawick, which is a place in itself of much interest from its intimate connection with the houses of Douglas and Scott. The relations

with the latter continue friendly to the present time—the inhabitants having received many highly-valued boons and privileges from his Grace the late Duke of Buccleuch. How well they appreciate the kindness of the house was eloquently expressed on the 1st of September, 1882, the occasion of the opening of the new waterworks, when they gave his Grace an almost royal welcome to the burgh. The event was characterized by a remarkable and unique circumstance—there being three generations of the ducal house present, namely, the Duke himself, the Earl of Dalkeith, and Lord Eskdail.

The town is picturesquely situated at the confluence of the Slitrig with the Teviot, and contains Drumlanrig Castle, or the Black Tower, where Anna, the unfortunate Duchess of Monmouth and Buccleuch, chiefly resided. This is now converted into a modern hotel, still bearing the name of "The Tower." Between the left bank of the river Slitrig and the Loan, which is a long, ascending street in the west end of the burgh, there is situated an artificial mound called "The Moat," supposed to be a Druidical remain, and from which the sheriffs of Teviotdale were accustomed to dispense justice in the Middle Ages. It was from here that Sir William Douglas, better known as the Knight of Liddesdale, carried off Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, the hero of the taking of Roxburgh Castle, in 1342, from motives of political jealousy, and starved him to death in a vault in Hermitage Castle.

You leave Hawick from the west for Branksome, and proceed up the winding vale of the Teviot. This is called the New Road in contradistinction to the old coach-road to England, which ran along the brow of the hill, overlooking the vale. The latter is rendered classical by the midnight ride of William of Deloraine. The valley is considerably contracted in some parts, flanked on each side by green hills with rounded sides, where plantations of fir, larch, and spruce-trees are numerous.

I have thought it a misfortune that artists have found their way here so seldom, if ever. There is a scene on the road well worthy a place on canvas. It is a steep bank, with many shaded trees and rank undergrowths, where a bare rock here and there shows it-

self. In form it is almost a perfect crescent, and the road and the clear, rippling river incline to the same curve. Beyond are green meadows, parted by wire fencing with rows of trees, whilst rising above these there are three terraces of woods, two of which can be seen from the road.

Proceeding up the pastoral valley, where sheep and cattle are quietly feeding, and the air is redolent with rural freshness, where everything is so silent that you can hear the rippling flow of the water, one is forcibly reminded of the lines in "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," which expresses what one is feeling :

Sweet Teviot ! on thy silver tide
The glaring bale-fires blaze no more ;
No longer steel-clad warriors ride
Along thy wild and willowed shore ;
Where'er thou wind'st, by dale or hill,
All, all is peaceful, all is still,
As if thy waves since time was born,
Since first they rolled upon the Tweed,
Had only heard the shepherd's reed,
Nor startled at the bugle horn.

A feature of interest on the way, which is caught sight of at some distance before nearing, is Goldilands Tower, now dismantled and in a ruinous state. It stands on a wooded height, its square, massive, time-worn walls adding much to the charm of the landscape. Lesley describes the Border peel as being of such strength and thickness of wall as to defy injury by fire, and requiring great trouble in demolition. This description one wholly agrees with when the solitary ruin is inspected. Like all the small fiefs in Upper Teviotdale, Goldilands belonged to a chief of the name of Scott. In the old Border ballad of "Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dod-head," which describes a raid made by the captain of Bewcastle, in which he drives off Jamie's cattle, Goldilands and other chiefs are summoned by the Laird of Buccleuch, their suzerain, in this characteristic fashion :

Gar warn the water braid and wide,
Gar warn it sune and hastilie !
They that winna ride for Telfer's kye,
Let them never look in the face o' me.

Warn Wat o' Harden and his sons,
Wi' them will Borthwick water ride ;
Warn Gauldilands and Allanhaugh,
And Gilmanscleugh and Commonsie.

Border Minstrelsy.

It has been handed down by tradition that the last of the Scotts of Goldilands was hanged over his own gate for theft or march treason. The property, together with all the lands in this district, belongs to his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch. The views from Goldilands are rich, far-reaching, and picturesque. Downwards are the wooded slopes of Teviotdale, with its clear, winding river, well defined. The pleasant suburban villas of Hawick are midway in this direction, and the view is terminated by the fine estate of Minto, with its park and forest surmounting Minto Crags, where

The moonbeams glint,
Where Barnhills hewed his bed of flint.

At our feet lies Borthaugh Cauld, where the valley widens to receive "Old Borthwick's roaring strand," up whose course, some two miles, is situated the remains of Harden Castle, whilom occupied by the celebrated "Wat," who represented a powerful branch of the Buccleuch family, and whose exploits and customs, particularly that of the "Feast of Spurs," are twice-told tales in every Border home. At the cauld a mill stood some years ago, but all trace of it is gone, if we except a scattered heap of stones. These flour-mills, planted in romantic sites, thickly studded the vale at one time, but they have all, or nearly all, disappeared. The mill lades and great plashing wooden wheels in country districts are fast becoming things of the past, steam having superseded the less rapid water process. Rising from Borthaugh, or Borthwickhaugh, is Borthaugh Cover, a dense coppice of fir-trees, clothing the bold hillside, where Master Reynard can always be drawn. The watergate of the Borthwick is well wooded, but shows few signs of cultivation. Park Hill, a bluff, broadened prominence of considerable height, parts the courses of the Teviot and Borthwick. Turning the glance up Teviotdale, the spectator is rewarded with a characteristic Border landscape. On the right bank the river has worn its channel into the sides of the hill, and a series of scaurs, some of them high and precipitous, and many of them void of vegetation, are the most notable features. The left bank presents a pleasing contrast. Between the river's edge and the turnpike are well-cultivated haughs, and rising from the road is a picturesquely-

wooded bank, which extends some two miles up the vale. The background to this bank presents a contrast again, consisting entirely of hill-lands. From our standpoint, also, the first glimpse of Branksome Tower can be caught, situated on a prominence of the bank I have described. It is a matter of tradition that an underground passage connects Goldilands with Branksome, but no trace of it has been found in modern times.

Branksome is approached by a fine avenue of elm, plane, and spruce trees. To give an idea of the denseness of this avenue, last century, the father of the late Mr. William Grieve, of Branhholme Park, whose family have been connected with Branksome as far back as the time of Margaret Douglas, Lady Buccleuch in 1570, often told his son that a man could ride on a white horse a distance of four or five miles from Todshawhaugh to the Castle Hill, without any person seeing the horse, because of the closeness of the foliage. Much of the wood was cut down by the direction of Francis, second Duke of Buccleuch, who was reputed to have possessed the same habits of spending as his great-grandfather, King Charles II.

Branhholme Hall, as it is modernly spelt, occupies a position of great natural strength, having, as before stated, been built on a steep bank, which rises abruptly from the banks of the river, from which it is distant some hundred yards to the north. Flanking it to the east is the "Bloody" burn, but called "the rivulet of Branhholme" in an old charter, which has worn for itself a deep channel, and which would form part of the moat. The castle originally consisted of a quadrangle or court, with a turret at each corner. No part of it now remains, however, with the exception of the old western square tower of five stories, popularly known by the name of "Nebsy." The north-eastern tower, which had been situated close to where the drawbridge stood, bore the rather quaint appellation of "Tenty-fit," which, I presume, indicated a warning to take care of one's foot. To Nebsy Tower has been added a long modern building of three stories, the lowest one of which consists of the old arched vaults.

Apart from its poetical and historical associations, the Hall presents a striking appear-

ance, flanked and backed as it is by fine old trees, and possessing a handsome, commanding, southern exposure. In the memory of persons still living, the Castle of Branhholme and two other houses were the only dwellings above Hawick that were slated, all the others being thatched with straw. Half a mile to the north of the castle stand four or five houses, the remains of what constituted at one time Branhholme Town. A little further north stood the chapel, and the old graveyard is now a large mound. About a mile and a half to the west of the hall is a wooded prominence known as the Castle Hill, to which reference has been made, as the distance to which Branhholme Avenue extended. The Hall is occupied by his Grace's Chamberlain, W. Elliott Lockhart, Esq., of Borthwick Brae, who represents an old county family.

To give a history of the vicissitudes Branksome, to revert to Sir Walter Scott's spelling, and the dominant Border clan Scott, have undergone, would be to give a history of the Borders certainly, if not of Scotland. I shall, therefore, be content to sketch in brief a few of the most prominent landmarks in their history.

The earliest authentic mention of Branksome is to be found in the reign of King Robert the Bruce, when a portion of it, consisting of seven pounds and six pennies of the lands, was in the possession of Walter Comyn, and about the same time Henry de Baliol obtained a grant of the remainder. At the time when our story, so to speak, begins, the lands were held by the family of Inglis, who found their possession not altogether enviable from the inroads of English reivers. Negotiations were entered into with Sir Robert Scott, of Rankilburn and Murthockston, in 1420, in order to effect an exchange for Branksome. Sir Robert expressed his willingness to enter into an arrangement of this kind, and obtained half of the estates by the partial exchange of Murthockston, situated in Lanarkshire. In 1446 his son, Sir Walter Scott, who was first designated Buccleuch, obtained possession of the remaining half by the exchange of Murthockston in its entirety. This nobleman, in completing the bargain, is credited with making the significant remark that "The Cumberland cattle are as good as those in Teviotdale;" but I have heard the

saying worded in a more pithy form as "English nowte are as guid as Scotch," and this comes nearer the language of the period. Branksome then became the principal residence of Buccleuch, or Buckcleugh, the old orthography, and it is with the name of Scott that the castle will ever be associated. The lands of Branksome, it may be stated, originally formed part of the barony of Hawick, an ancient possession of the Douglasses, hence Drumlanrig Castle referred to; but we find in 1488 Branksome itself was erected into a barony (Edinburgh, 21st May, *temp.* James III.). It is rather a curious circumstance, and one worth noting, that for a certain time, simultaneously, three families, whose names represented three different nationalities, namely, Inglis, Scott, and Ireland, held lands bordering on each other, Ireland's being the old domain of Langlands.

The Scotts were popularly called the "Bold" Buckcleughs, it having been the custom to designate families according to their popular characteristics, as the "Doughty" Douglasses, the "Gallant" Grahams, the "Gay" Gordons, the "Light" Lindsays, and so on. Such deeds as making the Lords of Parliament prisoners at Stirling, which Buccleuch and Lord Claud Hamilton had the hardihood to do, the former's troopers seizing all the horses in Stirling, by the force of habit evidently, and thus preventing pursuit, entitle the Scotts to the designation of "Bold."

Like most of our great historical houses, the origin of the Buccleuch family is involved in much of what is supposition. "A true History of several families of the right Honourable name of Scott," by Captain Walter Scott (of Satchells),

An old soldier and no scholler,
And ane that can write nane
But just the letters of his name,

in metre, pretends to give an authentic account of the foundation of the house. According to this authority, the family was founded by one John Scot, who, accompanied by Walter English, came from Galloway, and took up his residence in Ettrick Forest in the reign of Kenneth III., who ascended the throne in 970. The story is unfolded in this fashion :

King Kenneth then a-hunting came,
To the Cakra-cross he did resort.

A buck having been raised, it turned on the hounds, when Scot came on the scene and caught him by the horns.

Alive he cast him on his back,
Or any man came there,
And to the Cakra-cross did trot
Against the hill a mile and mair.

For this gallant deed Scot obtained Buckcleugh, and his companion, Wat English, Bellanden. This would be in the tenth century, and

The lands of Buckcleugh they did possess
300 years ere they had writ or wax.

The Anglo-Saxon word, "cleugh" may be defined to be a fissure or opening in a height, a glen, or valley, narrowed by impending declivities on either side. Selkirkshire has no fewer than thirty-two cleughs. The glen of Rankilburn, the original habitat of the family of Scott, extends seven miles in length from its head to its junction with the river Ettrick at Cacrabank. Old Rankilburn, or Buckcleugh manor-house, was situated on a rising ground at the junction of the Buckcleugh and Rankil burns. Captain Scot, of Satchells, who was born in 1613, and wrote his metrical history of the "Name of Scott" when seventy-three years of age, had met with a Mr. Launcelot Scot at Burgh-under-Bowness (?), who, in reference to the origin of Buckcleugh, Satchells says :

He told me the name, the place, the cote,
Came all by the hunting of the buck.

* * * * *

In Scotland no Buckcleugh was then
Before the buck in the cleugh was slain.

* * * * *

Night's-men at first they did appear,
Because moon and stars to their arms bears,
Their crest, supporters, and hunting-horn,
Show their beginning from hunting came.

Uncouth and somewhat mythical as Satchells' "Name of Scott" must be regarded, Sir Walter Scott has received the idea of one of his most effective scenes in "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" from it—I refer to the scene in Melrose Abbey at the Wizard Sir Michael Scot's grave. The Launcelot Scot referred to takes Satchells to his residence at Burgh-under-Bowness, the latter saying :

He carried me along into the castle then,
And shewed his (Sir Michael's) written book hanging
on a pin ;

His writing pen did seem to me to be
 Of hardened metal, like steel or accumie ;
 The volume of it did seem so large to me
 As the book of martyrs and Turks' historie ;
 Then in the church he let me see
 A stone where Mr. Michael Scot did lie.
 I ask'd at him how that could appear,
 Mr. Michael had been dead above five hundred year.
 He shew'd me none durst bury under that stone,
 More than he had been dead a year ago ;
 For Mr. Michael's name does terrifie each one
 That vulgar people dare scarce look on the stone.

* * * * *

A book he gave to me called Mr. Michael's creed.

* * * * *

He said that the book which he gave to me
 Was Mr. Michael Scot's historie,
 Which historie was never yet read through,
 Nor never will, for no man dare it do.

It will be noticed that the poet calls the wizard Mr. Michael, but he is historically known as Sir Michael. Sir Walter Scott identifies him with Sir Michael Scott of Balwearie, who was one of the ambassadors sent to bring home the Maid of Norway, on the death of Alexander III. His renown was widely spread, for Dante mentions him in his *Inferno*.

Another piece of fine description the great bard and novelist has also borrowed from the following lines of Satchells, which I quote, because they will serve to illustrate the customs of the chiefs of Buckcleugh :

The barons of Buckcleugh they kept at their call
 Four-and-twenty gentlemen in their hall ;
 All being of his name and kin,
 Each two had a servant to wait on them.
 Before supper and dinner most renowned
 The bells did ring, and the trumpets sound,
 And more than that I do confess,
 They kept four-and-twenty pensioners ;
 Think not I lie, nor do I blame,
 For the pensioners I can all name.

Of these, twenty-three were of the name of Scott, and the twenty-fourth was Walter Gladstones, of Whitlaw, an ancestor, probably, of the late Premier of England.

Every pensioner a room did gain.

By a "room" is here meant a piece of ground or farm sufficient to accommodate and maintain a family, but many of these "rooms" were very extensive. Satchells says : "It was known to many in the country, better than it is to me, that the rents of these lands which the lords of Buccleuch freely bestowed upon

their friends will amount to above 12,000 or 14,000 merks a year."

On acquiring Branksome, St. Mary's Church in Hawick became the sepulchre of the Buccleuchs, and on their visits to the town the ducal family regularly visit the ancestral aisle.

Satchells narrates that Sir Walter Scott, Lord of Branksome and Buckleugh 1549-1574, being desirous of seeing the old tombstones of the family at the kirk in the Forest of Rankilburn, visited there in 1556. Amongst many others he discerned one stone that had the ancient coat-of-arms on it, that is to say, two crests, and a mullet borne on a counter scarf, with a hunting-horn in the field, supported by a heart of grace, alias a hound, and a buck, and a buck's head torn from the crest, which, Satchells adds, only seem possible to have been derived from hunters and foresters.

This author, it may be interesting to note, accompanied to Holland as a soldier, in 1629, Lord Walter, who was created first Earl of Buckleugh by James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England, in 1613. The earl's father, also Lord Walter, had under his banner also carried over a regiment, composed chiefly of the most desperate of Border troopers, to the Netherlands, forming probably the first of the celebrated Scots Hollanders, where he served under the famous general, Maurice, Prince of Orange, and for his great merit and many faithful services had been created, also by James VI., Lord Scott of Buckleugh (*Douglas's Peerage*, p. 103).

The poet, fortified by the statements of Mr. Launcelot Scot, has, as we have seen, made John Scot, the hunter and forester of Ettrick, the "Rudolph of his race," but his "historie" must be received with caution, although his contention that the founder of the house obtained his living by the chase may be readily admitted. The more modern arms of the house indicate this, being, in ordinary language, a heart with a sash crossed from left to right, on which there are two crescents and stars in the centre. Surmounting this is a stag trippant, with branching horns, below being the motto "Amo." However long anterior to the thirteenth century the Scots were in possession of Rankilburn or Buckcleugh—and it might be the "300 years without writ

or wax" of Satchells, which would tally—and this certainly appears to be more than an ordinary coincidence—it is certain their rights to that estate and Murthockston were fully recognised in that century. In the light of modern research many genealogical fables have disappeared. Not so the Buccleuch genealogy—if we except the 300 years more than once referred to—for by genuine documents the great historical house of Buccleuch can be traced in unbroken line for at least six centuries, and is found at that remote period in possession of a portion of the lands they now hold. By the courtesy of his Grace of Buccleuch's chamberlain, resident at Branxholme, I had access to the now celebrated "Buccleuch Book," compiled by Mr. William Fraser, and the following is an authentic genealogical table of the representatives of the house :

1. Richard Scott, First Lord of Rankilburn and Murthockston, *circa* 1265—1320.
2. Sir Michael Scott, Knight, Second Lord of Rankilburn and Murthockston, 1320—1346.
3. Robert Scott, Third Lord of Rankilburn and Murthockston, 1346—1389.
4. Sir Walter Scott, Fourth Lord of Rankilburn and Murthockston, 1389—1402.
5. Robert Scott, Fifth Lord of Rankilburn and Murthockston, 1402—1426.
6. Sir Walter Scott, Knight, First designated Lord of Buccleuch, Sixth and last Baron of Murthockston, 1426—1469.
7. David Scott of Buccleuch, Branxholm, and Kirkurd, 1468—1491. (Sat in Parliament as Dominus de Buccleuch, 1487.)
David Scott, Younger, of Buccleuch, *circa* 1450—1484. (Died before his father, leaving Sir Walter, his son, heir to the latter's grandfather.)
8. Sir Walter Scott, Knight, of Buccleuch, Branxholm, and Kirkurd, 1492—1504.
9. Sir Walter Scott, Knight, of Buccleuch, 1504—1552.
10. Sir William Scott, of Kirkurd, Knight, Younger, of Buccleuch, *circa* 1520—1552. (Died a few months before his father, Sir Walter. By a charter on record, dated February 25, 1548, the King grants to Sir William Scott, of Kirkurd, ancestor of the house of Buccleuch, the lands of Abingtown, Phanholm, and Glentonan Craig, in Lanarkshire, for the faithful services rendered by him in the defeat of the Douglas at Arkinholme.)
11. Sir Walter Scott, Knight, of Buccleuch and Branxholm, 1549—1574. (Succeeded heir to Sir Walter 1554.)
12. Sir Walter Scott, of Buccleuch, Knight, 1565—1611. (Created Lord Scott of Buccleuch in 1606.)
13. Walter, First Earl of Buccleuch, 1587—1633.
14. Francis, Second Earl of Buccleuch, 1626—1651.
15. Lady Mary Scott, Countess of Buccleuch, 1647—1661.
16. Walter Scott, of Highchesters, Earl of Tarras, husband of Mary, 1644—1693.
17. Lady Anna Scott, Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, 1651—1732. (This lady was created Duchess of Buccleuch in her own right, the Duke of Monmouth, her husband, being the first Duke.)
18. James, Earl of Dalkeith, K.T., 1674—1705. (Son of Anna, Duchess of Buccleuch, died 27 years previous to her demise.)
19. Francis, Second Duke of Buccleuch, K.T., 1695—1751. (Grandson of Lady Anna.)
20. Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, 1721—1750.
21. Henry (grandson of Francis, Second Duke), Third Duke of Buccleuch and Fifth Duke of Queensberry, K.G., 1746—1812. (Succeeding to the latter title in 1810. Francis, the Second Duke of Buccleuch, had married Lady Jane Douglas, second daughter of the Second Duke of Queensberry, and the direct line of Queensberry having failed, the title reverted to Lady Jane's grandson, Henry.)
22. Charles William Henry, Fourth Duke of Buccleuch and Sixth Duke of Queensberry, 1772—1819.
23. Walter Francis, Fifth Duke of Buccleuch and Seventh Duke of Queensberry, 1806—1884.
24. William Henry Walter, Sixth and present Duke of Buccleuch and Eighth Duke of Queensberry, 1884. (Born September 9, 1831, married, in 1859, Lady Louisa Hamilton, third daughter of the First Duke of Abercorn.)

It will have been noted that the third, fifth, and seventh chiefs of the house do not bear the title of "Sir," although their predecessors do. The reason of this I cannot tell, and Mr. William Fraser does not give them. It will also be noted that succession dates are given in the first instances, and birth dates in the latter.

Branksome was thrice burned. First by the Earl of Northumberland in 1532, when the lands were also devastated. Buccleuch had evidently been putting the Wardens of the English Border to their wits' end, for Lord Grey, in a letter to the Duke of Somerset, dated Alnwick, January 27, 1548, states that "he and the other Wardens think nothing is to be done at Branksome except the winning of the castle, and that is impracticable without cannon." Accordingly, Sir Ralph Eure and Brian Laboun stormed it severely in 1552, but did not demolish it. They, however, burnt the barmekyn, which was a strong enclosure near or attached to the castle, and they carried away an immense

booty, including six hundred oxen and as many sheep.

On the day of the assassination of the Regent Murray, in 1569, Buccleuch and Ker of Fairnirist burst into England and devastated the northern frontiers. Reprisals for this invasion were made in the following year by the Earl of Sussex, when the advice of Lord Grey was effectively carried into execution, the walls of the castle being completely rent asunder by gunpowder. The incursion of this general was characterized by the most unmerciful acts, fifty castles and three hundred villages having been left in ruins by him. Lord Hounsdon, who accompanied the expedition, describes Branksome in a letter to Cecil, Lord Burleigh, as "a very strong place and well set, having very pleasant gardens and orchards about it."

After its total destruction, Sir Walter, the eleventh in descent from the historical founder of the house, began the erection of a new castle on the site of the old in the following year; but he did not live to see its completion, making his will at Hawick on April 11, 1574, "sick in body, but hail in spirit," and dying there a few days afterwards. His widow, however, Lady Margaret Douglas, continued the work, and finished it in 1576. Two stones, bearing the arms of Buccleuch and Douglas, are still on the north wall of the castle, recording the initiation and completion of the building by Sir Walter Scott and Lady Margaret Douglas, his spouse. The following is the inscription over the closed arched doorway in the wall referred to, which has been jealously protected, and can be easily read, the letters being in old English :

En . world . is . nocht . nature . hes . wrought .
 Dat . sal . last . ay .
 Therefore . serbe . God . keip . weil . ye . rod . thy .
 fame . sal . nocht . decay .

Schir Walter Scott, of Margaret Douglas,
 Branksheim, 1571.
 knight.

Around the stone bearing the arms of Buccleuch above this door, which was evidently the original entrance, are the words :

Sir W. Scott umq of Branksheim, Ingt Soe of Sir
 Sir William Scott of Kirkurd Ingt begane ye
 work upon ye 24 of Marche, 1571, pier quha
 depairtit at God's pleisour ye 17 April, 1574, etc.

On a similar copartment to that of the Buccleuch stone are sculptured the arms of Douglas, with this inscription :

Dame Margaret Douglas, his spous, compleittit the
 forsaid work in October, 157[6].

No article on the house of Scott would be complete without some reference to the Buccleuch banner, of which the following is a slight sketch. The lands of Bellanden having been acquired by the Lord of Rankilburn from an abbot of Melrose, the manor of Bellanden became the rendezvous of the Scotts of Buccleuch when they were preparing for battle or Border raids, the spot being considered central for the gathering of the clan from Ettrick, Kirkurd, and Murthockston. Such gatherings are described in the following graphic lines :

Whitslade, the Hawk, and Headshaw came,
 And warriors more than I may name;
 From Yarrow-cleugh to Hindhaugh-swaire,
 From Woohouslie to Chester-glen,
 Trooped man and horse, and bow and spear,
 Their gathering word was Bellanden.

The Bellanden banner is still preserved amongst the trophies of the Buccleuch family. It bears the stars and crescents, with a stag trippant, surmounted by an earl's coronet, and the words "A Bellandaine" on a field azure. It is probably, however, only the facsimile of a more ancient one that had been carried in many a Border foray. In 1815 it became the subject of a poetical competition between Sir Walter Scott and James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, when the former's poem, entitled "The Lifting of the Banner of the House of Buccleuch at a Great Football Match on Carterhaugh," carried off the palm. The following is the chorus of Sir Walter's song, in which it will be seen that he, as well as Satchells, places the founding of the house long anterior to the thirteenth century, "ages" being used in the sense of centuries :

Then up with the banner, let forest winds fan her,
 She has blazed over Ettrick eight ages and more;
 In sport we'll attend her, in battle defend her
 With heart and with hand, like our fathers before.

As a note of historical interest, it may be mentioned that the old "hanging-tree"—an ash—standing close to the castle on the north side, on which many a Southern reiver gave up the ghost, and which was regarded with some awe by the peasantry of the locality, was

nearly destroyed on the morning of August 2, 1882, the trunk having snapped about 30 feet from the top. Owing to the fall of various limbs previously, the tree was somewhat lopsided, and it is thought that the weight of leaves may possibly have brought it down, as only a slight breeze was blowing at the time. About 40 or 50 feet of the trunk and a few branches now remain.

JAMES B. S. STORREY.



The Excavations at Cranborne Chase.

GENERAL PITT RIVERS has accomplished a monumental work. He has excavated scientifically a most important site, and he has recorded the results in a manner which cannot be too warmly praised. Moreover, the magnificent volume in which his results are published is "to be followed by others of the same kind." Certainly no other archæologist has done so well and promised so much as the Inspector of Ancient Monuments, and his work has the effect of bringing English on a par with Continental research both in its thoroughness and its method. We venture to say this much of the magnificent volume before us, because it is due to our readers; to the distinguished author himself it is far from being what ought to be said, because we recognise the hand of a master from whom we are content to learn, and to such a master we should not presume to offer words even of praise.*

* We are tempted to make one more personal observation, because really the facts are curious and important. While one great landed proprietor, General Pitt Rivers, is spending a princely income in the furtherance of archæological research, the training and salaried employment of skilled assistants, the building and arrangement of a museum (which we are glad to note is much appreciated by the rural working-class population), another great landed proprietor, Lord Grimthorpe, is spending a princely income in destroying one of England's grandest monuments, St. Albans Cathedral. Anyone visiting this almost unique church must feel bitter pangs of unavailing sorrow at the hideous ravages committed here in the name of restoration and art!

On the southern slopes of the Wiltshire downs large tracts had retained their original forest character, and had been untouched by the plough, and Cranborne Chase, with its somewhat barbarous rights and privileges, extended over the whole area of county between Salisbury on the east and Blandford on the west, Sanley and Tisbury on the north, and Fordingbridge and Ringwood on the south. Since 1830, when the Chase was disafforested, some of this territory has been utilized for agriculture, but much of the land round Rushmore still retains all the beauty of its original forest scenery.

Within this untouched area, archaic in its topographical aspect by an almost unbroken line of descent from the primitive forest which sheltered the first tribes who inhabited Britain, exist many tumuli and other vestiges of antiquity still uninjured, save by the roots of trees, which are often found to have done much damage to the fragile urns and skulls contained in them. Here General Pitt Rivers has investigated, and he has revealed a wonderful chapter in the history of the Romanized Britons. In the West of England, he says, where the Roman colonized less frequently, and in ancient villages and farmsteads upon the Wiltshire hills, remote from the great centres of Roman occupation, the evidence that we are dealing with a genuine Briton, when the associated remains are such as to show that he had lived during the Roman period, becomes fairly reliable. The importance of the investigation as evidence of the condition and physical peculiarities of the Romanized Britons is in an inverse proportion to the importance of the site in which the remains are found, and in the ancient villages which form the subject of this memoir there can be little doubt that we have to do with Britons of the latest period of the Roman dominion or that which immediately succeeded it, a race about whom less is known to anthropologists than of those which preceded and followed it.

The people who were buried in the pits and ditches of these Romano-British villages were a remarkably small race, the males of which do not exceed 5 feet 2·6 inches in height, and the females 4 feet 10·9 inches. Whether these are the survivors of the neolithic population which, after being

driven westward by successive races of Celts and others, continued to exist in the out-of-the-way parts of this region up to Roman times, for which hypothesis the crouched position of the interments and their markedly dolichocephalic and hyperdolichocephalic skulls appear to afford some justification ; or whether they are simply the remnants of a larger race of Britons deteriorated by slavery and reduced in stature by the drafting of their largest men into the Roman legions abroad, for which hypothesis the comparatively large size of the females may perhaps be taken as evidence, cannot at present be thoroughly decided. When other evidence from similarly situated districts is forthcoming, archæology may perhaps be able to give a sufficiently decisive answer. In the meantime we point out how these Rushmore discoveries have supplied the keynote to some future researches.

The Romano-British village on Woodcuts Common is the first site of General Pitt Rivers' excavations. This place was first brought to notice by Mr. Austen, in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, vol. xxiv., and the notice was reproduced in Warnes' *Ancient Dorset*. But these earlier excavations, though satisfactory as far as they went, failed to discover anything like the most important part of the ancient site. General Pitt Rivers has, on the contrary, brought to light ninety-five pits, boundaries of east, north-east, and south-east quarters to the camp, hypocausts and human remains, and relics of all sorts, which had probably been dropped by their owners on the surface and trampled into the soil, in addition to what was previously discovered. It will be seen at once that the difference between a casual and a thorough examination supplies just that amount of evidence which is sufficient to determine the main characteristics of the early settlement. And it may be conjectured that if other famous sites, Stonehenge, for example, with its suspicious story of a Roman coin being found *underneath* one of the stones, were as scientifically examined, for their *negative* as well as for their positive evidence, much futile controversy might be avoided.

It is curious that the position of the remains can enable the explorer even now to detect that the *west end* of the village turned

out to be the "fashionable" end, for it was found that all the superior class of relics were found in the north-west quarter and its surrounding ditches. But what of all this fashionable life when the final moment came ? It was swept away from the pages of history until archæology has restored some part of the tale, whereby we learn that the curious grouping of the skeletons in the main ditch, and the certain mark of a deep sword-cut in the head of a child-skeleton, leads to the conclusion that a massacre of the people took place after the Romans had occupied the village.

The massacre left for us of this age some of the signs which indicate the old life which had been going on at this spot, and to these we must turn our attention. Among the brooches and bronze and silver gilt fibulæ found at this village are included some with studs of blue and yellow enamel or glass ; a bronze gilt brooch with spiral spring pin, representing a shield with its boss, and ornamented with a line of incised crosses in a groove round the circumference ; a bronze fibula without pin, beautifully ornamented on the upper part of the bow with two rows of zig-zag pattern, flanked by two rows of raised bands ; a bronze fibula with hinge pin, ornamented with five grooves on the bow, the centre one of which is finely chased with cross hatching : it is beautifully patinated, and has a trace of gilding at one point ; a bronze fibula of peculiar construction, the bow of which is rounded and ornamented with a band in the centre—the back part of the bow is enlarged in a cup-shaped form to cover the upper part of the spiral spring, of which the pin forms a continuous portion, and the form appears to serve as a connecting link between the simple safety-pin and the hinge-pin fibula ; a bronze tinned fibula of remarkable form, the back of which is formed into a cylindrical tube which contains the spiral spring, and has a hole at the bottom for the exit of the pin, which is continuous with the spiral ; a mosaic brooch, ornamented on its upper surface with two concentric bands of the finest mosaic work, the outer band consisting of squares of red, blue and white chequer, alternating with squares of white mosaic, having a star of blue mosaic in the centre of each, the inner band being of squares of red, white and blue

chequer, with intervening spaces of turquoise-blue mosaic, and the top of the central knob or boss being ornamented with a circular disc of dark-blue enamel—the central broad ring immediately beneath the boss is apparently of black or dark-blue enamel; portion of a coloured glass ring, with two yellow spiral bands; several objects of the toilet, including bronze ear-picks, tweezers, etc.; a bronze object in the form of a double fish-hook, similar to some found in the Swiss Lake dwellings; iron knives, padlocks, lock plates, keys, iron edge of a wooden spade, horses' and oxen's shoes, axes, spuds, pothooks, centrebits, styli, sickles, ox-goad, remains of bucket, nails. Pottery of almost all sorts and shapes was found, some of it rough and quite plain, other pieces ornamented, among which may be mentioned a magnificent Samian bowl, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, the ornamentation consisting of a horizontal band of festoon and tassel pattern, beneath which are figures in relief, probably representing Hercules and Mercury, on either side of which are vertical bead lines representing the shafts of pillars with the capitals, and between the capitals a festoon is suspended, above which is a boar and a small figure beneath it and between its legs, representing a warrior in armour, with a shield and a sword, in an attitude of combat. Spindle whorls and other implements of deer-horn, pot-handles and lathe cores of Kimmeridge shale, stone querns and mortars, fragments of painted plaster of interior of houses, fragments of daub and wattle work, perhaps indicating the buildings of the rich and poorer quarters, are other objects which are of importance in determining the historical importance of this excavation. A great number of Roman coins and British imitations must also be specially mentioned.

It is impossible to do more than thus enumerate some of the more remarkable objects which have been brought to light, but in the volume itself they are placed most advantageously for the student. In the first place there is a "relic table," a very important feature of all General Pitt Rivers' diggings. By these tables one is able to gauge by comparison the importance of each group of finds. They are not only duly recorded in individual detail, but with reference to their associated

objects. In addition to this, the student is further helped by plans and sections showing the locality, direction, and extent of each excavation, and by drawings of the more important objects and interments. In every way the requirements of the archaeological science seem to have been studiously supplied.

It is, perhaps, impossible to do more than roughly conclude what a lesson this settlement teaches about that period of darkness between the decline of the Roman power and the incoming of the Saxons. Romanized Britons undoubtedly lived here for a time in some sort of security, but there is nothing to tell of *power* held by them. It is a refugee settlement hid in the woods, not a dominating force holding its own against the invaders, and ultimately influencing these very invaders in their mode of life and settlement. How very instructive such a record as this is may perhaps be some day possible to relate at length, when the example of General Pitt Rivers shall have been followed over a more extensive area. In the meantime we must acknowledge the beginning of a new chapter in British history, produced by a scientific method of archaeological research—a method which takes note of the smallest detail of the place of finding; the association and distribution of objects; the detailed description, measurement and composition of each find.



The Drake Family.



THE present paper is devoted to a correction of an historical error in respect of the Drake family, and to a description of the fortunes of two sisters during the Civil War. The distinguished ladies referred to were the daughters of Sir John Butler, a baronet of James I.'s time, subsequently created Baron Butler of Bramfield. The marriage of Jane, the first to be noticed, introduces us at once into the domestic history of Sir James Ley, of Teffont Ewyas, in Wilts, the first Earl of Marlborough, "that good Earl," as John Milton styles him, "once President of England's Council and her Treasury." The

mother of the Earl's children was Mary, daughter of John Petty, Esq., of Stoke-Talmage, in the county of Oxford; but he married twice after her decease, his third wife being the aforesaid Lady Jane Butler. After his own death, in 1628, his widow became the wife of William Ashburnham, M.P. for Ludgershal, in Wilts, an ardent Royalist; and was, as a matter of course, involved in the ruinous sequestrations which overtook his party in 1646, and subsequently. We gather from Milton's sonnet aforesaid that the Earl of Marlborough had died of a broken heart at the blow which fell on the prospects of English liberty by the dissolution of Charles's third Parliament; and the poet's intimacy with Lady Margaret Ley, the Earl's daughter, may be accepted, we presume, as furnishing him with ample authority for the statement. This fact, then, being admitted, we may further premise that the political sentiments of the Countess's second husband were of a totally opposite complexion to those of her first husband. This we may do without casting any reflection on her judgment; for actual warfare had not yet marshalled the combatants under their respective banners; still she had to bear the consequences. When the war broke out, it is conjectured she quitted her Wiltshire residence at Tidworth, and sought the protection of the royal forces in Exeter and other strongholds in the west; but when the west was subjugated, and her husband fled the realm, she suffered the personal indignity of arrest, and was even placed under confinement in London, as bail for her husband's appearance. We thus pass at once to the spring of 1647, when the first war having come to a close, the Sequestrators sitting in Goldsmith's Hall were adjusting the compositions of the vanquished Royalists. Her first application to that body is thus recorded:

"Jane, Countess Dowager of Marlborough, petitioned at Goldsmith's Hall, March 20, 1647, stating that she had long expected the return of her husband, William Ashburnham, for whose sake her estate was sequestered, that he might prosecute a composition; but his infirmities of health restraining him, her own necessities have enforced her to make her addresses unto the Hon. Committee, acknowledging that her husband had been

actually engaged in this unhappy war against the Parliament. She is seized of a freehold for life in the manor of South Tidworth, annual value £200; lands in North Tidworth, £14 6s. 8d.; a coppice in Chute Forest, in Wilts, £6 13s. 4d.; messuages and lands called Sandyhaven, in Pembroke-shire, now in the occupation of Miles Button, worth £300 a year; but the chief house there and the mill are burnt down, and the lands lie waste. Her goods at Tidworth House have all been taken away, to the value of £20,000. She owes to divers persons £2,000."

The next document is from the *Lords' Journals*, ix. 590:

"The Right. Hon. Jane, Countess Dowager of Marlborough, desiring to be admitted to compound for her jointure by her former husband, according to the articles of Exeter, and having a pass from Sir Thomas Fairfax, the Commissioners at Goldsmith's Hall, proceeding to cast up her fine, did rate the same at one year's value, as for life, £521; and order the same to be reported to both Houses before she be required to pay it."—(*Abridged.*)

In this condition of anxious expectancy we must leave her ladyship for the present, and revert to the story of her sister Ellen. This lady had married Sir John Drake, of Ashe, in Devon, who died in 1636, about five years before the war broke out, leaving a numerous family, one of whom, Elizabeth, married Sir Whinston Churchill, of Standish, in Gloucestershire, and thus became mother of the renowned John, Duke of Marlborough. By some of his biographers, the Duke is said to have been born at Ashe; though by this we are not to understand the paternal mansion of Ashe, for at the time of his birth, namely, in 1650, that fabric, as we shall see hereafter, was lying in ruins.

The Drakes (like nearly all the families of naval celebrity) went in roundly for the Parliament, and grievously they suffered in consequence, so long as the royal cause was dominant in the western counties. The crushing policy put in action against the various branches of the house of Drake to which the King lent himself may be partly gathered from *Clarendon's History*. The *Commons' Journals* and the *Composition*

Papers reveal the rest. In the summer of 1645 the King placed under temporary confiscation the entire estate of Sir Francis Drake, of Worrington, handing it over to Sir Richard Granville, the Sheriff of Devon, who thereby acquired Buckland Monachorum, near Plymouth, besides the family seat at Worrington, near Launceston, which he made his own residence. This Sir Francis Drake, M.P. for Beeralston, was the nephew and representative of the renowned admiral bearing the same name. His wife, Joan, who was a daughter of Sir William Strode, appears to have had a separate estate of her own. This also was wrecked by the Royalists, the language of the *Commons' Journals* when, on October 29, 1644, the House voted her a gift of £100 for her present necessities, describing her as having been "despoiled of her whole estate for her good affections to the Parliament." About the same time Lord Pawlet, of Somerset, signalized his zeal in the King's behalf by visiting his neighbours, the Drakes of Ashe, who were of the same way of thinking as their kinsfolk at Worrington. Having gotten possession of the person of John Drake, the youthful heir of the house, and sent him off to Exeter as a prisoner of war, Lord Pawlet set fire to the mansion of Ashe, and thus drove the widowed Lady Ellen Drake and her family out of the county. She fled to London as her only resource, being (to quote again the language of the *Commons' Journals*) "totally ruined and undone." On her case being laid before the House, there was assigned to her for her present occupation the furnished house of Sir Thomas Reynolds, in the Strand, a hundred pounds being at the same time presented to her from the fund at Haberdashers' Hall, and £5 a week provisionally ordered for her support from the Middlesex and Westminster sequestrations; while the Camsden House Committee made a further grant for additional household furniture. It is satisfactory to be able to add that when the hour of retributive justice arrived, and Lord Pawlet's own estate fell beneath the power of the sequestrators, the sum of fifteen hundred pounds, arising out of his rents, was ordered to be paid over to Lady Ellen Drake as satisfaction for her losses. See the *Commons' Journals*, March 22, 1647-8.

It is not to be supposed that the above grants cancelled, by a long way, Lady Ellen's losses, though likely enough it was all she got in a pecuniary shape; for it was impossible for the Parliament to ordain compensation in full to all their suffering friends; and if any solatium was awarded to her son in consideration of his wrongful captivity, we may conclude that it came to him in the form of remunerative service.

His capture and detention at Exeter as prisoner of war had, of course, been a sore aggravation of the calamity which overtook the family when they had to quit the smoking ruins of the ancestral home and fly to London; and an incident connected with that affair must here be recorded, which will have its value in the issue to be presently reached. It will be remembered that Lady Ellen's sister, the Countess of Marlborough, was resident in the garrison of Exeter till its surrender to Fairfax, and that consequently she must have been there when young Drake was brought in prisoner. It was but natural that she should be implored to use her influence with the Royalist commanders to effect his liberation; and with this view, therefore, she made application to Prince Maurice, then in secondary command, but met with a direct refusal on the following singular ground: The Parliament's forces were then on their triumphant march of the autumn of 1645, and grave fears began to be entertained by the Royalists that the control of the western counties would soon change hands. "Now," says Maurice to the Lady Marlborough, "if I were to release your nephew, one of the consequences will be that my friend Lord Pawlet's house in Somersetshire will most certainly be burnt down; for Drake has openly declared that as soon as he regains his liberty he will retaliate on that lord by procuring that the same form of ruin shall befall his estate as he has himself inflicted on the house at Ashe."

This circumstance comes out in the papers recording the examination of Lady Marlborough before the London sequestrators; but there is no evidence, that we are aware of, to show that the young man put his threat of vengeance into execution. The fact is, that Fairfax's arrival on the scene of action, while it released Mr. Drake from

captivity, put a stop at the same time to all irregular action of that nature. For though house-burning, and town-burning too, had been a favourite pastime with the Royalists throughout the war, such methods of treating England as a foreign and a conquered country were sternly repressed by the Parliament. Nevertheless, such has been the long-cherished creed among heraldic writers in favour of royalism, that whenever a family tradition exists of losses incurred during the civil war, the outrage is, as a matter of course, placed to the credit of Cromwellians, and the tradition is thus actually made to do duty for the wrong party. Take for example the narrative of the affair now under consideration, namely, the destruction of the mansion at Ashe, as given in Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetage*. There we are told that Sir John Drake, the second baronet, in the time of Charles II., "rebuilt the mansion house at Ashe, which had been burnt and demolished by the rebels in the civil wars."

It is quite time that this matter of house-burning should be adjusted on a credible historical basis. True it is that many such instances occurred; but they were, almost without exception, the work of the Royalists, and were frequently perpetrated quite independently of the accidents or exigences of war. This is not a statement loosely made, but is the result of a pretty close and prolonged investigation of the recorded facts. Prince Rupert, a ruthless foreigner, and one who acquired the sobriquet of Prince Robber, first set the example by burning Cirencester and Marlborough, and devastating Fawley Court, belonging to Bulstrode Whitelock. Then followed the destruction of Bridgnorth, unhousing 300 families, and consuming £90,000 worth of property. Wooburn, in Bedfordshire, was treated in like manner in 1645; and in the year following, the combined towns of Great Faringdon and Westbrook, in Berkshire, were burnt, to the value of £56,976, as appraised by judges of assize at Reading. These afflictions, together with the sack of Leicester, the Parliament endeavoured from time to time to mitigate by the action of a "Committee of Burnings," and by ordaining public contributions for the sufferers, to be made either throughout

the realm or in a group of counties; but what Royalist historian, we would ask, has ever condescended to record the facts? As the above statements constitute a very serious charge against the King's party, the following unimpeachable authorities shall here be added. In respect of Leicester, see the *Lords' Journals*, vii. 665; the Bridgnorth affair, *Ibid.* ix. 657; Great Faringdon, *Ibid.* x. 485; consult also the contemporary *Commons' Journals*.

A word must be said, in conclusion, respecting the two families with whom we began. The Ashburnhams, as we know, basked in the sunshine of the Restoration; nor did the Drakes, on the other hand, fail to share in those favours which the restored monarch was ready to extend to the more wealthy of his ancient foes. John Drake not only found himself able to re-edify the family mansion at Ashe, he was even pricked as one of the Knights of the Royal Oak for the county of Devon—a projected order of knighthood, the scheme of which was eventually abandoned, probably as too flagrant an attempt to whitewash the sin of rebellion; for the list bristles with the names of Parliamentarians, including, for example, in this same county of Devon, the Northcote family, the King's most prominent opponents there at the commencement of hostilities.

J. WAYLEN.



The Marino Faliero of History.

TO the world at large the history of the Venetian Republic is far from familiar; it remains, indeed, a page still unwritten, an untilled field for the happy student yet to come—as is the case with so many histories, perhaps, for some fortunate American—to cultivate. It is from this unfamiliarity with the history of Venice and the working of its Government that has grown up the generally-accepted legend, for such it may be said to be, of Marino Faliero. In popular tradition, in the current, what may be termed the encyclopædia version of the Faliero conspiracy, we are most

circumstantially told how the young patrician, Michele Steno, having at a ducal reception insulted one of the Dogaressa's suite, received a reprimand so severe as to suggest to him the unchivalrous revenge of attaching to the Doge's chair a note, proclaiming to the world the dishonour of the young and beautiful duchess.

*Marino Falier della bella mugier,
Altri la gode e lu la mantien,*

ran the terrible accusation. Powerless to obtain redress against his insulter, the Doge is represented as seizing on the opportunity to avenge himself and, at the same time, the long-suffering people, by entering into a conspiracy with the equally-aggrieved Israel Bertuccio, captain of the Bucentaur, but at the last moment betrayed by one of the many accomplices—among them, by the way, it may be mentioned tradition has implicated, it is now proved without the smallest foundation, the architect of the Ducal Palace—the Doge meeting his death, in accordance with Byron's highly-wrought conception, at the head of the Giant's Staircase, between Sansovino's well-known statues, which, as a trifling discrepancy, it may be remarked, were not erected till hard on two centuries after the Doge's execution. Revenge for insulted honour, and that of a young and beautiful wife, noble aspirations for popular freedom, tragic and glorified ending, such is the picture which the historians have helped to build up, and which the romancists, the poets, and local tradition have popularized in true accordance with the conception (evolved from the same emotional source) of a Venice, the home of voluptuous pleasure, of spies, and bravi, and denunciations and secret murders—an operative Venice suggested to the fertile imaginations of Byron and Fenimore Cooper far more by the weirdly-romantic aspect of the city, with its crumbling palaces and slumbering canals, than by the facts of history.

Goethe has warned us of the trust we should place in the historical personages introduced by the poets into their creations. From such sources it is, perhaps, unreasonable to expect that accuracy which modern research demands.

Still, when so representative an English poet as Mr. Swinburne determines to drama-

tise once more the story of Marino Faliero, there were many reasons why he should not have again evoked the legendary figure of the Marino Faliero of Byron. For it is solely Byron's poetic creation, the conception of the aged Venetian Doge who met his fate struggling for the people's liberties; it is Byron's ideal patriot, so different from the reality of history, who forms the hero of Mr. Swinburne's tragedy of *Marino Faliero*.

Within a generation or so the students of Venetian history have succeeded in throwing much light on their past, and incidentally on an event singularly misrepresented by those historians from whom Byron drew his information; it is, therefore, sincerely to be regretted that Mr. Swinburne should have followed the older and less correct version of the Faliero conspiracy, the more so as the real Marino Faliero, the ambitious traitor executed for his unsuccessful treason to the Republic, should offer to the poet a no less inspiring study than the purely fictitious figure of a mediæval Brutus conspiring against his own order to free the people from the tyranny of those in power. Mr. Swinburne's Marino, in this direction, goes even further than Byron's hero:

Here shall be
Freedom or never in this time-weary world,
Justice, nor ever shall the sunrise know
A sight to match the morning, nor the sea
Hear from the sound of living souls on earth,
Free as her foam, and righteous as her tides,
Just, equal, artless, perfect . . .

Compare this with Byron's:

Could I free Venice and avenge my wrongs,
I had lived too long, and willingly would sleep
Next moment with my sires;

and later:

Nor will I further slave
To the o'ergrown aristocratic hydra,
The poison heads of whose envenom'd body
Have breath'd a pestilence upon us all.

What, however, are the true facts of the Marino Faliero legend, as shown by modern research? In the first place we have ample evidence that the conspiracy was dictated, if not precisely by the *personal* ambition of the aged Doge, who was an octogenarian at the time of his death, by the ambition of assuring to his family the succession of the ducal power—a dream, it may be observed, for which many other patricians suffered in the course

of the fourteenth century. Second item, the tradition of Marino's young and beautiful wife, which finds itself destroyed by the proofs that the worthy lady must have been past forty when the cruel insult on her fidelity is stated to have formed the prime motive for the Doge's conspiracy. Perhaps, however, the most conclusive evidence respecting the question of the age of the slandered Dogressa is that furnished within only a short time by the discovery and transcription, by Signor Cecchetti, of the marriage contract of Marino and Aluica Gradenigo, drawn out in 1335.* Aluica Gradenigo, Signor Cecchetti further points out, is, with her sister Caterina, named in the will of her father—the Doge Pietro Gradenigo—dated as far back as 1317. The originals of both these documents are preserved in the Venetian archives of the Frari.

With regard to the conception of Marino Faliero as a popular hero, it may be said to rest on an entire misunderstanding of the nature and spirit of the government of the Venetian Republic. From an early period in the hands of the patricians, it was the constant endeavour of the ruling powers to check the rise of any autocratic ambition among the members of their own order. Shrewd to detect the weaknesses of unchanged constitutions, the patrician governors of the Republic, to the last year of their rudely interrupted existence, watched jealously their common interests, and with them no less those of the people, and by judicious alterations fitted their practical form of government to the change of times. Marino, by his action—as others of his order before him, Querini and Tiepolo among the number—had threatened the simple working of the well-planned machine, and, condemned as a traitor, Marino died the traitor's death. It was no genuine sympathy for the wrongs of an oppressed people which led on the aged Doge to his action, still less the mere desire to avenge a personal affront. If the Venetian populace, by the shrewd tactics of their rulers, were allowed but the semblance of a right to the expression of their views, their interests were none the less wisely studied by those in power,

and at no period can it be said that the Venetians were oppressed. During those turbulent Middle Ages which saw the rise in Italy of so many democracies, Venice suffered none of the excesses to which on the mainland the democratic form of government soon fell a prey. From the failures of their neighbours, the Venetians, in their sea-girt isolation, gathered the political wisdom which gave them the fame and prosperity they enjoyed during centuries. Swift and sure, therefore, was the justice they meted out to the personal ambition they saw attended with such fatal results in the many republics of the peninsula. From an early period, liberty was enjoyed in Venice, tempered by a love of order and justice, a city administered by a republican form of government, whose members were patricians trained from their youth in the family traditions of statecraft, a system which we see in our country has produced such excellent results.

Unstudied from a modern point of view as was the history of Venice at the beginning of the century, Byron's romantic picture of Marino finds its *raison d'être* in his rejection of what he terms the "false and flippant" version of the story generally accepted, and which he wrote from Venice to Murray, to transcribe for him from Moore's "View of Italy," as "not being able to find so good an account of that business here." Byron, of course, did not fail to consult the then existing authorities; Sanudo, Laugier, Sismondi, Daru, Sandi, Navagero, and others, all of whom give us an important factor in the plot, the jealousy of Marino; on this feature, however, Byron, from a dramatic point of view, deemed it wise not to lay stress. The element of jealousy, in fact, we now know to have been the pure invention of tradition; we have seen proved indisputably that the duchess at the period of her lord's execution must have been a matron, whom scarcely any license could term "young and beautiful," still less open to the breath of scandal.*

That there is a singular absence of documentary evidence respecting the Marino plot

* By the recent research of Signor Cecchetti, we learn that the unfortunate widow of Marino eventually lost her mind; of three wills which the duchess had made, two being invalidated by the relatives on this score. The text of the valid testament, dated 1380, (the original of which is still in existence), is given at length in the *Archivio Veneto* for 1871.

* *In nomine, etc. anno ab incarnatione, etc., millesimo trecentesimo trigesimo quinto, etc.*, runs the original, transcribed at length by Signor Cecchetti. See the issue of the *Archivio Veneto* for June, 1885.

is a fact which has exercised not a little the curiosity of the modern historians. The Venetian Republic, from an early period, registered with the greatest care the minutes of its proceedings. Now, in the official acts of the Council of Ten, which have been preserved almost intact, there is absolutely nothing which directly refers either to the plot or to the condemnation of Marino. Signior Fulior* has pointed out that of the reports of the Council of Ten, volume 5 is wanting; but though this is the case, there is, curious to say, no interruption in the sequence, as volume 4 contains the reports between 1348 and 1363, and volume 6 continues from 1363 to 1374. It is suggested that the relation of the plot—which it will be remembered took place in 1355—and the evidence it elicited, sufficed to fill a complete volume, which it can be understood may easily have been lost or abstracted. This view is supported by the fact that in volume 4, which contains the events of the year 1355, no reference is to be met with relating to the affair. Romanin, in his *Documentary History of Venice*, has not hesitated to attribute this absence of any report of the Marino plot to pride on the part of the Government in admitting the culpability of their chief, hence the words *non scribatur* which are inserted. Signior Fulior, who, in his turn, has thoroughly examined the documents, is of opinion that these words, *non scribatur*, serve merely as a reference to a separate volume—presumably the missing fifth volume—and mean that no details will be given of an event of which a further account will be found elsewhere; and in support of this view he states that the formula is to be found in other portions of the register. Though a number of the reports of the tribunal of the *Quarantia Criminale* are now lost, in the fifteenth century they are known to have been intact, and at that time were examined by the Venetian chronicler, Marin Sanudo, who has left us in the form of a small volume, now preserved in the Frari archives, a species of précis of the lengthy and secret reports to which he, as a Government official, had access. From this volume we gather that, in November, 1354, several persons were imprisoned, accused of having placed various insulting

notices in the Doge's private room, the *sala caminorum** (a variation of the anonymous letter plague much in vogue in Venetian history). Foremost among the culprits arrested we meet with one Michelotti Steno, a young patrician, found guilty of having attached to the Duke's chair *multa enorma verba loquentia in vituperum domini ducis et EJUS NEPOTIS*, runs the charge. Here we have evidence, as we see by the Latin text, that the insult was not against the Doge's wife, of whom there is no mention, but against his nephew, or, as the only other possible interpretation of the word *nepotis*, his niece. It is probable, therefore, that here we come upon the actual facts on which the whole legend has been founded. As a further piece of evidence, it has been pointed out by modern critics that the too-famous lines, "*Marin Falier della bella mugier*," etc., are not in the Venetian dialect of the fourteenth century, while, an evident error, the local tradition states the Doge's wife to have been a Contarini. We have seen by documentary evidence that Marino, though his first wife was a Contarini, at a later period, but twenty years before his death, married Aluica Gradenigo.

The historical facts all point to the conspiracy of Marino as clearly having causes lying far deeper than mere personal resentment. The Venice of the fourteenth century shows us, indeed, more than one similar, but less-known, plot, in which the selfish ambition of certain patricians sought its satisfaction in the delusive promise to restore to the people their lost rights—conspiracies in which only the stern severity of the Venetian form of government saved the State from the tyranny of dictatorship.

Apart from this ill-advised and tardy ambition, which was to prove so fatal, in all other respects the Marino Faliero pictured to us as the unsuccessful hero, to whom, on the other hand, history has left no single virtue, we know to have been a worthy citizen, a faithful servant of the State, a warrior and ambassador, and, not least interesting detail, which only recent evidence has proved, a dilettante, with all the modern collector's taste for objects of art. There still exists the

* Chimneys and chimneypieces, it may be remarked, were a luxury peculiar in the Middle Ages to Venice.

* See *Archivio Veneto* for 1874; p. 100.

inventory of Marino's possessions, gathered together in the mediæval home of the Falieros, at the foot of the busy Ponte Santi Apostoli, but a few steps from the Rialto.* Five hundred years after it was penned, the stained and dingy parchment, with its formal legal enumeration of the "items" of Marino's surroundings — foremost among them the relics brought home from the East by his friend the traveller, Marco Polo—reveals to us, amidst the gatherings of an existence more than usually refined for a period as stirring as the fourteenth century, the picture of a Marino Faliero somewhat different to that of the legendary figure which stands out in our younger memories in all the lurid light cast by the poet's genius round the last ill-advised hours of a long and active life.

T. CAREW MARTIN.



Some Notes on a Parochial Guild.

IN a deed dated 1799, mention is made of a certain tenement under the name of Jesus Hall. This house, which is now used as a beershop, stands on the south side of the road opposite the principal gate of the parish church of the Blessed Mary, of Prittlewell, in the county of Essex, and is known to occupy the site of the Guild-house of the Confraternity of Jesus formerly existing in that parish. Although it has been stated by Essex historians from the time of Dr. Salmon, that certain lands were put in feoffment in the reign of the fourth Edward, for the purpose of establishing this Guild, the date of the royal license for its foundation had not been given till the present writer found the warrant in the Public Record Office, dated the 17th of Edward IV., *i.e.*, A.D. 1478. It is certain, however, that the Guild was formed some ten years or more

before this period; but being, no doubt, at first dependent upon the voluntary contributions of its members, the royal license was not required, nor until its members or benefactors had endowed it with land, which, by the statutes of mortmain, could not be held without the King's consent; nor was that ever given until after the issue of an *ad quod damnum* writ, upon which a jury was summoned to inquire whether the donation would be injurious to the rights of the Crown; and if, after due investigation, they returned, "Non est ad damnum Domini Regis et si Rex concessit," etc., etc., the royal license was usually granted, and in the present instance assumed the following form:

FROM PATENT ROLL, 17 EDWARD IV.,

P. I, M. 16.

"The King to all to whom, etc., Greeting. Know ye that we have lately understood that certain of our faithful lieges of the parish of Pritwell, in the county of Essex, being led and excited by a spirit of devotion to the love of the name of Jesus, have devotedly commenced a certain Fraternity or Guild among themselves, both of themselves and of others desiring to be of that Fraternity or Guild, and with the aid above all of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and our licence in this behalf having been requested, obtained and had, have proposed to continue the same Fraternity; [and] on behalf of our same lieges it has been most humbly supplicated to us that for the due foundation and establishment of the same Fraternity or Guild, we would deign to grant our licence in this behalf. We, assenting to the same application, of our special grace, and especially that we may subsequently become participators in so pious a work, have granted and given as much as in us is, to our beloved Thomas Montgomery, knight, and to John Lucas, clerk, Thomas Bayen, Robert Plomer, Thomas Cok of Pritwell, Thomas Eston, John Hacche, Robert Swete, John Broke, John Frye, Robert Thomson, Richard Kyrkeby, William Shethe, Thomas Wedde, Thomas Castelyn, Stephen Spotyll, Henry Spotell, Richard Tyleworth, and John Sterlyng, that they, or any of them who shall survive, shall be able to make, found, erect, ordain and establish, to the honour, glory, and exaltation of the most

* On the façade of the house can still be seen the armorial bearings of the Falier family. With regard to the inventory of Marino's collection, the transcription of the original document, dated 1350, will be found in the *Bulletino di arti e curiosità Veneziane*, 1880.

sweet name of Jesus, to whom is duly bowed every knee of celestial, terrestrial and infernal [beings,] a certain perpetual Fraternity or Guild of one Master and two Wardens, persons ecclesiastical or secular, and other persons of either sex whomsoever, desiring to be of that Fraternity or Guild, at present admitted or henceforth forever to be admitted Brethren and Sisters of the same Fraternity or Guild, in the Parish Church of the Blessed Mary of Pritwell in the County of Essex, to endure for all future times ; and that the same Master and Wardens and Brethren and Sisters, shall be able to augment the same Fraternity or Guild, as often as and whenever it shall hereafter seem to them necessary and opportune ; and every year on the feast of Corpus Christi or within the octaves of the same, they shall be able to elect and make from themselves one Master and two Wardens to support the burdens of the affairs touching or concerning the said Fraternity or Guild, and to rule and govern the same."

Then follow the usual clauses as to incorporation and a common seal, and their ability to acquire lands, etc. "And that the same Master and Wardens and their successors for ever shall be able to plead and be impleaded by the name of the Master and Wardens of the Fraternity or Guild of Jesus of Pritwell in the County of Essex," etc.

Power given to make statutes and ordinances, and "to use cloth of one suit of vesture, or the badge (signo) of one suit." And to hold a meeting (conv = conventiculum) to eat and drink in a fitting place in the town of Pritwell every year.

License granted to acquire possession (not held of the King in chief) "to the yearly value of ten marks, for the exhibition and support of one Chaplain to perform Divine service daily in the Church of Pritwell at the altar of Saint Mary there, for the good estate of the King and his consort, Queen Elizabeth, while they live, and for their souls after their deaths, and for the souls of all the faithful departed ; and for the support of other charges according to the said Master, Wardens, Brethren and Sisters.—Dated at Westminster, 7th May.

"By writ of Privy Seal and of the date, etc., and for Twenty-one pounds paid in to the Hanaper."

Sir Thomas Montgomery, of Faulkbourne

Hall, here mentioned, does not appear to have had any connection, by property or otherwise, with Prittlewell ; but he was one of the most eminent men of his time, and bred from his infancy in the Court of King Henry VI., by whom he was greatly advanced, and "having," says Morant, "the art of adapting himself to all changes, he became one of the greatest favourites and of the cabinet of King Edward IV.," hence probably the insertion of his name. John Lucas was Vicar of Prittlewell. He died in the historical year 1478, four months before the date of this document, in which his name is included. Weever has preserved his monumental inscription, "Hic jacet Magister Johannes Lucas Theologie Baccalaureus, quondam Vicarius istius Ecclesie Parochialis, qui ob. 16 Jan. 1477, cujus anime," etc. Agnes, widow of John Frye, of Puttenhith (Putney, in Surrey), by will proved May 12, 1502, made the following bequests : "Also I bequeith to the brotherhood of Ihu, in the same town (Prickiwell), my second brasse pot . . . also I bequeith to the gild of Ihu, in the said town of Prickewell, half a dosz' peut' vessells." Some of the other names mentioned survive in the neighbourhood to this day. The Guild at Prittlewell was one which comes under the denomination of religious or social Guilds, which were of very ancient origin, and exceedingly numerous in England and throughout the Catholic countries of Europe. It is not in the least probable that its statutes exist. What the objects of such associations were may be gathered from the learned work on English Guilds by the late Toulmin Smith, Esq. They may, however, be stated by the citation of one paragraph from the elaborate essay by Dr. Lujo Brentano, in which they are briefly summarized : "But as Hincmar has pointed out, the 'obsequium religionis' included not only devotions and orisons, but also every exercise of Christian charity, and therefore, above all things, mutual assistance of the Guild-brothers in every exigency, especially in old age, in sickness, in cases of impoverishment, and of wrongful imprisonment, in losses by fire, water, or shipwreck, and by loans, provision of work, and, lastly, the burial of the dead. It included, further, the assistance of the poor and sick, and the visitation and comfort of prisoners not belonging to the Guild. And as, in the

Middle Ages, instruction and education were entirely supplied by the Church, and were considered a religious duty, we find among the objects of religious Guilds also the aid of poor scholars, the maintenance of schools, and the payment of schoolmasters."

This general statement is amply borne out by a perusal of the statutes and ordinances of the Guilds as collected by Mr. Smith; but such benevolence weighed as nothing against the cruelty and rapacity of King Edward VI., his statesmen, courtiers, and the prelates of his time. Under the miserable pretext of the application of the endowments to superstitious uses, an Act of Parliament was easily procured for the confiscation of all the property of these religious and charitable institutions to the King's use, or rather his exigencies. All these literally provident societies in the kingdom were broken up, populous parishes were deprived of an endowed assistant clergy, and a very large number of parochial schools permanently extinguished. Only in England did such wholesale confiscation for private personal uses take place, because, although the Guilds were equally abolished in all the countries in which the Reformation gained ground, we see in Northern Germany and Denmark the property and income delivered everywhere, according to the intention of the founders, to the common treasury for the poor, to poor-houses, hospitals, and schools, instead of to the private purse of a king and his rapacious courtiers. Of course the Fraternity of Jesus in Prittlewell was doomed with the rest, and in the certificates of the Commissioners appointed for the survey of "Colleges, Chantries, Gilds, etc.," dissolved by Act of Parliament, 1 Edward VI., we find—

"PRITTEWELL.

"Lands and tenements. Put in feoffment by two Wardens, one Master and one Priest, and certaine Bretherne and Sisterne there, to divers persons, to find a Priest called Jesus Priest there for ever, by licence of King Edward IV., and one Sir William Rowbothum, clerk, of the age of 52 years, of honest conversation, teacheth a school there, having none other living, is now Incumbent thereof.

"The said town is a populous Town, having in it 300 houseling people.

"The said Priest singeth within the church of Prittlewell."

The value of the plate jewels and other implements is thus set out:

One chalice of silver poysaunt, 10 oz.

Four scoochins of silver poysaunt, 2 oz.

Item 24 spoons of silver poysaunt, 20½ oz.

One seal of silver poysaunt, 2 oz.

Item 2 masers of silver poysaunt, without the wood, 12 oz.

Divers other implements prised together at £4 5s 2d..

From "Certificates of Chantries," Essex, Roll 30, No. 1, we extract—"Declaration of all and singular lands, tenements, and other possessions of the Lord the King, appertaining or belonging to the late dissolved Colleges, Chantries, free Chapels, Fraternities, Gilds, and Stipendiaries, lying and being in the county aforesaid.

"The Guild or Fraternity in Prittlewell. The rent of one Tenement there and 60 acres of arable land and pasture called Reinoldes, lying and being in the parish and fieldes of Shopeland, given by a certain Reynoldes, in the tenure and occupation of a certain Thomas Cocke, by indenture bearing date in the 31st yeare of the reign of the late King Henry VIII., for the term of fifty yeares, rendering therefore yearly £6 13s. 4d.

"The rent of one parcel of land there lying and being in the parish and fields of North Shobery, called Palgraves, containing by estimation 12 acres by the year . . . 24s."

The actual donor and the date of gift of Reynoldes' land is unknown, but a family of that name was resident in Shopland as late as the reign of Henry VIII.

Palgraves was acquired by the bequest of John Quyk the elder, of Berlands, near Prittlewell, gentleman, contained in his will dated 29th of June, 1469, a translation of which has appeared in the *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, from which we take the following extract: "Also I will that all my feoffees who stand enfeoffed to my use of and in one croft called Palgraves, containing by estimation xiiij. acres of land, whether more or less, with its appurtenances, in the said County of Essex, make or cause to be made thence a sufficient estate in law to xvj. discreet and honest men, to be had and held to them and to their heirs and assigns for ever, with this intention, that the whole sum of money coming thence annually, may remain wholly to the fraternity of Jesus, founded in the church of Prittlewell aforesaid, that they as

soon as they are able after my decease, the royal assent being first obtained, lawfully amortize the said croft with appurtenances to the use of the fraternity aforesaid, for ever, that the brethren and sisters of the same fraternity may specially pray for my soul and the souls of my friends and all the faithful departed, for all time."

THE PATENT ROLL OF 2 EDWARD VI.,
P. 6, M. 12,

shows us what consideration this eminently religious and youthful monarch of "holy and blessed memory" had for such pious and laudable bequests, it being a grant in consideration of the sum of £821 11s. 9d., to Walter Farre and Ralph Standysse, of London, gentlemen of the chantries of Hatfield Broodeok, Stebbing, and the free chapels in Sheryng, and Bursted Magna, otherwise called the Free Chapel and Chantry of Bilerica, with all their lands and appurtenances, "and all that late Gild or Fraternity in Prytwell," with its houses, buildings, barns, gardens, yards, lands, and soil whatsoever "to the same late Gild or Fraternity in Pritwell aforesaid, adjacent, belonging or appertaining, including our parcels of lands called Reynoldes and Palgraves, in as ample manner as any Wardens, Masters or Governors of the same late Guild ever had, held or enjoyed the premises, and in as ample manner as they came to the King's hands by the Act of the 1st of Edward VI., excepting and reserving to the King all bells and lead being or remaining in or upon the said chantries, free chapels, and fraternities, and the advowsons of all churches belonging thereto." The Jesus Chapel, situate at the east end of the south aisle of Prittlewell Church, is very spacious, measuring nearly twenty-five feet by nineteen, and is separated from the chancel by two arches. The east window consists of four lights under a flattened arch, the head filled with mullioned tracery; and there are two triple-light perpendicular windows upon the south side. At a meeting of the Essex Archaeological Society held in 1879, Mr. W. H. King drew attention to a row of stone corbels and weathering on the south side of the tower, indicating the former existence of a roof, and consequently of a room, in the churchyard against the west end of the south aisle; to

which there was access by a pointed doorway, and suggested that here was probably the Guild priest's apartment or schoolroom. The following description of a chapel under the same invocation in Melford Church, Suffolk, written by Roger Martyn, of Melford, a gentleman who survived the Reformation, and died in 1580, is taken from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of September, 1830: "There was also in my Ile, called Jesus Ile, at the back of the altar, a table with a crucifix on it, with the two thieves hanging, on every side one, which is in my house decayed, and the same I hope my heires will repaire and restore again one day. There was also two fair gilt tabernacles, from the ground up to the roof, with a faire image of Jesus, in the tabernacle at the north end of the altar, holding a round bowle in his hand, signifying, I think, that he containeth the whole round world; and in the tabernacle at the south end, there was a fair image of our Blessed Lady having the afflicted body of her dear Son in her lapp, the tears, as it were, running down pitifully upon her beautiful cheeks, as it seemed, bedewing the said sweet body of her Son, and therefore named The Image of our Lady of Pity." By his will, dated 1524, William Fuller, of Prittlewell, ordered the tabernacle of our Lady, in Jesus aisle, to be gilt at his cost. And the Agnes Frye before alluded to, in her will proved in 1502, says: "Itm. I bequeith to the light of our Lady of petie in the same church (Prickiwell) xijd. Itm. I bequeithe to the ault' of Ihu in the same church a playn table cloth conteynig iij yardes, and the best shete that I have and a towel."

J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.



Testament of Lady Row.

BY GILBERT M. HUNTER.



THE following testament, apart from its historic value as illustrating the condition of society and wealth previous to the Reformation, and also the quaintness of some of the bequests, has a certain amount of interest at the present day, owing to the fact that the tombstone of

the deceased lady has recently been discovered in Crossraguel Abbey, owing to the explorations undertaken by the Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association. These explorations were undertaken under the care of Mr. James A. Morris, F.S.A., Ayr, and were directed towards the preservation and restoration of all the old work of the Abbey. The result has been most satisfactory, disclosing some of the foundations of the conventual buildings formerly attached to the Abbey.

"Seeing nothing is more certain than Death, or more uncertain than the hour of death, Therefore it is, that I Giles Blair, Lady Row,* although weak in body, yet sound in mind, blessed be God, make my Testament as follows : In the first place, I give and bequeath my soul to God Almighty, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and to all saints, and my Body to be buried in the Monastery of Crosraguel† in the Blessed Virgin's Isle.—I likewise bequeath four pennys towards the Fabrick of the Church of St. Mungo,‡ and I appoint and ordain for my Executors, David Kennedy of Pennyglen, and Sir John Kennedy, Prebendary of Maybole, and the Reverend Father in Christ, William by Divine permission Abbot and superior of the Monastery of Crosraguel.

INVENTORY OF ALL MY GOODS.

"*Imprimis.* I confess myself to have sixty-one cows, the price of the piece two merks. Summa, Eighty-two pounds. Item, Twenty-nine oxen, the price of each thirty shillings. Summa, forty three pounds ten shillings. Item, fifteen two-year-olds, the price per piece one merk. Summa, Ten pounds. Item, nine stirks, the price per piece eight shillings. Summa, Three pounds twelve shillings. Item, five hundred and forty three sheep, the price per-piece six shillings. Summa, one hundred and sixty two pounds eighteen shillings. Item, fourscore and ten lambs, the price of the piece sixteen pennys. Summa, six pounds. Item, in victual vizt. in bere and meal, one hundred and eighty two bolls, the price of the boll twelve shillings. Summa, one hundred and twenty one pounds four shillings. Item, one hundred and sixty bolls of oats, the price of the boll six shillings. Summa, Fifty

four pounds. Item, Horses, mares, and staigs in the muir, the price of them all, Thirty pounds. Item, in utensils and Domicis, Forty pounds. Item, for the Rents and Profits of Row, Twenty pounds.

"Summa of the Inventory—Five hundred and thirty four pounds fourteen shillings.

"There are no debts due to me.

"THE DEBTS WHICH ARE RESTING BY ME TO OTHERS.

"*Imprimis.* To the Earl of Cassillis two hundred merks, whom I earnestly beg and entreat to protect and defend my Executors from oppressors and the violence of oppressors, that they may quietly and freely dispose of my Goods, for the health of my soul. Item to David Kennedy Forty two merks and one half, as the remainder of the Tocher. Item to the Abbot and Convent of Corsraguel for the farms of Balchristyne and Baltersyne six pounds. Item for servants fees, fourty shillings. Item to the Lord Cassillis, the farms of Lands Twelve pounds.

"Sum of the Debts—Eight score and nine pounds, thirteen shillings and four pennys.

"LEGACIES.

"*Imprimis.* I leave and bequeath to the Convent of Corsraguel Twenty pounds. Item to the Minim Friars of Air, Forty pounds. Item to the Dominican Friars of Air five merks. Item to the Friars of Irvine five merks. Item to John Whytford Forty pounds. Item to my Executors, Forty pounds to be divided equally amongst them. Item to Alexander Blair Ten merks. Item to Marion M'illquhan two two-year olds and six sheep. Item to Bessy Davidson two sheep and two lambs. Item to John M'Coury twenty merks. Item to Fergers M'Mury twenty pounds. Item for building ane altar in the Church of Oswald twenty merks. Item to my brother William's daughter, spouse to Richard Lockhart twenty merks. Item to Hugh Kennedy my sister's son twenty merks. Item to Bessie Whytford twenty merks. Item to James Kennedy, Baillie of Carrick twenty merks, conditionally that he assist and defend my Executors and do not suffer them to be disturbed or molested by himself or any other person, otherwise, I do not leave him the said twenty merks. Item to Sir George Blair,

* See Note 1. † See Note 2. ‡ See Note 3.

Chaplain twenty merks, six bolls bere and four stone of cheese. Item to Sir John Rays two bolls of meal, one boll of wheat and three stones of cheese. Item to Sir William Chrystal, one boll of meal and one stone of cheese. Item to Sir Thomas Fergusson, Dominican Chaplain of Kirkoswald one boll of meal. Item to the Curate of Kirkoswald one boll of meal. Item to Sir William Johnston one boll of meal. Item to John McMury's wife a black gown. Item to Christine Hynd* a Russet gown. Item to John Steel a black coat. Item, I leave the webb at the weavers to Fergus McMury a suit of clothes of the said webb. Item to Sir John Kennedy a gown of the said webb. Item to John Whytfurd† a coat of said webb, also to Sir John Rays a gown of the said webb. Item to the poor woman, the criples at Maybole, two firlots of meal. Item I bequeath my uncil John Whytfurd for his maintainance during the space of one year, eight bolls of meal and four stone of cheese as also to the said John Whytfurd two silver spoons and likewise to the said John Whytfurd other eight bolls of meal to be received by David Hynd in his name for the maintenance of the said John for another year,—and that out of the current Year's Farm of the Miln of Row, so that the said David Hynd shall have the maintenance of the said John for the years of the money given, and bequeathed by me to the said John Whytfurd and David Hynd be not laid out upon Land, within two years for the use and profit of the said John Whytfurd. Item I bequeath to the said John Whytfurd two pair of Blankets, two coverings, two pairs of sheets, and a bed cover. Item to David Kennedy of Pennyglen four ells of Linen cloth of Russet, and two linen Table cloths, and two towels of the same. Item to Sir John Kennedy one Table cloth the small board-cloth and one towell of the same. Item, I leave to John Whytfurd the stone of wool in his mother's possession, for making cloath's to him the said John, and the clothe made or to be made of the said wool is to be delivered to David Hynd in name and for behoof of the said John Whytfurd and the stone of wool in the hands of John M'Mury's wife I leave to Fergus M'Mury her son to be made into clothes for him. Item I leave all my Goats whereever they be to John Whytfurd. Item I

* See Note 4.

† See Note 5.

leave to Margaret M'Kellyr two firlots of meal. Item to the Chaplains and Friars on the day of my burial, twenty merks. Item to the poor upon the said day forty shillings in drink, and a chalder of meal, and ten stones of cheese. Item to the Minim Friars of Air two pair of Blankets, three bed rugs, and one bed cover of needlework. Item, to Cristine Adimmell two pair of sheets and two coverings or bed-rugs. Item to Fergus M'Mury, one chest standing in my chamber, and one bolster or pillow. Item to Navin Dunning two firlots of meal. Item to Ambrose Lace twenty shillings. Item to Bessie Davidson one firlot of meal. Item, I bequeath the residue and remainder of all my goods for building my part of the Bridge upon the Water of Girvan, formerly built by me—and if anything remain over and above, I bequeath the same to the poor to be laid out at the discretion of Executors. This Testament was made at my Dwelling House of Baltersyne the last day of August in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty, before these witnesses John M'Mury, Fergus M'Mury, Alexander Blair, and Sir George Blair, Chaplain and Notar Publick, and my Executors with divers others. In witness whereof, my seal is hereto affixed with my own hand together with the subscription of the Notar Publick underwritten, year and day of the month and year mentioned."

Here follows the tenor of Notar's subscription :

"*Ita est Georgius Blair Notarius publicus manu propria.* We Gavin by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Glasgow, Approve, Ratify, and by the tenor of these presents confirm this present Testament and Inventory of Goods, and the Executors therein named by appointing them Executors *dativo* to the same, and counting to them the free administration of the subjects before written and of all other subjects omitted out of this present Testament having received and taken the usual and accustomed oath of faithfully administering and holding count as use is.

"Given under our round seal at our City of Glasgow the twenty eight day of September in the year of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and thirty and of our consecration the sixth year."

Here follows the secretary's subscription :

"To Louder and Verrot 22 NY."]

Follows the attestation of the said confirmed testament :

TESTAMENT.

"Hac est vera copia Testamenti Quondam Egidie Blair, Domine de Row, cum principali collatione in omnibus concordans transcriptum per me Magistrum David Gibson, Notarium Publicum teste manuali mea subscriptione. Ita et David Gibson, Notarius Publicus sua, manu propria subscripsit."

NOTES.

A notarial copy of this testament written in Latin was found in the charter-chest of Sir John Whytford, of Ballochmyle, in 1796. A correct double of it was taken and translated into English by the late Sir Adam Fergusson, of Kilkerran, Bart.

Note 1. She was the eldest daughter of John Blair, of that ilk, and was married to James Kennedy, of Baltersan, afterwards designed "Lord of Row," in the Parish of Kirkoswald. They died without issue. This James Kennedy was the second son of Gilbert, first Lord Kennedy, who was the eldest surviving son of James Kennedy and the Princess Mary, and grandson of Sir Gilbert Kennedy (see Genealogical Tree). In a charter, which is dated May 14, 1473, of the half of the Barony of Glenstinchar, James Kennedy of Row is called *filio carnali* of Gilbert Lord Kennedy. Lady Row's husband (*i.e.*, James Kennedy) died in 1515, which appears from a charter dated April 18 in that year, *q.e.*, *Egidie Blair relicte quondam Jacobi Kennedy annui redditus levan de terris baronia de Dunure*. She lived on the Farm of Baltersan, in a house supposed to be near to the present farm-house of Baltersan. It has been stated that she lived in Baltersan Castle (now a ruin), but suffice it to say that Baltersan Castle was not built until 54 years after Lady Row died.

2. The Abbey of Crosragmol, otherwise Crossraguell or Crossraguel, near Maybole, was founded and endowed by Duncan, first Earl of Carrick, in 1244, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

3. This church is in Glasgow. St. Mungo or *Kentigern* was the tutelary saint and founder of Glasgow. It was one of the few churches that were saved from the mad fury of the Reformation vandals, who destroyed in these magnificent buildings "the rookery," as they styled them, lest the popish prelates, "the rooks," should again gather therein.

4. She was the widow of Walter Kennedy, of Glentig, the sixth son of Gilbert, first Lord Kennedy,

and a brother of James Kennedy, of Row (see Genealogical Tree). He was the parson of Douglas, a celebrated poet, and contemporary of Dunbar the poet. Kennedy was educated at the Glasgow College, and apparently he had been intended for the Church. We find he was incorporated with the college in 1475, and consequently took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1476, a licentiate, and finally his Master's degree in 1478. In November, 1481, he was elected one of the four masters to act as examiners. Of his subsequent history little is known. Probably he continued to reside on his estate of Glentig. About the year 1508 he is alluded to by Dunbar in his *Lament for the Makars* :

And Mr. Walter Kennedie
In pynt of dede lies wearily
Grit reuth it were that so should be
Timor mortis conturbat me ;

and in 1530 Lyndsay speaks of him as having been dead some time before :

Or quha can now the warkis countrefait
Off Kennedie, with terms aureait.

The inference, therefore, is that he did not survive the illness alluded to by Dunbar.

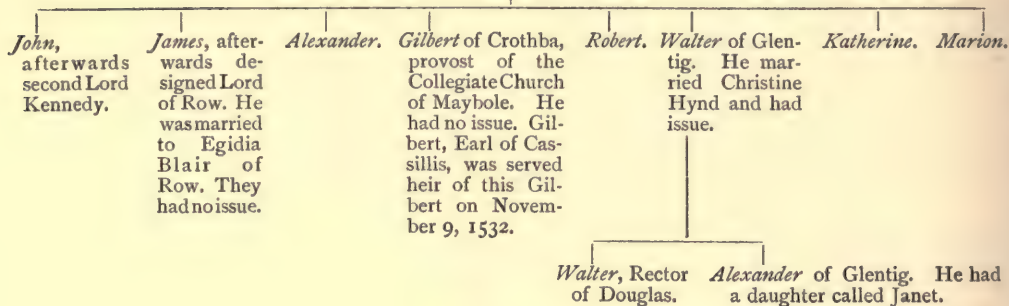
She was at this time in her widowhood. Her eldest son Walter was incorporated as a member of the Glasgow College in October, 1511. He was thereafter chosen Rector of the University in 1523. Subsequently he was Rector of Douglas, and also Provost of the Collegiate Church of Maybole and Canon of Glasgow. He was one of the witnesses to a charter by Sir James Douglas, chaplain prebendary and staller of the fifth stall of the Collegiate Church of Maybole, with consent and assent of an honourable woman, Egidia Blair, relict of James Kennedy of Row, founder of the said chaplaincy, in favour of the Earl of Cassillis, of his house in Maybole, on December 20, 1520.

5. The Whitefoords, otherwise Whytefurds, were an ancient Renfrewshire family. The eldest branch of the family, says Nisbet, is Whitefoord of Blairquhan, in Ayrshire, descended of a younger son of Whitefoord, of that ilk and Miltoun, who took up his residence in Ayrshire with his brother, who was then the Abbot of Crossraguel in the reign of James IV.

Sir John Whitefoord, of that ilk—better known, probably, as Sir John Whitefoord of Ballochmyle—which property had been acquired from the Reids of Ballochmyle by his uncle, Allan Whitefoord of Ballochmyle, about the middle of last century. This Allan was of the Ballochmyle or Sirvan branch of the family, "*mei Alani Whitefoord de Ballochmyle, armigeri, Receptoris, Generalis Regis subsidii terracie in Scotia, terrarum et tenandrie de Ballochmyle et Air*, November 29, 1739." Sir John was the friend and patron of Burns, and his eldest daughter, Mrs. Cranston, was the subject of the poet's "Farewell the Braes o' Ballochmyle." The property was disposed of to the Alexander family in 1786, Sir John having been ruined by his connection with the Douglas and Heron Bank.

GENEALOGICAL TREE.

Gilbert, first Lord Kennedy, eldest surviving son of Sir James Kennedy and the Princess Mary, daughter of Robert III., and grandson of Sir Gilbert Kennedy. He was created Lord Kennedy between 3rd August, 1456, and 25th March, 1457, as he is styled Lord Kennedy for the first time, in an Instrument of Resignation of the Lands of Glenginnet of the later date. In 1466 he was ordained one of the six Regents on the death of James II. He married Katherine, daughter of Herbert, first Lord Maxwell, of Caerlaverock, by whom he had several children. In 1450 he got several charters from the Crown estates, and Chieftainship, in which his wife's name is mentioned.



The Betrothal of the Seigneur Louis de la Trimouille, a.d. 1483.

*From the Chronicles of the Sieur Jehan Bouchet,
Procureur-du-Roi, preserved in the
Archives of Poitiers.*

TRANSLATED BY FLORENCE LAYARD.

PART I

Relates how the Seigneur de la Trimouille entered the service of King Charles VIII., and how his marriage was arranged with the Lady Gabrielle de Bourbon, of the House of Montpensier, and how he went to see her in disguise.



CHARLES, the eighth of his name, only son of the late King Louis XI., was crowned King of France at the age of fourteen; his youth inspired the princes of the blood with the idea of disputing amongst themselves for the honour and advantage of aspiring unto and obtaining the regency, as well as the government both of himself and of his kingdom. Of these were Monsieur Louis, Duc d'Orléans, who was then twenty-three years old, and the Duc

de Bourbon, who had not at first joined them. However, Madame Anne de France, sister of the King, and wife of the Seigneur de Beaujeu, of the House of Bourbon, had charge of the King's person, and suspecting these designs, prevented them. After the death of King Louis, wishing to keep the princes and nobles bound to their allegiance, and seeing that the young Seigneur de la Trimouille was prosperous and wealthy, and possessed of all the qualities essential to a commander and leader of men, and that he had the most fervent desire to serve the King and his kingdom, she arranged that he should enter the service of the King, and proposed to him that he should marry the Lady Gabrielle de Bourbon, daughter of the Comte de Montpensier.

This alliance was a splendid and a desirable one, for Gabrielle was a descendant of the King Saint Louis. To explain this, it must be mentioned that the King Saint Louis had several children, and of these were Philip, the third of his name, who became King after him, and Monsieur Robert, who was Comte de Clermont. The said Robert had a son named Louis, who also became Comte de Clermont, and first Duc de Bourbon; he

begat Pierre, second Duc de Bourbon, who had one son named Louis, who became third Duc de Bourbon, whose fourth son Jean had two sons, Charles, fifth Duc de Bourbon, and Louis, first Comte de Monpensier, father of the said Lady Gabrielle de Bourbon, and of Monsieur Gilbert de Monpensier, who was Lieutenant-General under the King Charles VIII., and Viceroy of Naples, where he died. He left two surviving sons and some other children, namely, Charles, and a son who was slain on the Day of Sainte Brigide, as we shall recount elsewhere. The said Charles became Constable of France, and married the Lady Suzanne, daughter of the above-mentioned Seigneur de Beaujeu and Madame Anne de France. The aforesaid Seigneur de la Trimaille greatly desired this alliance in order to keep up the fortunes of his house, which had always intermarried with princely families. And although he did not speak much of it, he did not think of it the less, for many sleepless nights did he pass, given up to the thoughts of this young lady, whose portrait taken from life had been sent to him, and which I myself have often seen. And, in truth, he was deeply in love with her, but the great distance at which she lived, in the province of Auvergne, prevented him from going to see her in person, as he so intensely longed and desired to do. Besides, he would not have dared to go for fear of displeasing Madame de Beaujeu, and he would willingly have rendered himself invisible in order to go and see her secretly. He always declared that he would do exactly what the former and the King judged best, and that he would marry no woman but the wife whom they should select for him. He was very angry when someone said to him, "Go down to Monpensier and see her," for he dared not proffer the request to do so; but one day he said to Madame de Beaujeu that people were for ever talking of his marriage, but that *he* could do nothing further till he knew the lady's own will on the subject.

Thereupon it was decided that one of the young noblemen of the King's household, who was a great friend of the Seigneur de la Trimaille, should be entrusted with this commission and should go. At this the Seigneur was greatly pleased, and he arranged with

this nobleman that he (the Seigneur) should accompany him in disguise, so that none should recognise him. In order, therefore, to escape observation, he asked and obtained leave that he might go home to his own house, on condition that he returned in a fortnight.

The nobleman departed one day earlier than himself, having previously fixed upon a place, where they met each other two days after. From thence they travelled together to the place where the young lady lived; but the Seigneur left his suite at a place six leagues distant, so that he should not be recognised, and taking with him the letter from Madame de Beaujeu, donned his disguise, and presented himself before the young lady whom he had so longed to behold. After they had exchanged gracious salutations with each other, and after the young lady had read the letter, she said to him with the sweetest bashfulness:

"Monsieur, judging by the letter I have just received from the lady my aunt, I am quite prepared to believe all that you are instructed to say to me."

Then answered the young Seigneur de la Trimaille, who spoke in the character of the nobleman whom he was personating, and whom he had left at their inn:

"I am charged to ask what is your will concerning your marriage with the young Seigneur de la Trimaille, about whom the lady your aunt has already had speech with you, for she much desires to advance this alliance."

"I have never seen him," replied the young lady, "but his honourable reputation leads me to believe that I shall be fortunate indeed if he would wish to honour me thus, for it has been told me that he possesses so large a share of all those virtues that are desirable in mankind, that he is beloved and esteemed by all."

"I assure you, lady, that if he stands so high in your grace, you stand even higher in his, for ever since he has heard of you he has never ceased speaking far and wide of all your noble qualities; and that which he now most ardently desires is that which he has begged me to acquaint you with, namely, that you will marry him. And he would willingly have come himself to deliver this

commission, not because he has any doubt of the worthy report that he has received of you, but only to satisfy his affection and his own loving desire."

"It is enough for me at present," replied the young lady, "to know that he is held in such good favour with all men and women. I pray God that He may grant me the honour of this noble alliance."

They continued to converse at greater length on this matter during the two or three hours they passed together, and whilst the dinner was being prepared; but the Seigneur begged to be excused from staying to it on the plea that he had a nobleman awaiting him at his inn, whom he was obliged to accompany in haste on a further journey. He then entreated the young lady to write a reply to the letter of the lady her aunt, and in her turn she promised to send it to his inn, and begged him to further this affair for her. After this they took farewell of each other; and the Seigneur returned to his inn, where he found dinner ready, and the nobleman awaiting him; but he only ate a little food and drank but once of wine, so that he might have the more time to write a little letter to the young lady, with whom he had fallen deeply in love.

PART II

Relates how the Lady Gabrielle de Bourbon replied to the letter of the young Seigneur de la Trimaille, and how they were married at Escolles.

The young Seigneur de la Trimaille would willingly have written a much longer letter to the young lady, for the vehemence of the noble love that possessed him gave him sufficient matter thereunto; but he doubted as yet whether she would be as willing to read it as he was to write it, for he did not know yet whether she took pleasure in long letters. He committed his letter to the care of a clever young page whom he had with him, and instructed him what he should do.

After all the suite had left their inn, the latter presented himself before the young lady, and said to her:

"Lady, my lord and master and all his suite have departed from their inn, but they

wait yet awhile for your letter for Madame de Beaujeu."

"My friend," answered the lady, "it is quite ready;" and she handed it to him, adding, "Who is your master? He bears himself more like a prince than a simple nobleman."

"Lady," he replied, "he has given me a letter to present to you. I do not know if he has signed his name to it; but I have been charged by him to bring back a reply to it, if you will be pleased to give me one."

The page kissed the letter, and gave it into the hands of the lady, who opened it; but, after she had read three or four lines of it, she began to blush, and then she turned pale and trembled as if shaken by some passionate emotion which she could not control.

Then she folded up the letter, and said to the page:

"My friend, have you been ordered to return to your master immediately?"

"As soon as it pleases you, lady."

"Very well, then; wait here to-day, and you shall depart in the evening. You can follow after him."

The young lady, full of doubts as to how she should act, retired to the solitude of her chamber to argue out the matter fully with her own thoughts.

Maiden modesty counselled her to send no reply to the letter, saying to her that she should initiate no show of affection on her own side, but leave all to her parents to arrange; on the other hand, humility urged her that she *ought* to write a reply to a letter from such an exalted nobleman, against whom dishonour or scandal had never breathed a word, as she might be suspected of presumption or arrogance if she did *not* write to him; thereupon her witty mind dictated a short letter to her gentle hand.

After supper the young lady bade farewell to the young page of the Seigneur de la Trimaille, who, notwithstanding that the hour was late, departed immediately to follow after his lord, who travelled on slowly so as to receive the reply to his letter. He received it the next day as he was awaking, and read it in private; and entrusted a letter for Madame de Beaujeu to the nobleman, who did not yet know that the Seigneur had

written to the young lady, or that she had replied to him.

They rode together till they reached Bommiers, where the Seigneur sojourned a day or two; and the nobleman returned in haste to Madame de Beaujeu to whom he delivered her niece's letter, informing her also that the lady would do all that she should command and decide upon for her, whereby she was greatly pleased.

Two or three days after the young Seigneur de la Trimouille returned from Bommiers to the Court, where he was entreated by the King and the Seigneur and Madame de Beaujeu to hurry on his marriage; to which he assented at once, as he could neither hide his affection and longing for her, nor brook any delay.

I need not weary my readers with long-winded descriptions of all the arrangements and bustle that went on in inditing, drawing up, and signing the marriage-contract. The marriage of these two illustrious persons was celebrated at Escolles in Auvergne with the greatest joy and magnificence; after which they proceeded to Bommiers and other places belonging to the Seigneur, where festivals were held in their honour.

When these were at an end, and all had gone their own ways, the Seigneur dwelt some time with the lady his wife, and at the end of the year she gave birth to a son, who was held at the font by the proxy of the King, Charles VIII., and was christened by the latter's name.

Meanwhile, the Seigneur was engaged in a suit for the recovery of his Viscounty of Thouars and other lands that belonged to him by inheritance from his late mother; his titles to them, granted by letters patent of King Louis XI., were confirmed to him by King Charles VIII. by two or three decrees issued in the Parliament of Paris; thus all his lands were restored to him, but not without great expense and trouble. Then he delivered over to his brothers their own share, and reserved unto himself (the titles of) Comte de Benon, Vicomte de Thouars, Prince de Thalemont, Seigneur de Mareuil and Sainte-Hermynne, and Baron de Cran, which he inherited from his late uncle, the Governor of Bourgogne, in addition to enormous wealth and personal property.

He was, besides, Seigneur de Sully, de l'Isle Bouchart, des Isles de Ré et Maran, de Mareuil, de Sainte-Hermynne, and other places.

NOTE.—*Jean or Jehan Bouchet succeeded his father as "Procureur" of Poitiers, and occupied himself in chronicling the events of his time, in order to amuse himself in his leisure hours, and to hand down to posterity the great deeds of his contemporaries. His Chronicles are preserved in the Archives of Poitiers, and are full of most interesting and curious historical lore, combined with a gossip style of relation, that would make the perusal of them most amusing were the obsolete French of his period better known and comprehended by the generality of readers. The above extract from his Chronicles depicts, in a naïve and graceful manner, the romantic episode in the betrothal of the Seigneur de la Trimouille, and is a faithful picture of those times.—From the French of Jehan Bouchet (born at Poitiers, 1476, died about 1550 or 1555), from the "Panégyrique de Louis de la Trimouille" or Trimouille.—[Trans., F. L.]*



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Columbus in America.—It may be of interest, now that the fourth centenary of the discovery of America by Columbus approaches, to state, in connection with the identity of Guanahani or San Salvador, a question into which I have made careful investigation, that in the second Borgian map, published by Diego Ribero in 1529, and lent by the Pope to the late Colonial and Indian Exhibition, the Island of "Guanahani" is placed in the relative position of Watlings, and the Long Island in the map in the position of Cat Island, which is claimed by Washington Irving as San Salvador, is named *Cigato*. Remembering that the Spanish "Gato" is "Cat," I think it leaves little doubt as to the derivation of the name Cat Island.—Reports for 1884, 1885, and 1886 (c—5,071 of 1887).

Notes on the Parish Registers of St. Maurice, Winchester.—A perusal of the registers of St. Maurice parish, kindly permitted to me by the rector, Rev. J. R. Thresher, and the churchwardens, has given information both on the Parliamentary struggle and the Plague. Winchester was in 1643 represented by a Royalist, Sir W. Ogle, and a Puritan, John Lisle—the former unseated because he was a Cavalier. In this year Colonel Norton captured Winchester; but in 1644 Lord Hopton recovered possession. In that year Cheriton fight was won by the Parliamentarians, and on October 27 the second battle of Newbury was not favourable to the Royal cause, and Winchester was frequently visited by the Roundhead parties, and entered by them, for the works on the east and west sides of the city were not carefully warded; consequently, on the night of December 9, 1644, there was a conflict in the "Soke," and the result is recorded in the register thus: "Charles Eburne was shot Decr. ye 9th, 1644, and dyed ye same night at Christopher Hussey's, Alderman of Winton, and also Mr. James Minjam and Richard Shoveler. All three were wounded in ye Soake, near ye East Gate. All three died ye same night, and were buried ye next daye owt of St. Maurice Parish by me, William Clun, Rector." Then follows this melancholy ejaculation:

Væ Malum Belli Civilis.

There are several entries of burials in 1644, viz.: John Barber, a trooper; Henry Donnef, a trooper; William O'Keley, a trooper; and, 1645, Richard Probert, private soldier. Without doubt these and the above three victims of the *Soake* skirmish were part of Sir W. Ogle's garrison, which was defeated in 1645 by Cromwell, and the castle of the Kings of England, dating from the Conquest, taken and in due course "slighted," or, in plain English, destroyed, save the ancient hall. Of Christopher Hussey it may be stated he was Mayor in 1609-10, his daughter Margery being born September 18, and baptized ye 23rd of September, he being then *maior*, and he was City Chamberlain in 1657. Mr. Minjam was a Winchester Loyalist, for one of his family, Jane, was baptized 1607. Of the gallant Shoveler we

find no parochial trace, save his exodus at the hands of the Cromwellians. It may be noticed that the registers go back as far as 1538, and, save one book, are in good condition, but very much open to Evelyn the diarist's remark, "But, Lord! how poorly methinks they wrote in those days, and on what plain, uncut paper;" and a specimen of the parish clerk's penmanship about 1550 reveals this fact, and his desire for posthumous fame: "Those who desire to know *whoo wrought* this Boke, it was Henry Hurkin, parish clerk;" and in 1585 an entry occurs in these words and rhyme:

You that do come after bear it well in mind
To keep this Book in order, as you do it find;

and it is but justice to say that three centuries of care have been well bestowed on the precious paper and parchment "Bokes." We shall speak of the "sore disease," in 1625, and the Plague, 1665-66, in due course.—
WILLIAM HENRY JACOB.

Letter of a Grub Street Hack, 1750.
—Among the Delaval papers recently discovered by Mr. John Robinson was the following:

"16th May.

"SR,—I have brought two of my Friends, Collins, and honest master Randolph, to wait on you. I hope you will find something in the former as a Lyric; and (if I have a right notion of your taste,) am confident that, notwithstanding the quaintness of the times, in which Donne and others his contemporaries *hew'd* out every line they wrote you will desire a better acquaintance with the latter. A good critic in beauty, can discover many fine features under the monstrous ruffs and farthingales with which all our old pictures are crouded and disgraced.

"As G. Hervey's letter to Sr T. Hanmer is difficult to be met with I have ventur'd to make him of the partie; and if you can have the patience to read a morçeau of mine written when I was a mere boy, under a love disappointment, I shall be glad to know whether you can find any drift or meaning in it, for I seriously declare, after having perused it lately (for 'twas by mere accident I recover'd it) two or three times, I cannot find out what I aim'd at, by such a reverie.

"I have read the 'Goosequill' twice since

I have seen you with very great satisfaction, and agree with Dr. Hill, that the Monody is as fine a piece of ridicule as has lately appeared. I am to spend a classical hour or two with him this week, and we both wish you'd be so kind as to give us the favour of yr company. If you shou'd come to Vauxhall any night this week, yr chariot must of necessity pass by My lodgings which are at Mr. Robt. Carsan's Surgeon in Lambeth, where I shou'd be oblig'd to you for a Bow as you go by the window. I am already in great reputation, from having been seen to walk privately with you in the Gardens,

"I am Sr

"Yr most oblig'd & obedt. Sert.

"THOMAS SWITZER.

"HINT TAKEN FROM THE 'GOOSEQUILL.'

"A Lady sent lately to one Dr. Drugg
To come in an instant and clyster her pugg,
As a Fair-one commanded he came at the word
And did the grand office in tyewig and sword.
The affair being ended so sweet and so nice
He held out his hand with—a—you know M'em my
price;
Yr price says my Lady—why Sr 'tis a brother
And Doctors must never take fees of each other."



Antiquarian News.

THE following extract from the prospectus defines the object of the newly-formed Society for the Restoration of Ancient Crosses: "In past ages no churchyard was considered complete without its cross, while the same symbol was often the most conspicuous adornment of market-places, and in remoter districts was a no less familiar object by the wayside or the fountain. At the same time within the church the Great Rood was treated as second only to the altar itself. It is not, therefore, surprising that the number of existing remains is very considerable. Over 200 of these outdoor crosses are said to survive in the county of Somerset alone; but hitherto comparatively few have been rescued from profanation and neglect. In most cases a base or socket, frequently raised on steps, with occasionally a broken shaft, is all that remains. But these, lacking as they do the emblem of the Christian religion (to carry which was the very purpose of their erection), are now meaningless, except as witnesses to the indifference, or worse, of recent generations. It is not desired in any way to

renovate these venerable monuments, and so to destroy their artistic or antiquarian interest; but merely to make good the ravages, not so much of natural decay as of wanton sacrilege. Nor does the society intend to supplant, but rather to stimulate, local effort and enthusiasm; though at the same time, by contributing a fair proportion of the necessary expense, it would render possible (even in the poorest districts) the execution of satisfactory designs. The society will probably confine its earlier efforts to the re-erection of churchyard crosses only; with the hope, however, of ultimately including wayside, rood, and other crosses within the scope of its action. Application for membership should be made to Mr. F. C. Eden, The Cottage, Ham Common, Surrey."

A memento of the recent visit of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society to the Fairfax country has been produced by Mr. George Hepworth, architect, Brighthouse. It takes the form of a group of photographic views of Bolton Percy Church, Billbrough Hall, Steeton Hall, Long Marston Church, St. Mary's Church, Tadcaster, etc.

An important discovery has been made in the rear of some unoccupied premises situated between the new Carriage Bazaar, in Long Acre, and Arkell's coachbuilding works. The place in question has long been empty, and with the view of making some structural alterations, workmen have been recently set to work. In demolishing a thick party wall the men laid bare a chamber, which was filled with an immense quantity of plate, watches, and jewellery, the value of which is considerable. Many of the articles, which were black with age, were also partly fused, evidently from the action of great heat. It has now been ascertained that the place was occupied many years ago by a jeweller and refiner named Armstrong, and during his tenancy was destroyed by fire, the occupants being burned to death.

According to an Odessa journal, says the *Builder*, an archaeological commission making excavations in the Volga district has discovered the remains of an old town on the right bank of the Volga, which bespeak a high class of civilization. A large quantity of Arabian, Persian, and Tartar coins were found, together with a number of objects bearing upon the life and culture of the inhabitants.

The report furnished by Mr. Pugin Thornton, the medical gentleman by whom the remains recently discovered in Canterbury Cathedral, supposed to be those of Archbishop à Becket, were examined, contains the following interesting particulars: "The skull was undoubtedly of large size. Its circumference with the tape over the brows and greatest prominence at back of the head was 22½ inches; the measurement across

the orbits from right to left external angle was with the tape $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; with the calipers just upon 5 inches. From the occipital protuberance to immediately above the nasal bones with the tape, $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches; with the calipers, 8 inches. In connection with these measurements, according to phrenological science, the breadth of the brow would give large perceptive qualities, the rising appearance of the fore-part of the skull would show much intellect, the flat appearance at the centre of the head would denote worldiness, and the immense volume of skull at the back indomitable energy. The skeleton was that of an adult man, rather above middle age, 45 to 55 years."

On August 31, the bicentenary of the death of John Bunyan, there were some hundreds of visitors to his tomb in Bunhill Fields burial-ground. It was thought that there would have been a demonstration by some of the great religious organizations, but such did not take place, and the visits were confined to individuals, a considerable number of whom were Americans and colonials staying in England. The tomb, which is carefully kept, is on the south side of the ground, and has a recumbent figure of the "immortal dreamer." The inscription is, "John Bunyan, author of 'Pilgrim's Progress.' Ob. 31st August, 1688. Æt. 60. Restored by public subscription under the presidency of the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, 1862." On the opposite side of the ground is the tomb of Defoe, who died in 1731.

All antiquaries will have been gratified to learn, from the reply of the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Howorth's recent question, that the Egyptian Government have appointed a special committee to consider the continuous and deplorable destruction of the ancient monuments in the Nile Valley by travellers and others. This committee have recommended the levy of a small fee for seeing the antiquities, which would also help to augment the sum at present available for their preservation. But this suggestion has been adversely criticised.

Readers of *Waverley* will remember the account given of the feudal homage which the Baron of Bradwardine rendered to Charles Edward, at Pinkie House, on the evening of the battle of Preston Pans. On the occasion of the recent visit of the Queen to the Exhibition at Glasgow, a similar interesting ceremony took place in connection with the attendance of the Royal Scottish Archers. Directly the Queen had ascended the dais on which her throne was placed, the Duke of Buccleuch, the officer in command of the Archers, advanced to the steps, made three profound bows, and presented her Majesty with three golden arrows, which were placed on a velvet cushion trimmed with gold. The Queen formally accepted the tribute,

and then returned the arrows to the custody of the Duke, according to the custom on such occasions, which dates from a very remote epoch of Scottish history.

It has been stated that the Greek Government is taking the most active steps with a view to put a stop to the export of Greek art treasures, which takes place in spite of the law of 1843 to the contrary. The ports of Piræus, Nauplia, and Corinth are being closely watched, and even passengers' luggage is examined when suspected of containing archaeological treasures.

On August 21 the Devizes Castle Estate was offered for sale. The property was described as unique, and in the particulars of sale the history of the castle was traced from its foundation, 1107, by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, its first governor. For several centuries it formed part of the dowry of the Queens of England, and until comparatively a recent date it had all the immunities of a royal castle. In 1645 it was besieged and taken by Cromwell, by whom the ancient castle was ruined. A certain portion of the foundations and the ruins of the old castle remain, the existing modern house having, the auctioneer stated, been built to accord with the character of the castle which formerly stood upon the place. The last offer made was £8,000, at which the property was sold, the name of the purchaser not being made known.

On the old road between Lucerne and Zurich, says the *Athenæum*, formerly stood a cross with the inscription, "In memory of the reception of the Emperor Sigismund on Friday before All Saints in the year 1417." The cross has long disappeared. The Lucerne Cantonal Government, in consequence of a petition from the Historische Verein, has ordered a new cross to be erected upon the spot, with the same inscription.

The old "Elizabethan newspaper," with its full report of the discomfiture of the Spanish Armada, was shown by the late Mr. Watts, of the British Museum, half a century ago to be a forgery; but, says the *Printing Times*, the old *English Mercurie*, like Sir John Barleycorn, takes a good deal of killing, and even frequent burial does not appear to have much impaired its fraudulent, but robust, constitution. Any way, it recently furnished a northern provincial journal with an exciting column headed, "Three Hundred Years Ago: The Story of the Invincible Armada. An Old-world Newspaper's Report." The manufacture of this elaborate imposture has been satisfactorily traced to the playful invention of the second Earl of Hardwick; but it is still to be heard of now and then as "the first printed newspaper," for which "mankind are indebted to the wisdom of Elizabeth and the wisdom of Burghley."

A monument is to be placed in the church at Edmonton to the memory of Charles Lamb, and also to the memory of the poet Cowper, whose diverting history of John Gilpin has made the name of Edmonton known all over the world. The monument will be the gift of Mr. Joshua Butterworth, vice-president of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, and has been designed by Mr. Thomas Milbourne, the honorary secretary of the society.

Great interest has been excited in Wales by the announcement that the tomb of Madoc ap Gruffydd Maelor, a great Welsh warrior in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, grandson of Owen Gwynedd, Prince of Wales, was discovered in the ruins of Valle Crucis Abbey, Llangollen. It appears that the Rev. H. T. Owen, warden of the abbey, while engaged upon some excavations, was searching for old stained glass in the dormitory of the abbey, when he disinterred a large stone slab bearing the name of "Madoc," and an inscription which has not yet been fully deciphered. Down the centre of the stone is a sword in a sheath. Further excavations led to the discovery of four other stones, each about five feet by eighteen inches. Two bear floriated crosses, one a spear, and the other a Grecian ornament. The stones form part of the vaulting of the slype or corridor leading to the old burial-ground of the monks. Madoc ap Gruffydd founded the abbey, which was a Cistercian monastery, about the year 1200. After the venerable building became a ruin, the chapter house and scriptorium were used for several generations as a farmstead, and practically destroyed by fire. During the repairs it is conjectured that the stones of Madoc's tomb were used to complete the vaulting.

There is a report, says the *Athenæum*, that Mr. C. O. Morgan, brother of the first Lord Tredegar, and Conservative member for Monmouthshire from 1841 to 1874, who died at Newport, Monmouthshire, on August 5th, has bequeathed to the British Museum his old clocks and other relics. By his death the country has lost one of the few remaining men of the good old school of enthusiastic and diligent antiquaries. He was the author of publications on antiquarian subjects. As a contemporary of Bernal, Sibthorpe, and Bale, there was no better-known frequenter at Christie's and other auction-rooms.

The following description of the Saxon remains found during the work of restoration at Peterborough Cathedral was recently published by the Dean: In the course of the excavations necessary for underpinning the interior of the north transept of Peterborough Cathedral, an interesting discovery has been made. Close to the western wall of the transept the workmen came upon a richly-ornamented Saxon slab,

covering a grave, and evidently still lying in its original position. It is of the date, no doubt of the second Saxon church—that in which Hereward was knighted—of which considerable remains were discovered a short time since after taking down and rebuilding the central tower. The slab must mark the grave of a layman, for the burying-place of the monks was on the south side of the building, where a Saxon cloister may have stood, just as the Norman cloister did afterwards. As the slab extended slightly beyond the space required for the excavated trenches to receive the shallow foundations of the present Norman structure, the workmen of that period destroyed a few inches of its length at the top. This, with a crack across near the foot, caused by the settlement of the earth consequent on the Norman excavation, is the only injury the slab has sustained, if we except the possible removal of an ornamented upright cross at the head; the rude footstone is still in its place. The surface of the slab is about 1 ft. 6 in. below the level of the late floor, which, in its turn, was about 5 in. above the Norman floor. The length of the slab remaining is about 5 ft. 3 in., with a top width of 1 ft. 10½ in., and a bottom of 1 ft. 6 in. The surface is completely covered with the richest Saxon interlacing ornament, forming a design of a central band of ornament about 5 in. wide, crossed at right angles by rather wider strips of ornament. Three of these are uninjured; the fourth, at the top, was almost entirely destroyed, as I have already said, when the present transept was built by William de Waterville. The design was originally, therefore, a fourfold cross. Each of these crosses is outlined with a double roll border, the inner one being twisted work. There is thus left between the borders of the cross arms three oblong spaces on each side between the broad central strip and the outer edge of the slab. Three of these are filled in with finer interlacing work, two with star crosses, and one is plain, having been left unfinished. The slab is probably the most beautiful specimen of Saxon ornamental work of the kind that has come to light. Some antiquarians who have seen it tell me that they have seen none finer. We have decided to raise the slab, carefully keeping it on its present site, so that it may still mark the resting-place that it originally covered, but in such a way that it will be above the level of the new floor and properly guarded from injury. It was found close beside the spot where rest the remains of Bishop Dove, Queen Elizabeth's "Dove with silver wings." If any representatives of the good Bishop's family still exist, they may, perhaps, be induced to erect a monument to his memory in place of the one which was destroyed by Cromwell's soldiers, and bearing the same inscription. Portions of other Saxon slabs have also been discovered not far from the one I have described, of

similar design, but of less elaborate workmanship ; also a fragment of what was probably the raised monument of a Saxon abbot, originally standing in the church, the foundations of which have been lately exposed. Of this (Hereward's church, as I have said) we can trace the outline to a considerable extent. The lines of the transept and the choir can be followed in the south transept, under the lantern, and in the nave of the present cathedral, but the nave of the Saxon church lay outside the present building. Measurements carefully made show that the present Norman cathedral is exactly double the size of the Saxon church, just as the Jewish Temple was double the size of the Tabernacle.

A further very interesting discovery has been made during the restoration of Peterborough Cathedral. At the north-east corner of the transept was a buttress built by Lovin after the restoration of the chapter, in order to stay the transept wall, which showed signs of weakness, owing to the demolition of the Lady Chapel twenty years before. This has been crumbling asunder for some time past, and to take it down and rebuild it was part of the present contract. Accordingly, the huge walls were shored by massive baulks of timber, and the work was commenced. It was found to be built in much the same style as the early builders erected the other parts of the cathedral in : a thin facing of stone and the interior filled up with fragments, which in this instance prove to be of much exceptional interest. Instead of being rough stone, piece after piece of most exquisitely carved masonry was extracted. Mr. Irvine, the clerk of the works, directed that the fragments should be carefully stored as they were brought to light. One, two, three, a dozen, twenty, thirty pieces were consecutively taken out ; here a pillar-cap, now a spring of some arcading, there a bracket, afterwards a fragment of sedilia, now a capital, then some moulding, later on some delicately crocketed pinnacles, lower down some pieces of a canopy, then a great mass of carving unidentified, and so on. The masons as they handled the superb specimens thought they were never coming to the end of the vast store which for 200 years had remained packed in that rude and extraordinary way. It was, of course, a foregone conclusion that they belonged to the Lady Chapel formerly standing on the spot, and which was erected in 1272 by Prior Pavys, and pulled down in 1670 to mend the dilapidations in other parts of the cathedral, and to assist in repairing the parish church. Gunton describes this chapel as the finest adjunct of the church, and it is a matter of tradition that its internal ornaments were strikingly beautiful. Many of the fragments bear evidences of colouring ; gold and crimson pigments are even, after the lapse of all these years,

very prominent throughout. All the better work is of clunch stone, and bears the interpretation that the fragments have belonged to a gorgeous shrine or some elaborate arcading. Although they have had some very rough usage, it is hoped that they may be put together and some definite idea of the original whole of which they formed part presented. Together with the lighter carvings in clunch, which of course had asylum inside the Lady Chapel, numerous examples in Barnack stone have been also brought to light which were a portion of the actual structure. It is also curious to note that some of the stone-work which faced the buttress was none other than portions of stone coffins.

The fifteenth century roof of the church of St. Brannock, near Barnstaple, one of the finest in the West of England, says the *Athenæum*, has been restored. The rafters, 34 feet long, constructed without tie beams, which had spread and thrust out the walls on which they rested, have been drawn together and secured with iron ties. Some of the moulded ribs have been renewed, only, we trust, as constructional features ; the decayed bosses ought not to be replaced with imitations of the ancient types, but with uncarved blocks only. The well-known large boss of St. Brannock and his pigs has not, we understand, been meddled with.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Alford Field Club.—July 7.—Excursion to Clatt. —Starting from the Bridge of Alford, the company drove over the Sowie Hill by the Old Military Road, which was once the main line between Huntly and Brechin. The club proceeded to examine certain objects at Knockespoek. On the wooded and picturesque grounds of Knockespoek, natural advantages have been assisted by the formation of several miles of walks, winding along the sides of wooded ravines, where flows the Casaiche Burn, whose waters have been formed into several successive ponds that give varied effect to the scenery. Plants abound along the hollows and sheltered parts, and the botanical members made several finds, among which were the *sedum villosum*, *menyanthes trifoliata*, *orchis latifolia*, *polygonum viviparum*, *gnaphalium sylvaticum*, *pinguicula vulgaris*, *trientalis europea*, *pyrola media*, *lastræa oreopteris*, and the *cryoplanium*.—Mr. Gordon then conducted the company along an old road which was said to be made by the Earl of Mar for military purposes, along the north side of the Coreen Range, and which is known as "Mar's Road," and can be distinctly traced between Lumdsen and Premnay. Near the side of this road was shown, on the top of a small

eminence known as the "White Hill" or "Hill of Tillyangus," the remains of a circular wall forming what is called "the Gordon's Camp," which, tradition says, was the place where the clan took up their position during a feud which existed between them and the Forbeses in 1572, and which ended in a decisive battle in favour of the Gordons, the site of which is a little to the westward from the camp, and near to the source of the "Gaudy." In this locality is a well, known as "Black Arthur's Well," near to which Lord Arthur Forbes was killed, and to whose memory the hill above Littlewood Park was named "Lord Arthur." Human remains have been found at the battlefield, and lines of tumuli can be traced along the hill below a place known as "Jock's Cairn." The club had also the pleasure of seeing Mr. Minto's botanic collection.—Rev. Mr. Selbie called the attention of some of the members to several archaeological specimens which had been found during recent alterations to the church. It appears that the present church stands on the same site as it had stood in pre-Reformation times, and had been dedicated to "St. Julians." In making excavations in connection with the alterations, a very complete baptismal font was found, also a part of a stone with circular carving, a stone with a rectilinear figure cut to about 2½ inches deep, and a stone with cuttings which seem to be the counterpart of some embossment. It has been built into a wall, and the nature of the design gives the idea that it has had fitted into it the terminal of a reredos or some similar ornamental work. A large upright boulder was examined, which stands at the end of a cottage in the village, which bears the marks of Runic carving of ancient date.

Somerset Archaeological Society.—August 28. —Annual meeting. Address by the President, the Bishop of Bath and Wells. After alluding to the publication of the Rev. H. E. Reynolds' work on the "Foundation, Constitutional History, and Statutes of Wells Cathedral," and the Rev. James Bennett's report on the MSS. of Wells Cathedral, his lordship referred to the formation of the Somerset Record Society, the first-fruits of which was the publication of Bishop Drovensford's Register, edited by Bishop Hobhouse. This, with the bishop's careful and interesting preface, shed a flood of light upon the condition of the church at the beginning of the fourteenth century, such as the frequent acts of legitimization of candidates for Holy Orders (connected with the married clergy), the innumerable cases of non-residence, the holding of benefices by unordained persons and youths under age, the abuses of benefit of clergy, the manumission of serfs. "It may well be doubted," he says, "whether Bishop Drovensford (or any other bishop of his class) could freely communicate with the people of his village flock in their mother English tongue. His correspondence was written in Latin. His communications with his bailiffs on manorial business were in French, and that was probably the daily language at his table, as it certainly was in all his intercourse with his sovereign and nobles, and his utterances in Parliament and synod." What an unsatisfactory political and social condition of the nation was revealed, when the King and nobles, and the bishops, and the great proprietors, and courts of law, and the Houses of Parliament, spoke one language,

the language of the conqueror, and the common people spoke another, the speech of the conquered! Another volume has since followed by Mr. Emmanuel Green, viz., the "Survey and Rental of the Chantries, Colleges, and Free Chapels, Guilds, Fraternities, Lamps, Lights, and Obits of the County of Somerset as returned 2nd Edward VI., 1548." He turned next to the three biographies lately written by Canon Church, and communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, the lives of Bishops Reginald, Savaric, and Jocelyn, covering the time from 1174 to 1242. In these papers the personal characters and work of the three bishops in connection, not only with the diocese, but with some of the most important historical events of the time, were brought out with much force, at the same time that many important details concerning the fabric of the cathedral and the building of other churches, and other purely diocesan details, are abundantly illustrated by contemporary records, many of them here for the first time brought to light. He had also had the pleasure of seeing another very interesting biography belonging to a later age—that of Bishop Fox in the reign of Henry VII., now in the press under the auspices of the Somerset Record Society, written by Mr. Chisholm-Batten. As Fox belonged to the class of statesmen-bishops and held successively the Sees of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham and Winchester, his life necessarily embraced a wide range both of secular and ecclesiastical interest, and would be another valuable contribution of archaeology to their general historical knowledge. Therefore, he was justified in mentioning as a matter of hearty congratulation that a very considerable addition to their knowledge of the early history of Wells and the county has been made since the society met at Wells in 1873. Bishop Hobhouse, to whom their society owed so much, and who was a master in archaeological research, had furnished him with a list of recent publications, all supplying materials for that grand desideratum, a history of Somerset. They might hope that the president of the society's next meeting at Wells would be able to announce to the members that a good county history was in the press, or perhaps to congratulate them on its completion. When he was for two or three weeks in Normandy, last June, he was impressed with the wonderful beauty and grandeur of the Norman churches. He saw the same features in the castles of Falaise, St. Aignan, and Mont St. Michel, and they appear also in our own Norman cathedrals, minsters, and castles on the Welsh border. When there his attention was turned to the Norman conquest of England by being in the birthplace and in the burial-place of William the Conqueror (Falaise and Caen); and being surrounded by the familiar names of places, such as Bayeux, Coutance, and Avranches, which occurred so often in the history of the Conquest, it was impossible not to feel the close connection between the character of the builders and the prowess of the warriors. And that feeling was brought to its height when in the cathedral city of the martial Bishop Odo, with its magnificent Norman church, one had spread before one's wondering eyes the Bayeux Tapestry, which, he was almost ashamed to say, interested him more than all the cathedrals put together. Prowess in architecture and prowess in war go hand in hand: the

buildings, which it is the province of archæology to study and explain, are a clue to the character of the people who built them, and this was borne out by the history of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans and Moors. It was an unaccountable fact that the art of drawing, which in the time of William the Conqueror had acquired the wonderful vigour displayed in the Bayeux tapestry, should have stood still and been in disuse, and made no progress for nearly 500 years. That it existed they had abundant evidence in the beautifully illuminated missals and other MSS. of early times, in early painted glass in churches, in fresco drawings, such as the St. Christopher in Wedmore Church, and many others elsewhere, and in occasional portraits. There was at Westminster a very early portrait of Richard II., and this meeting ought to be reminded of the most interesting portrait discovered a year or two ago by their secretary, the Rev. James Bennett, in South Cadbury Church, and described in last year's report. The church was dedicated to St. Thomas, and so about contemporary with Bishop Reginald. Mr. Bennett, while poking about his church, noticed that the wall in the south-east end of the nave sounded hollow. He accordingly pulled it down, and in doing so discovered behind it the very deep splay of a small Norman or Transition window. On the side of this splay was a portrait in vivid colours of a bishop, with strongly marked features, and mitre on head. Surely it was the portrait of St. Thomas of Canterbury. He hoped that that mention of it would cause an archæological pilgrimage to Cadbury, and that some new Chaucer would immortalize it. His lordship said he ought to have adverted to the recent very important discoveries of the Roman baths at Bath; to that of the Roman villa near Yatton; the great find of Roman coins at Harptree, and to the other discoveries in Mr. Dawkins' department; and in conclusion he expressed the deep regret shared by every person in the room that they were deprived of the pleasure and benefit of Mr. Freeman's presence. The bishop afterwards entertained the members at luncheon in the thirteenth-century vaulted crypt of the palace. After luncheon Mr. Edward Buckle led the party over the palace at Wells, and explained in considerable detail the architectural features, and then pointed out some of the structural peculiarities from the outside, but this part of the proceedings was interfered with by a heavy downfall of rain. At four o'clock the deanery was visited, the dean giving an interesting account of it, and taking the party over the apartments. Afterwards a few persons braved the downpour and accompanied Bishop Hobhouse to the Vicar's Close, which completed the afternoon's programme. There was a large meeting in the evening at the Town Hall, under the presidency of the bishop. Canon Church read a valuable paper on documentary evidence relating to the early architecture of the cathedral, being the substance of the learned Canon's researches into the Chapter records, throwing much additional light on the history and archæology of the cathedral. This was followed by a paper by Professor Freeman, who, however, was unable to be present, which was read by Professor Boyd Dawkins. The Rev. Prebendary Scarth read a paper on the hoard of silver coins found at East Harptree, which closed the proceedings. On the fol-

lowing day an excursion party was formed. The first halting-place was Rodney Stoke, about five miles north-west of Wells. Thence the party proceeded to Cheddar Cliffs, and Professor Boyd Dawkins, ascending an eminence, discoursed for a considerable time on the origin of the gorge, the formation of the rocks, and the remains discovered in the caves. The party then repaired to Cheddar, and thence drove to Wookey Church, which the vicar (Rev. T. Holmes) described from his published work on the church and manor of Wookey. The manor house was also visited. The excursionists then proceeded to Summerleagh, where they were entertained by Professor and Mrs. Freeman, and afterwards started for Wells, which they reached about six o'clock. There was a meeting at the Town Hall at eight, at which papers were read by the Rev. W. H. Pereira, on "The heraldry of the cathedral windows;" the Rev. J. A. Bennett on "A tabula or martyrologium of Glastonbury Abbey;" Mr. W. St. John Hunt on the "Seals of the diocese," etc. The meetings of the Society were brought to a close on August 30. The church of St. Cuthbert was to have been described by Professor Freeman, but as he was still unequal to the task of public speaking, the description of this building was omitted, but the church was left open for the inspection of those who chose. The cathedral also was to have been described by Mr. Freeman, whose place was supplied by the Rev. Canon Church, Mr. E. Buckle, and the Dean. The Chapter-house was visited, and a slight sketch of its history given by Canon Church, and its architectural features described by Mr. E. Buckle; Mr. St. John Hope also called attention to some of the heraldry of the window. The Dean afterwards described the west front. After luncheon, the party, accompanied by the bishop, drove in breaks to Pilton and Croscombe. The bishop held a reception at the palace, and the whole of the proceedings were brought to a close by votes of thanks.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—August 11. —Meeting at Stella Hall, the residence of Mr. Joseph Cowen, who gave a description of the building, with an account of its previous occupants. He confessed he had never attended a meeting of the antiquaries, and he had not expected that so many people would be interested in the building. Although Stella Hall was an old house, it was not, like so many of the old residences in the neighbourhood, known to have been the seat of any of the feudal lords. It had never rolled back the tide of war against an advancing enemy. The incidents in connection with it were of local rather than of antiquarian or historical interest. It was believed to have been originally a religious house. It was thought by some that a convent stood on the same site before the Conquest, but if so almost all the remains had been removed. The first authentic records of the house, he thought, related to the year 1143 in the reign of Stephen. Stella was made over by the bishops of Durham to the nuns of St. Bartholomew in Newcastle, who held it, and lived in it in peace and contentment, varied only by little internal troubles, for four hundred years, and discharged important duties in the locality. It was very easy to perceive that the house was a pleasant residence then, whatever it might be now; for the river was then well supplied with fish, and there were no railways,

smoke, nor factories to spoil the pleasantness of the situation. At the dissolution of the monasteries and religious houses, the property of the nuns of St. Bartholomew fell into the hands of a favourite of King Henry. Ultimately Stella came into the possession of the Tempests, an influential family of Durham, who were continually involved in the political movements of the day. It was by them that the house in its present form was built on the site of the old nunnery. The property afterwards passed into the hands of Sir Francis Tempest's sister, who married the fourth Lord Widdrington. During the occupation of the Widdringtons a battle was fought close by between the Presbyterians and the Royalists, and there was a local tradition of Cromwell having stayed at the house. In 1715, after the battle of Preston, Widdrington, along with other leaders in the rebellion, was sentenced to death, and though he was not executed, his property was confiscated. Stella, however, was afterwards returned to him by right of his wife. The house remained for some time unoccupied, except that the Roman Catholic Chapel, added to it by the Tempests, formed the residence of a priest. Under the Widdringtons' occupation many improvements were made internally.—Mr. Cowen pointed out the arms of the Tempests cut in stone above the door, and then led the way into the house. The entrance hall, a long, wide apartment, the ceiling of which was ornamented with designs in plaster closely resembling the Italian work on the walls and ceilings of Lumley Castle, was formerly the dining-hall. A still more noteworthy example of plaster work was seen in a drawing-room adjoining, where a large panel, taking in nearly the whole surface of the wall, was enriched with a landscape design in relief, being probably a representation of local scenery. From an antiquarian point of view, the most interesting portions of the building were the wings, containing the rooms which had formerly served as a Catholic chapel, in the upper story; and much attention was bestowed on the old wooden staircase leading down from the chapel, and the oaken doors, which appeared to have been preserved in their original condition. The mediæval tapestry covering the walls at the principal landing, and representing the story of Hero and Leander, was greatly admired. It was in very good preservation, and was stated to have been worked by the nuns in the thirteenth century, though one or two of the visitors considered that the character of the work indicated a later period. After going through the cellars and inspecting the old dungeon, the visitors were offered refreshments. A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Joseph Cowen, and after a visit to the haughs where the battle of Newburn was fought, the party returned by train to Newcastle.

August 29.—Meeting in the library of the Old Castle. Mr. Gibson presented some pieces of wooden pipes that were recently discovered in the Side. Mr. Heslop said that while some new telephone lines were being laid in the Side, two lengths of wooden pipes were turned up. He was very soon on the spot, but he found that he had been anticipated by Mr. Gibson, their attendant, who was always alert, and who had already secured these pipes for the Society. They were very interesting indeed. They were made of elm, and illustrated two methods of joining pipes.

There was, in one method, a butt joint, which was made water-tight by an iron ferrule. There was also the spigot and faucet principle, a pointed end fitting into a cup-shaped socket, fastened with a pin. Both these kinds of joint were illustrated in this pipe. In 1698 an Act was obtained to supply the town with water, and 4-inch pipes were put down from the Town Moor and across to Gateshead, where the water was pumped to Holmes's Close, and gravitated back again to Kale Cross on the Sandhill. He believed this was one of these old water-pipes. No doubt the line of pipes would pass down the Side. The Rev. J. R. Boyle said the pipe was one of those laid down in 1704 to carry off the surplus water from the Pant on the Side to the Cock at the Sandhill. Dr. Hodgkin said a letter had been received from the Society of Antiquaries in London, stating that a congress of delegates of Societies of Antiquaries was to be held at Burlington House on some day during the ensuing autumn, the objects of the conference being, first, the better organization of antiquarian research; and, second, the preservation of ancient monuments and records. It was agreed that the secretaries of the Society (Dr. Hodgkin and Mr. R. Blair) should attend the conference as delegates from the Newcastle Society. Dr. Hodgkin read a paper by Mr. William Adamson, of Cullercoats, on "Redesdale Families."

August 30.—The members of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries and those of the Durham and Northumberland Archæological and Architectural Society had an excursion to Bamburgh Castle, over which they were conducted by Mr. Cadwallader Bates, who read an interesting paper on the "History of Bamburgh." Canon Greenwell drew the attention of the visitors to an interesting relic of the ancient owners of the castle, which one of the members had handed to him for exhibition, viz., a visiting card of Dorothy Forster, which had been found among the Delaval papers. The visitors then paid a visit to the old Church of Bambrough, where the archæological and architectural features of the building were described by Canon Greenwell and Mr. C. C. Hodges.

Hampshire Field Club.—July 25.—Meeting in the Isle of Wight. The geological museum in the Literary Institute at Ventnor was inspected. Bonchurch was visited, and Mr. T. W. Shore read a paper on the antiquity of botanical folk-lore. "It is not necessary to remind the botanists of the Hampshire Field Club that no one branch of science, such as botany, can be studied far without the connection of such a subject with kindred sciences, such as geology, being brought forcibly before the student. I hope the members of the Field Club will co-operate in the preparation of lists of plants in our country which appear to be confined to, or to flourish best under special geological conditions. Such lists would be equally interesting to the botanist and geologist. I do not, however, wish to enlarge on the connection between these two branches of scientific study, but briefly to draw the attention of the Club to the association of botanical study with other branches of study with which the Hampshire Field Club is concerned, viz., with the study of antiquities and folk-lore. That botany has an interesting connection with antiquarian study is not generally known, but that connection arises through the real or reputed medicinal properties

of plants. We have all heard of Herbals, those curious old medical books which perhaps some of the members of the Club may possess; but few of us probably realize their immense antiquity. We read in old botany books or old herbals of the eighteenth, or perhaps the seventeenth, or perhaps even the sixteenth century, of the curious herbal remedies for various complaints with which the human body is afflicted, possibly with much amusement, but for the most part fail to realize that these old herbals are only latter-day versions or copies of botanical remedies for various complaints, which came down to the latter-day people of the fifteenth, sixteenth, or seventeenth centuries from the philosophy of the ancient Greeks and Romans, transmitted to them, and to us, through our remote forefathers in these islands, the Anglo-Saxons, and perhaps some of them through Romano-Britons. For example, many of us, perhaps most of us, in our rambles in this or other countries have seen the common houseleek (*'Sempervivum tectorum'*), which I have heard also called singreen, growing on cottage walls or roofs; we have, perhaps, examined it, and questioned the cottager who so carefully preserves it, of its remedial properties, and possibly there are some here who have been still more curious about it, have searched it out in the old herbals, or cross-examined some reputed old herbalist or other specially qualified medical botanist about it, or some similar plant. It will, therefore, be perhaps not wholly uninteresting if I bring before you what the Anglo-Saxon herbarium has to say about it. It says 'This wort is called molu, and by another name singreen, of which Homerus saith it is full of worts the brightest, and that Mercurius found it. The ooze of this wort is very beneficial, and its root is round and swart, also of the size as of a leek. For sores, take this wort, pound it, and lay it thereto; it alleviates the sore.' This is taken from an Anglo-Saxon MSS. copy of the *Herbarium of Apuleius*, preserved, I believe, in the Bodleian Library, and it shows us that the curative plant-lore of the old herbals of two centuries ago was but a survival of Anglo-Saxon remedial plant-lore. You may hear the virtues of the houseleek still described here and there in parts of Hampshire, but the board schools and other schools of this age are fast destroying our ancient folk-lore, including all its remedial plant-lore, which flourished down to the last century. The schools are making us all so respectable as to forget our ancient folk-lore. The herb physic, or leechdom, in Anglo-Saxon time included a very large number of remedies to be derived from a very large number of the common plants which grow around us at the present day, such as the betony (*betonica officinalis*), the potentilla reptans (concerning which I have myself heard its use described by a countryman exactly as it was used in Anglo-Saxon time), the henbane (*hyoscyamus niger*), the gentian, the watercress (*nasturtium officinale*), agrimony (*agrimonia eupatoria*), and a large number—a very much larger number than I could mention—all find a place in the Anglo-Saxon Herbarium, where their curative properties are described, and I am convinced that there is in this country much curative botanical folk-lore, which is rapidly passing away, and which it would be desirable this Club should, if possible, collect before it is impossible to collect it. Those

who come after us will be incredulous if they merely read of the survival of the botanical folk-lore of their Anglo-Saxon ancestors down to the nineteenth century. For us and for them it would be interesting, therefore, to collect this folk-lore while we may, as a proof of such a survival in this county."

Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society.—July 13.—A paper was read by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma on "Madron Well and Chapel": "The subject of the magic, or sacred, wells of the ancient populations of Britain and Ireland is a topic of considerable interest. Like most European nations the Britons regarded certain wells as possessed of magic properties. We find these superstitions common from the steppes of the Volga to the western shores of Ireland and the Scottish islands. Among the Slavonians there was a belief in fairies haunting the springs and also subterranean halls beneath the watery depths. Especially was this common among the Bohemians. Classic art has familiarized us with the ancient Greek and Italian beliefs in the nymphs of the springs, especially the springs of the fountains of rivers. Among the Celts (as among other Aryan races) the feeling was very strong, and probably was a part of the mysteries of Druidism. In the North of England, as well as in Cornwall, there are still to be found survivals of this antique superstition. As late as 1740 sickly children were dipped in St. Bede's Well, near Jarrow, and a crooked pin dropped in it. This is strikingly parallel to the Madron Well and a case at the other end of England. It is strange that the two extremities of England should, in scenery and folk-lore and many other things, be so much alike. At Whitford, in Flintshire, there is a magic well for weak eyes, and water from Lock-saint Well, in Syke, is taken internally for many complaints. At Sefton, in Lancashire, there is a fortune-telling well, where, by throwing pins, the fidelity of lovers and date of marriage can be augured. At Worm Well, in Lambton, and at Wooler, in Northumberland, are wishing-wells, where pins are used as offerings. At St. Helen's Well, near Thorpe Archin, Yorkshire, rags are attached as votive gifts. These magic wells were often consecrated, on the conversion of Britain to Christianity, and thus converted into baptismal wells. This healing-well of Madron belongs to this class (like St. Bede's Well to which I have referred). We have also seen another case in the mystic well of Ludgvan, in our recent trip, with its anti-hanging charm. The well of St. Keyne (near Liskeard) is still more famous; for the charm it possesses is no less a one than the spell of the *Cader Myghell*—the magic chair of St. Michael's at St. Michael's Mount, which I hear that some of our members in the last excursion tried, *i.e.*, the dominant rule in matrimony. If the husband drank first of the mystic well of St. Keyne, 'he should be master for life.' But woe betide him if the lady was the first to drink. The charm of this Madron Well is different. It confers no matrimonial privileges, I believe; not yet does it preserve offenders from the last penalty of the law. It is simply a healing-well. Bishop Hall certifies to some cases in his time when he was Bishop of Exeter. The original baptistery was, possibly, that of St. Padarn, or Madern, the blessed visitor of Britain, who, among his many missionary journeys, visited

this place and not improbably baptised the Cornubriton converts in this chapel. The existing edifice, I need hardly say, was erected ages after St. Madern's death. It is clearly mediæval. It is probable the altar was not consecrated, but a portable altar was brought here, and placed on the altar-slab. In modern times, both in England and through Latin Christendom, it is customary for the font to be raised above the floor of the church, as we all know. In the Brito-Celtic church it appears, on the other hand, that the font was usually below the surface; in fact a well or a tank. The Brito-Celtic rubric directs the candidate '*descendit in fontem*': he goes down into the font or the fountain. The idea of the font being below the church is more primitive, and favours the idea of immersion. The font raised over the church-floor is a modern or mediæval development. This font, as that (probably) of Ludgvan, is below the floor; in fact is a fountain."

Kent Archæological Society (*continued*).—August 2.—The second day of the Congress, like the first, was passed most agreeably, chiefly in visiting, in increased numbers, the churches of Cheriton, Newington, Lyminge, and Saltwood, together with Saltwood Castle. Cheriton is, probably, of Saxon foundation, though it seems first to appear in our local history in the reign of Edward I., when it was the demesne of Robert Scotton, governor of Dover Castle. From his family it passed to the Valoigns, then to the Faggs, and lastly to the Brockmans. The church contains two full-length monuments in stone, rather rudely sculptured. Newington, like Cheriton, is in the Lathe of Shepway, near Hythe. From the reigns of John and Henry III., its history is well understood down to the present, but architectural features show it was of pre-Norman origin. These churches were described by the Vicars and Canon Scott-Robertson. The drive to Lyminge was much enjoyed, for the sun shone and the country was beautiful and diversified. As the long line of carriages approached the secluded village, the church bells in their merriest peals rang out a welcome, and the visitors, some 200, were soon under the roof and guidance of their hospitable host, the Rev. Canon R. C. Jenkins. There is no church in England more interesting than that of Lyminge, connected with a monastery and its appendages, the ruins of which are covered by a large extent of land. The whole of these are upon, or connected with, an extensive Roman villa, upon which the church itself is built. This was discovered by the Canon, who, in good taste, has left open a portion near the entrance of the church. Though mostly the church is the work of St. Dunstan, yet parts of walls are standing which must be attributed to the early part of the seventh century, walls with windows twined with Roman tiles and altogether built *more Romano*. Within the church, Canon Jenkins gave an elaborate and lucid description of the church and its history, at the close of which he invited his numerous visitors to a repast in the rectory. At the same time the Canon was exhibiting in his library a choice and extensive collection of the classics, as well as rare early mediæval works, among which was a beautiful devotional book of the fourteenth century given him by Mr. Ruskin. Among a few choice paintings is one which, in addition to its intrinsic

merits, derives an extra interest in having belonged to Lieut. Waghorn, whom Chatham has just honoured. Further yet, in the library was exhibited a small collection of Saxon weapons and ornaments, discovered in a cemetery near Lyminge, not yet explored. Ere the visitors left, the thanks of the Congress were returned to Canon Jenkins, and also to the Misses Jenkins for their great attentions. To render more justice to the learned Canon, we refer our readers to *Some Account of the Church of St. Mary and St. Eadburg, in Lyminge*, by Robert C. Jenkins, M.A., rector and vicar of Lyminge, London and Folkestone, 1859; also to *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., 1861. On leaving the merry bells speeded the parting guests on to Saltwood Castle. Saltwood Castle is so well described in local works that any account of it in this brief report would convey but a faint notion of its great interest. It is deeply moated, and the external walls are in good preservation. They enclose, by our estimation, about two acres, upon which was a chapel, or, indeed, two, for Canon Scott-Robertson, who had well studied the place, declared that what some took for a grand banqueting-hall was also a chapel. The whole of the internal remains were elaborately described by the Canon.

Cambrian Archæological Association.—Annual meeting, at Crowbridge, August 13. Address by the Bishop of Llandaff, the President-elect. Perhaps the most interesting monument within the verge of their present resources was the vast cromlech near Dyffryn, in the parish of St. Nicholas. It was, he believed, one of the largest, if not the largest, of such remains to be found in the kingdom. Other remains of the same period, but of smaller dimensions, existed in the immediate neighbourhood. Encampments of greater or less extent, scattered at intervals over large portions of the land of Morgan, served to remind them that their forefathers were not so wholly engrossed in peaceful pursuits as to neglect to guard themselves against the attacks of their enemies. His lordship proceeded to notice some of these remains which were more immediately connected with the advent of the Romans, and then passed on to remark that the period that followed the departure of the Romans had few objects of interest for the archæologist. The northern invaders' rule was unlike that of the Romans, and provoked a more obstinate and prolonged resistance. The results of this were still to be seen in the remains of the many Norman and English castles which abounded in that and the neighbouring counties of South Wales, and which furnished for the archæologist some of the most interesting objects of research. Many of the parish churches, he added, would be found interesting on account of their peculiar construction and the various styles of architecture, and he particularly referred to the Church of St. Iltyd, or Llantwit-Major. Archdeacon Thomas moved a vote of thanks to the bishop for his address, and referred to the origin of the visit to Cowbridge. Having visited most of the chief places in North and South Wales, they thought it would be a wise and good plan to take up some of the smaller places, of which few offered so many attractions as Cowbridge, the district being especially interesting on account of its connection with the earliest planting of Christianity. Mr. E. Laws read a paper on "The Black Friars of

Cardiff," and the meeting closed. On August 14, the archaeologists made an excursion. The first stoppage was at St. Hilary, where the church was inspected. Being built at various periods its architecture embraces Norman and Perpendicular. At Old Beaupre, the beautiful porch erected in 1600, which is the work of a Welshman, was much admired. The Church of St. Athans was the next stopping-place; the building, though largely restored, preserves its ancient characteristics. The visitors afterwards drove to Gileston and Fommon, the latter an ancient seat held by Mr. H. O. Jones's ancestors from the time of the Commonwealth. Penmark had to be passed by, but a stoppage was made at Llanrcarvan to inspect the church, a twelfth-century building. Llantrithyd was visited, where some time was spent in the church, which contains some remarkable monuments.—In the evening a meeting was held at the Town Hall, under the presidency of the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas, who read a paper on the "Norwich Taxation of the Diocese of Llandaff, 1254." He first referred to two old taxations of the Diocese of Llandaff, etc., the MSS. of neither of which had been printed; one made in pursuance of a grant by Pope Innocent to Henry III., and the other the "Nova Taxatio," as to some part of the Province of York, made in 1318. He went on to show that the Dioceses of Bangor, St. Asaph, and Llandaff were more extensive in the earlier than in the later taxation, an evidence that the work of organization and sub-division had been brought to bear upon them in the interval of forty years. The lists of the churches, too, were fuller in the earlier than in the later, a fact of interest, because it proved that many churches existed at that time which had been supposed from the later omission to have been of later foundation. The value of the benefices and their relative increase during the interval between the two taxations may be seen from the following figures, the dates being 1254 and 1291: St. Asaph, £208 9s. 8d., £1,332 18s. 9d.; Bangor, £134 8s. 11d., £698 16s. 8d.; and Llandaff, £834 1s. 4d., £1,154 14s. 8d. A striking feature in the later taxation was the large number of religious houses, no fewer than thirty being enumerated, of which seventeen were within the diocese, and the great extent to which appropriations had been carried, as many as fifty-two churches, some, too, with capellæ, being appropriated to them, exclusive of those to the cathedral chapter. These houses, moreover, were of recent foundation, or, at least, recently refounded, and to them the Norman conquerors had transferred even the endowments of the older and native institutions of the country. In the Deanery of Llandaff the Norwich taxation named thirty-seven churches, as against forty in the later MS. and twenty-two in the printed list. The enumeration of thirteen ecclesiæ and five vicarages within this one deanery which did not occur in the published Taxatio showed how important the MS. was for the ecclesiastical history of the diocese. In conclusion, the Ven. Archdeacon said it only remained to add that in connection with the cathedral chapter several names occurred which he had not met with elsewhere, and they, with the other memoranda which he had had the satisfaction of laying before them, would help to complete an obscure portion of the history of the diocese, which had already such a large amount of

material, and only awaited its worthy interpreter.—Mr. Edward Owen read a paper on "English Influence in North Wales." One of the most interesting, and at the same time most difficult, subjects of inquiry in the domain of Welsh history was the action of English judicial practice upon that of the Welsh, and its connection with the social development of the latter people. It was but recently that this branch of inquiry had been cultivated according to the comparative method that had proved so successful in other departments of research, and progress was necessarily slow, because of the paucity of materials at the command of those who were engaged in the study of early Welsh institutions. The present paper was intended to be a contribution towards the proper understanding of the relations existing between the English and the Welsh at the period of the Edwardian conquest. With this view Mr. Owen, after sketching the condition of Gwynedd, or North Wales, proceeded to analyse the report of a commission issued by Edward I. in 1281 to inquire generally into the differences between the English and Welsh method of judicial procedure. The evidence taken before that commission at Chester, Rhuddlan, the White Monastery, Montgomery, and Llanbadarn Fawr went to show that the Welsh practice in suits for immovable property, as it is described in the codes of Hywel Dda, had been almost entirely displaced by the English system of proceeding by inquisition before a judge and jury. There could, indeed, be no doubt in the mind of the student of the Welsh laws that the system of trial by jury had not at the date of the Conquest been elaborated in Wales, at least, in the most important causes relating to land and to inheritance. The practice of compurgation or rhaith was common, but the point to which the English law had just arrived—that of placing upon the jury the responsibility of deciding upon questions of fact—had not been reached in the Welsh legal procedure. The evidence of Madoc Ddu at Llanbadarn, that there had once been in Arwystli a Welsh judge, or ynad, called Iorwerth Fychan, who had acquired that position because he had been to North Wales to learn the laws of Hywel, yet was not a judge by hereditary right, as was the custom in Gwynedd, afforded a most interesting comparison with Irish legal methods, and proved the essential identity of the practice of the Gaelic and Brythonic legal systems. The laws of Ireland, known as the Brehon Laws, were in no sense the products of monarchical or legislative activity, but were the rules drawn up by an hereditary caste of jurists to answer every supposititious case that might arise. And it seemed probable that the labours of Hywel in the tenth century were confined to the codification of such judicial rules as served the Welsh yneid. It was an important fact that the Welsh laws were as defective in what jurists termed "sanction," or power to enforce obedience to a legal decree, as those of Ireland. The main object of the Irish Brehons was to force disputants to refer their quarrels to a Brehon, or to some person in authority advised by a Brehon, and there could be no doubt that the practice in Wales was analogous, while assent to the verdict was secured by the quasi-religious influence of the judge. It was especially striking to observe, in view of the remarks of Sir Henry Maine on the exer-

cise of judicial functions by the Druids of Gaul, that Iorwerth Fychan went to North Wales—no doubt to Anglesey—the chief seat of insular Druidism—in order to acquire the hereditary lore of the judges of the sacred isle. He might almost be regarded as the lineal descendant of the Druids of Mona, and the last of the Welsh yneid. While, however, the evidence collected by the commissioners of 1281 conclusively proved that the English judicial system was rapidly replacing Welsh usages throughout the Marches, it was deserving of notice that in every compact or treaty of peace made with England the retention of the Welsh laws was especially stipulated for. The complaints of the Welsh before their final outbreak show that determined efforts were being made to thrust upon them the harsh features of the English manorial system, and how bitterly they were resented by a people to whom the heavy burdens of a villein were unknown. When the duty devolved upon Edward of bringing into harmony the Welsh and English systems of legal procedure, he foresaw that it was impossible to make a clean sweep of usages, some of which still retained sufficient vitality and usefulness to render a cordial union between the two peoples impossible. This was specially the case in the most peculiar feature of the Welsh social system, the law of succession known as gavelkind, or equal division amongst all sons. By that masterpiece of calm and conciliatory statesmanship, the Statute of Rhuddlan, it was permitted to continue, Edward foreseeing that it could not long survive the other elements of a fast decaying system. By the time of Henry VIII. it had become so burdensome that it was abolished at the instance of the Welsh themselves. The change in public opinion had been peacefully effected; it was a mere matter of development, and we were hardly able to trace its course. A clue, however, was afforded by an inquisition (now in the Record Office) made in the third year of Edward III., on a writ ad quod damnum, issued on a petition of Richard de Pulesdon, praying the King to receive into his hands the lands of the aforesaid Richard, and to re-enfeoff him, with the remainder to each of his sons in succession. As he had eight or nine sons, the number was, no doubt, the reason that prompted the procedure in the instance of Richard de Pulesdon, and probably in many other cases. Thus were old customs—survivals of the tribal form of society, from which a nation finds it so difficult to depart—merged into the modern channels of national development, though primitive usages held their ground in the humbler departments of agricultural life, and were still to be dimly traced in the field names and customs of modern times. On the subject of language, Mr. Owen remarked that Mr. Palmer, in his “Early Tenures in the Lordship of Bromfield,” had affirmed that the predominance of Welsh speech and of Welsh sentiment in that district was not seriously threatened until two or three centuries after Edward I. “That the Welsh speech suffered,” said Mr. Owen, “Mr. Ivor James has incontrovertibly proved, but Welsh sentiment was keenly alive, and soon led to a remarkable revival of language and literature.”—Mr. J. A. Corbet, of Cardiff, read a paper on “The Manor of Llanblethian. On August 15, an excursion was made. The first stoppage was at St. Bride’s Major, where the

church, which is early Norman, was inspected. At Ewenny Priory some interesting features in the church were pointed out by Colonel Tarbervil. At Coyty the castle ruins and the church were examined, and at Coychurch the diocesan architect and the rector gave addresses on the history and interesting features of the church. Some of the excursionists visited St. Mary Hill, meeting the main body at Llangan, where they were entertained by the rector.—In the evening, a meeting was held under the presidency of Archdeacon Thomas. Mr. S. W. Williams, F.R.I.B.A., read a paper on “Further Excavations at Strata Florida Abbey,” mentioning that £145 had been raised for the work of clearing the site of the church sacristy, chapter-house and part of the cloister, and the work was recommenced on May 24 last, and continued until August 4, when the funds were exhausted. Since reading his paper at Denbigh he had discovered the fact of the occupation and desecration of the Abbey during the rebellion of Owen Glendwr in 1402, when it was occupied by Henry, Prince of Wales (subsequently Henry V.), with 600 archers and 120 men-at-arms for a period of six months. There was another historical fact which should be mentioned in connection with the destruction of the Abbey Church by fire, which had probably been published. “The Chronicles of St. Werburgh” ended in 1265; the writer was contemporary with the event he described, and the truth of his description was most certainly borne out by the evidence which has come to light during the excavation. His statement did not agree with the statement more or less implied by Wharton in *Anglia Sacra* (vol. i., p. 156), followed by Roberts in his account in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (1848, p. 123), and also repeated by the reader of the paper in his former paper, published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (1887, p. 292), that the Abbey was burnt during the Welsh wars, 23rd Edward I. (1295). However that might be, there was ample evidence in the ruins themselves of a great conflagration having taken place which destroyed the Abbey Church. He might mention that in Edward I.’s charter, dated March 30, 1300, it was distinctly stated that the Abbey was burnt down by mistake during the Welsh wars. And there was a tradition in the district that it was burnt by King Edward’s orders, and the place was still pointed out, on the high ground overlooking the Abbey, where the king halted his army, and, it is said, waited for the abbot to come, according to his promise, with the principal men of Cardiganshire to make their submission. The abbot failing to fulfil his promise, the king was so incensed that he gave orders for the destruction of the monastery by fire. Of course, it was just possible that the church was destroyed by fire in 1284, and that King Edward’s forces only destroyed the conventual buildings and spared the church. The whole of the site over which they had permission to excavate was within the churchyard of the parish of Strata Florida, a very extensive churchyard, but no modern burials had taken place in that portion of it occupied by the ruins. Externally the north wall of the north transept had been cleared, also the east and south wall of the presbytery, the east wall of the chapels on the south transept, and the sacristy and chapter-house, disclosing the freestone plinths and magnificent buttresses. A portion also of

the south wall of the nave had been cleared in the cloisters, enabling them to find the south-east door of the nave, with its very beautifully-moulded jambs, perfect for a height of nearly four feet. One jamb was also discovered of the south-western doorway of the nave, opening into the western alley of the cloisters, and at the north-west angle of the nave the base of the angle buttress had been found. The outer walls of the nave did not appear to have had buttresses corresponding with the responds of the piers in the aisles. The excavation of the external face of the walls of this portion of the church had disclosed the fact that buttresses were built to take the thrust of the groining and arches at every point, and that the greatest care was taken to build them solidly and well. Following the line of external excavation, they came to the north transept, the whole external face of which had been cleared down the original ground-level, and it had enabled them to find the plinths of the square buttresses, of very Norman type, and the elaborate moulding of the north door. The external wall of the west end of the presbytery, like the north face of the north transept, had been cleared down to the original ground-level, and there were, in addition to the angle buttresses, square pilasters carried up between the centre and side lights of the east window, which was a triplet; and these pilasters, like the buttresses, were of ashlar work. Externally, on the eastern side of the south transept had been found a series of monks' graves, some of which have still their carved headstones *in situ*. Continuing the excavation along the face of the eastern wall of the south transept, they discovered still *in situ* the window of the sacristy. Beyond this there was a change in the character of the walls, the workmanship being inferior. The chapter-house had the foundation still remaining of the stone bench upon which the monks sat in conclave, and masses of the entrance doorway had been found, consisting of arch moulds, bases, and capitals, and a portion of the base mould of one side of the door still *in situ*. The character of the mouldings found was clearly of later date than the church, and was of early English type, whilst all the work in the church itself was distinctly Transitional or late Norman. Returning to the interior of the church, and commencing at the west end of the nave, one of the most interesting and important facts discovered was the finding of the western respond of the south arcade *in situ* for a height of 10 feet above the floor-level of the nave. He believed he might venture to say that in Strata Florida they had found a most unique and peculiar type of arcade. Alterations had been made in the shape of the pier subsequently to the great fire, and he found that fragments of moulded work had been used as quoins in repairing the damage caused by the burning of the Abbey Church in 1284. Originally all the piers were of oblong plan, but had been altered at some later period, probably after the fire. He believed he had discovered probably the finest series of tile pavements ever seen in any ruined abbey in England and Wales. He then went on to speak of the elaborateness of the carving throughout, and asked, Who were the workmen? Was there a school of native workmen? Finally, he asked for further funds to carry on the good work of recovery.—

Mr. J. W. Willis Bund, F.S.A., read a paper, discussing the question, "Who founded Strata Florida Abbey?" He entirely rejected the theory that it was Rhys ap Tewdwr, and did not at all believe it was his grandson, Rhys ap Gruffydd, contending that a Welsh prince was not likely to found a Cistercian house, for the Cistercians were more Norman than the Normans. Dealing with the question affirmatively, Mr. Willis Bund argued that the founders were the Norman family of Clare, who were lords of Cardigan, holding the strong castle of Ystrad Meurig, and who were admittedly the founders of the Cistercian Institutions of Neath, Margam, and Tintern.—On the next day (Thursday), after a visit to Cowbridge Church, the party drove to Llanblethian, where the castle was inspected. At Llanmihangel Place the visitors were entertained by Mr. W. Jenkins; and at Llantwit Major a long stoppage was made for the examination of the church. Mr. Romilly Allen, too, read a paper on the inscribed stones of Llantwit Major. The next stoppage was at Caerwrgan, where excavations are being made by the Cardiff Naturalists' Society, under the direction of their curator, Mr. Storrie, and their excavations have been rewarded by the discovery of pottery, an urn, a Roman coin, and other interesting objects. The party then proceeded to St. Donat's Castle on the shores of the Bristol Channel. After visiting the church the journey was resumed, Marcross Castle and Church being inspected on the way home.—In the evening a meeting was held, over which the Rev. Archdeacon Thomas presided, and he gave a *résumé* of the work of the two previous days, Mr. S. W. Williams, Mr. S. Lucas, R.A., and Mr. Iltud Nicholl adding their impressions.—Mr. D. Jones read a paper on the social position of Glamorganshire during the Tudor period, and Mr. E. Laws a paper on St. Fagan's Fight, when the Royalists were defeated by the Parliamentary forces.—On Friday a pleasant excursion was enjoyed. At Dyffryn St. Nicholas some time was devoted to the examination of the cromlechs which are to be found in the neighbourhood. A short stay was made for the examination of the church of St. Lythan's, at St. Fagan's, named after a missionary from Rome who came in A.D. 180. The visitors were shown over the church by the rector, the Rev. W. David. The castle, which is a seat of Lord Windsor's, and is believed to have been originally built in the earlier half of the twelfth century, was next examined. The present manor-house was erected by John Gibbon in the reign of Elizabeth. What is supposed to be the site of St. Fagan's Fight was also pointed out, and the rector mentioned that a hundred years ago a lot of old muskets were found near the place, as well as a number of gravestones. At Llandaff the visitors were entertained by the Dean, and conducted over the cathedral.—In the evening a meeting of members of the Association was held for the transaction of Association business.—On Saturday a party of members paid a visit to Strata Florida, where Mr. S. W. Williams conducted them over the remains of the Abbey.

[Reports of the Royal Archaeological Institute, and the British Archaeological Association stand over till next month.]

Reviews.

Berwick-upon-Tweed: the History of the Town and Guild. By JOHN SCOTT. (London: Stock, 1888, 4to.)

The famous fortress of the marches, sometimes an English and sometimes a Scottish possession, needed an historian, and though we cannot award Mr. Scott the high praise of having fulfilled the post exactly as we deem it should have been, we can say that his distinct honesty of purpose, his wide use of thoroughly good material, and his undeviating rule of giving chapter and verse for all his statements, render his volume of great value. He tells us in his preface of what he had intended doing by way of preface in tracing out the times of Celt, Roman, and Saxon in this district: he must forgive us for saying that we are heartily glad that he stuck to his legitimate text, and did not wander into subjects which are certainly not needed as a part of local history.

The first mention of Berwick appears to have related to the year A.D. 833. But Berwick only became of first importance when the Tweed was recognised as the border between the two countries, and she lost her importance when that border was destroyed by the union. Thus it is as a border fortress and town that Berwick is known to history, and a curious and interesting career she has had in this capacity. The number of times the town was burnt, plundered, or destroyed, and the inhabitants massacred or maltreated, is truly amazing. The measures resorted to by John were infamous and inhuman, and of a piece with all that monarch's actions. Edward I. stained his magnificent character by a sudden outburst of fury against the town, during which he mercilessly slaughtered the inhabitants, and from which the town never really recovered. Succeeding kings lost it and re-captured it, and its history has nothing of the peacefulness which for the most part surrounds that of other towns.

It is singular that with such a history, unique at all events in the long continuance of its turbulent life, the same sort of government that obtained in other towns obtained also at Berwick. Special chartered privileges were granted by the sovereign on several occasions "because of the extreme poverty of its inhabitants;" special inducements were offered to English merchants to settle there and open up trade within its walls; but over and above these extraordinary facts the history of its system of government is singularly like the history of almost all town-government in England and Lowland Scotland. The Guild had great powers at Berwick. They appear to have developed more quickly than elsewhere the functions of keeping direct control over merchants; and in the curious and interesting combination of the famous four burghs, of which Berwick was one, we can detect some facts in the history of mediæval commerce which ought to receive attention from the student of economical history.

The pages of this handsome and bulky volume are too crowded with facts for us to be able to do more than give this general outline of their contents. Many passages we should have much liked to quote at some length, but they are so linked with other passages equally illustrative of the facts they record that it is difficult to choose. It is one of the author's

merits that he deals largely with the facts of his case, and leaves theory alone. He is wise. He gives us a very important local history for which many future historians and students of national institutions will thank him.

The Enemies of Books. By WILLIAM BLADES. (London: Elliot Stock, 1888.)

What lover of books does not know this quaint little work on their enemies? Its re-issue, "revised and enlarged by the author," in the "Book-lover's Library" series, is satisfying and appropriate in every way. When we recently re-read it we put it down with a vivid sense of the injury wrought by the enemies of books, but we almost forgave our enemies for the pleasure which the story of their naughty deeds had given us. When Mr. Blades is in wrath with an enemy he permits a happy touch of exaggeration to escape him, and we almost look up to catch the twinkle in his eye. If there is an exception in the under-lying charity of Mr. Blades's indictment, it is perhaps the bookbinder, because a biped perpetually handling books ought to know better.

Book Prices Current: A Record of the Prices at which Books have been Sold at Auction, from December, 1886, to November, 1887. (London: Elliot Stock, 1888.)

Well printed on good paper in a serviceable cover, we have here the first of a series of volumes which will assuredly be not only the *vade mecum* of the collector, but the book of reference for all in whom inclination or chance may raise the desire for information as to the prices of books of value. Lowndes and Brunet have done excellent service, but as rare volumes come into market, the latest prices will be registered in this new book-guide, and those manuals will attain more of an antiquarian, and less of an actual interest. An admirable index connects the prices realized in the case of the same work at different sales; hence the scheme of Lowndes is continued under a different form. Some very interesting facts in the fortunes of books are chronicled in this volume; but they have already been noticed far and wide in reviews by the press, and our space forbids a more extended notice.

Sobriquets and Nicknames. By ALBERT R. FREY. (London: Whittaker and Co.)

When a useful book is published we put it on our shelves and wonder how in the world we have hitherto lived without it. An enormous amount of information is focussed in Mr. Frey's dictionary, and its usefulness needs no comment. We have cut the leaves with a lively sense of favours to come, and congratulate alike the compiler, the publishers, and the large circle of readers to whom the book will be a boon.

The British Roll of Honour: A Descriptive Account of the Recognised Orders of Chivalry in Various Countries, and their Insignia, etc. By P. S. SIMMONDS, F.L.S., F.R.C.I. (London: Dean and Son, 1887.)

This will be a useful book of reference, and its reception ought to be such as to encourage the author to continue it. Hitherto there has been no work pub-

lished exclusively devoted to the orders of chivalry ; in the present work, however, are given not only the dates when persons were made knights of particular orders, but their addresses, other titles and honours, medals received, etc.

In the absence of an English order of merit for civilians, it is interesting to note the large number of Englishmen eminent in literature, arts, science, and manufactures who have been distinguished by foreign sovereigns.



Correspondence.

MASTER THOMAS DALLAM.

[*Ante*, xviii. 5, 55.]

The following historical particulars respecting the Dallam family, whose name was variously spelt Dallam, Dalham, Dallum, and Dallans, and who were much employed as organ-builders in the latter part of the sixteenth and nearly throughout the seventeenth centuries, may possibly possess some interest.

The old organ in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, the handsome case of which still remains, was built by a "Mr. Dallam" in 1605-6, whose name frequently appears in the College accounts up to the year 1641, but in no instance with a Christian name prefixed. He is, however, distinctly identified as the constructor of an organ for Worcester Cathedral by an entry in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of that ecclesiastical establishment, which memorandum runs as follows :

"A.D. 1613. All the materials and workmanship of the new double organ (great and choir) in the Cathedral Church of Worcester to Thomas Dallam, organ-maker, came to £211."

Thomas Dallam appears to have had three sons, Robert, Ralph, and George, all of whom became well-known organ-builders.

Robert, in 1632, made the organ for York Minster, which was consumed in the fire of 1829. He also, according to Sanderson's MS. collections for a history of Durham, constructed others for Durham Cathedral and St. Paul's, London. The Durham organ was removed by Father Smith in 1687, and re-erected in the Church of St. Michael-le-Belfry, York, where the diapasons, principal, and case are said still to remain. Robert Dallam was born in 1602 at Lancaster, and died in 1665, and was buried in the cloisters at New College, Oxford.

Ralph Dallans made organs for St. George's Chapel, Windsor, at the Restoration; for the parish church, Rugby; for the old parish church, Hackney, in 1665; for Lynn Regis; and for the old church at Greenwich.

The organ from St. George's was, on its removal, re-erected in the Church of St. Peter in the East, St. Albans, where some of it was remaining a few years ago, and perhaps is so still. The Lynn Regis organ was removed by Suetzler in 1754, who erected a fine new instrument in its stead. Many of the wooden pipes were so worm-eaten as to fall to pieces on being taken out. The churchwardens, who were much

attached to the organ, nevertheless asked Suetzler what their old instrument would be worth if repaired; on which he naively replied, "If they would lay out a *hundred* pounds upon it, perhaps it would then be worth *fifty*!"

The following inscription to the memory of this builder formerly existed in the old church at Greenwich :

"Ralph Dallans, organ-maker, deceased while he was making this organ; begun by him Feb., 1672. James White, his partner, finished it, and erected this stone, 1673."

Of George Dalham or his work but little is known. John Playford, at the end of his "Introduction to the Skill of Musick" (6th edition, 1672), makes the following announcement :

"Mr. George Dalham, that excellent organ-maker, dwelleth now in Purple Lane, next door to the Crooked Billet, where such as desire to have new organs, or old mended, may be well accommodated."

This builder was still living in 1686, in which year he added a "chaire organ" to Renatus Harris's instrument in Hereford Cathedral.

After his death we hear no more of the Dallam family.

EDWD. J. HOPKINS, Mus. Doc.

23, St. Augustine's Road, N.W.,
July 30, 1888.

HOLY BREAD.

[*Ante*, xvii. 191; xviii. 87.]

In the year 1849 I was curate of a parish in Furness, North Lancashire, where I was informed by one of my churchwardens that it had recently been the custom, on the occasion of a funeral, for someone to stand at the door of the house of the deceased with a plate on which were small cubes of bread, one of which each person who entered took. I suppose this to have been a survival of the custom mentioned by Mr. Peacock, but I never heard that the bread had been blessed.

Other old customs lingered in that neighbourhood; e.g., it was not an uncommon thing to hear the clergyman spoken of as "the priest."

FREDERICK HOCKIN.

Phillack Rectory,
August 3, 1888.

ROMAN WORK IN CHESTER.

[*Ante*, xvii. 41, 94, 126, 137, 242; xviii. 86.]

The Rev. E. W. Cox, in the spirit of fair criticism, objects to my view of the character and origin of the Chester walls; remarking also that I have not seen the recent revelations. With a clear recollection of what I did see many years since, and with printed accounts before me, I fancy that I can comprehend all the new evidence bearing on the subject.

I have elsewhere pointed out the great varieties of Roman masonry. Varied as they are, they can be as readily understood and recognised by the practised eye, as Mr. Parker and I pronounced on the fragment at Old Sarum. We did not say or think that this was to be accepted for all kinds of Roman masonry; and Mr. Cox is quite right in saying it does not appear in

the Chester walls, nor, he might have added, in those of Aldborough, *Isurium*. Mr. Loftus Brock and Sir James A. Picton, by cautious analytical process, have arrived at the same conclusion I came to so many years ago. Those experienced gentlemen were by no means prejudiced in my favour; and they even suspected that possibly I might be in error. The same with others; now I doubt if the theory of the late Mr. Watkin has a dozen supporters, yet he printed that he had refuted "piecemeal" all I had written on the subject!

I have not seen the sculptured stone with two figures on which Mr. Watkin laid such stress in support of his theory, but I had a sketch of it; and from the sketch I could not for a moment doubt its being Roman. I saw two young female figures; one holding a mirror, the other what must have been intended for some small animal; both were in harmony with many other similar sepulchral sculptures. When Mr. Schrubsole sent me an excellent photograph, I could clearly discern the fingers of the left hand in the attitude of supporting something which had been almost destroyed, but not so effectually as to efface the outlines of a small animal, probably a cat or a dog. The right hand is advanced towards it.

G. ROACH SMITH.

Temple Place, Strood,
August 7, 1888.

WOODEN WATER-PIPES.

[*Ante*, xvii. 189, 268; xviii. 87, 135.]

The town of Liverpool was originally supplied with water, by means of wooden pipes, which were formed from trunks of trees, about ten feet long, and nine to ten inches in diameter: these were bored with a pump auger, the bore being about four inches.

The exterior was left unworked, and some, if not all, the logs were laid with the bark on. The pipes were fitted together by shaving down one end to a cone, and enlarging the bore of the next log so as to fit it; a wrought-iron ring was placed in the bore, and caulked with tow, to prevent the pipe from being split, by driving in the conical end of the next, or by expansion by the water. I can distinctly recollect these pipes being taken up from some of the streets about fifty-five years ago, and iron pipes substituted. I think some of them, if not all, were strengthened with light iron hoops driven on the conical ends. Such hoops were lying about when they were taken from the ground. The depth at which they were laid seemed to be three or four feet. About ten years ago, one or two of these old wooden pipes were dug up in one of the streets leading out of Church Street, and seemed to be in fair condition; the timber was either beech or sycamore.

One of the reasons given for the removal of these pipes was that the decay of the timber tainted the water passed through them.

The original supply of water to Liverpool was entirely from wells, cut in the sandstone rock; and the first supply from the exterior was brought from Rimrose Brook, Bootle, almost three miles from the centre of the town. This brook has long since disappeared, and its course is built over.

E. W. COX.

SOME ADDITIONS TO HAINES' MANUAL OF MONUMENTAL BRASSES.

[*Ante*, xvii. 182; xviii. 67.]

CAMBRIDGE.

Fordham.—1. Fragment of an inscription: "Andrew Cheswryght Preyst."

2. An inscription: "William Hinson the Elder in the feare of God died the second daye of June, 1592, and here he lyeth buried."

DORSET.

Folke.—An inscription: "Hic sitvs est Willielmvs Hemerfordvs sacrae theologiae Baccal' hvivs ecclesiae qvi dorm' in Deo 4^o die Octobris, 1583."

Long Burton.—Within an incised heart upon an oblong plate is the following inscription:

"Who conquered had his foes, hymselfe, hys God
Mighty in prayer, Doctrine, and the word,
Holy in life still bearing of the rod,
His dayes and joys resembling Jonah's Gourd.
A living sermon faithful to that trust,
Ashamed of nought but flesh, here hid his dust.

Nathaniel Fairclough Mag: Art: Familia natvs Motion et Rector Ecclesiae Stalbrigensis in hoc Comitatu obiit die undecimo Octobris an Dom 1656."

ESSEX.

Little Baddow.—During the restoration of this church, a plate was found bearing the following inscription:

"Here lyeth the corpse of Mercymight Springham, one of the Daughters of Richard Springham, Gent: whoe was wyfe to Richard Bristowe, Esquier, xxvi yeares and lyved in thys worlde Fyve and Fiftie yeares, Departinge Her Mortal Lyfe the xxth of Januarie, 1611.

SOMERSET.

Wells Cathedral.—Fine small demi-figure of a priest in cope. The orphreys ornamented with a fleur-de-lis and rose pattern. He wears a diamond-shaped morse. The inscription is lost.

IN PRIVATE POSSESSION.

The Rev. W. Creeny.—A full-length figure in plate-armour with skirt of chain, armed with sword and dagger. The head, body, and arms of the companion lady, and also the legend plate thus inscribed: "Here lyeth Wyllim Heron, Esquier, and Justys of the peace, and also Also hys wyfe, whych Wyllim deceased the iiij day of January, in y^e yeare of our lord M^oCCCC^o62, whose soule God take to hys mercy. Amen."

This brass is mentioned and described by Aubrey in his "History of Surrey," 1719, as then being in Croydon Church.

J. A. Sparvel-Bayly, J.P.—A small sixteenth-century civilian figure purchased by him from a marine-store shop in London some years since, probably removed from some Essex or Suffolk church.

The Rev. E. Meadows Russell.—Three sixteenth-century figures: 1. A civilian in the usual costume of the period. 2 and 3, being probably companion-figures, represent the kneeling forms of a knight and his lady.

J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.

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FOR SALE.

Walton (Izaak), The Compleat Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation; facsimile, produced in photo-lithography by Mr. Griggs; yellow cloth. Published by Quaritch, 1882; 12s.—14B, care of Manager.

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The Book of Archery, by George Agar Hansard (Gwent Bowman), Bohn, 1841, numerous plates, 8s.—M., care of Manager.

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Berjeau's Bookworm, Nos. 3, 4, 9, 13, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36; new series, 1869, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; new series, 1870, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12; Printers' Marks, Nos. 5, 6.—Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C.





The Antiquary.



NOVEMBER, 1888.

The King's Peace.

BY HUBERT HALL, F.S.A.

THE peace of God has been found amongst most rude nations an expedient for the amelioration of those crimes of malice or revenge which are incident to the transition from a natural to a civil state of society.

Certain holytides and sanctuaries were assigned as oases in the desert of lawless passions within whose terms and bounds no fray might be begun, nor any fugitive, outlaw or foe, be dragged forth to death. The Church's calendar suggested appropriate seasons for the observance of this peace, the influence of which has endured to the present day in a curiously perverted form. The goodwill which men now carelessly extend to their fellow-men has converted the great festival of the Christian year into saturnalia, dreaded and shunned by the law-abiding citizen. We find from the ancient customs of such a town as Chester in Saxon times that the most conspicuous of these holytides was the mediæval "Saturday to Monday." Then came the Christmas holiday, lasting properly from Christmas to Twelfth Night; Lady Day, Easter, Whitsuntide, Ascension Day (the open neglect of which is a grave reproach to our Church-directing State), with some others, the national character of which has diminished since the Reformation. If a further extension of peace were desired in consequence of some epidemic of warfare or crime, producing, when accompanied by sufficient suffering, the reaction of a late repentance, a holy truce was proclaimed at the Church's instigation—a kind of second

Lent of abstinence from bloodshed to its martial congregation.

The above precautions for the preservation of the "peace of God" at stated times, however praiseworthy their intent, must still be considered as comparatively futile in the face of a general connivance at the "free-hand" system of social adjustment. Far more effectual and durable was the sanctity of holy places within whose precincts worldly passions might not enter on pain of sacrilege. The law, we may notice, has been ever prone to protect vested interests rather than mere personal rights, and crime aggravated by trespass seldom escaped condign punishment.

It would be an endless task to relate the good work effected by the peace of the sanctuary in England. The hunted criminal, softened by the religious influences, and still more by the practical charity of the good fathers who stood between him and a shameful death, made atonement in the spirit, and after his forty days of grace, departed in peace for the nearest seaport to enter upon the better promise of a new life in a foreign land. The broken debtor, secure for a time, at least, from the persecution of his harsh creditors, had breathing space to mature some scheme for his future sustenance. It was long before the abuses of this privilege arose, which under the earlier Tudors converted the sanctuary into a lounge for dissolute ruffians and political conspirators, and a storehouse for the goods of fraudulent bankrupts.

In this aspect, however, the peace of the Church is merely one of the disused byways of constitutional history. In its practical form it must be considered in connection with the civil government of the temporal ruler. Here the Churchman appears as the skilled coadjutor of the rude tribal leader, devising modifications of spiritual ordinances to meet the practical requirements of the lay subjects. In the bulk of Anglian laws and customs there is no idea more prominent than that of a bond between the Church and State to ensure the preservation of the peace, which was the first essential of moral and physical well-being. The King and the Archbishop supported one another's dignity by a primitive law of treason and sacrilege, and the lives

and property of their subjects and congregation by a penal code, and ecclesiastical ordinances carefully framed to cover every interest worthy of protection ; while the Earl and the Bishop sat together in the local courts to expound "as well the law of God as the secular law," and to administer a prompt, yet pious, justice with the common assent and assistance of the great body of Christian freemen.

The progress of this idea may be traced in the legislative memorials of Anglo-Saxon nations, or perhaps, to be more accurate, in the retrospective classification of English law by Norman experts, very nearly as follows :

"The peace of God before all other is most diligently to be preserved, and after that the King's peace."

"Then, too, let the righteous peace of the Church of God, within its walls, and the peace of the Christian King, bestowed by His hand, remain for ever inviolate."

"All the churches of God shall be worthy of full peace, and if any violate this, then let it be the unpardonable offence, and let all who are the friends of God pursue him, unless he shall make atonement to the King and to Christ. For the Christian King is Vicar of Christ unto a Christian people."

"The protection of the Church of Christ is of equal sanctity with the King's."

"And in the Kentish law the King and Archbishop have peace of equal sanctity."

"And in those laws the Archbishop's life is eleven times dearer than a churl's, and the King's life is nine times dearer."

"The word of the Bishop and of the King is binding without any oath."

"The wise men of this world were prudent in their generation, who added to the law of the Church the secular law for the discipline of the people, and established compensation to Christ and the King."

"Let the Church enjoy her immunities and tributes, and let prayers be said for the King, and let him be honoured, not of compulsion, but willingly."

"This I will (quoth Edgar the King), that the judgments of God be observed uniformly in my dominion, and that the ministers of God, who receive the revenues which we render to God, lead pure lives, that by their holiness they may avail to intercede

for us before God. And I and my thanes decree that our priests, who are the shepherds of our souls, do teach us. They are our Bishops, to whom we ought never to be disobedient, no, not in anything wherein they instruct us in the name of God ; that by the obedience which we tender them in the eyes of God, we may attain everlasting life, whereunto they fit us by teaching, and the example of good works."

"The peace of the temple and the peace of the holy order shall at all times be rightly and diligently observed, and the law of God obeyed and its teachers revered as it is meet. The Bishops are the preachers and teachers of God's law, and they ought earnestly and oft-times to entreat Christ and zealously to intercede for the whole Christian people—yea, to refresh and confirm by their example the holy state of the Christian nation."

"If any scorn to hearken unto them, let him think that he scorns the voice of God."

"For oft-times God has raised men from a poor to a high estate—such as have worshipped Him ; so that a serf becomes a thane, and a peasant an earl ; a chorister a priest, and a scribe a bishop. And once it was that, as God willed, a shepherd-boy became a king, and a fisher became a bishop."

"And if any lay snares against the King's life, let his life be forfeit and all that he possesses, unless he make purgation by a three-fold ordeal ; and if any withstand the laws of Christ or of the King, let him ransom his life. And on the Sabbath let men rest from merchandizing and from assemblies. And let them ever cherish and honour the ministers of God. And let them care for and feed God's poor. And let them not press hardly upon the widow and orphan, but ever comfort them. And strangers and sojourners, let them not tax nor oppress ; and let them do no man any wrong, but let each deal justly with the other, as he would he should do unto him. And this is the law of righteousness."

"The King shall be as a father of the Christian people, and Christ's vicar and he should keep all Christ's people in peace."

"Eight pillars there are which sustain a just rule : Truth, magnanimity, munificence,

constancy, authority, patronage, humility, justice; and seven qualities befit a just ruler: To fear God, to love justice, to be humble before God, to be severe against evil-doing, to assist the needy, to advance the Church and preserve it in peace, to maintain good laws; and the King's throne rests upon three bases: On the praying men, and the working men, and the fighting men."

"Bloodshed or violence committed from Saturday noon to Monday morning, or upon feast-day, received a two-fold penalty."

"And in the laws of the West Saxons the law of the peace was this: That if any should fight in church or in the King's house, he forfeited all his possessions, and lay at the King's mercy whether he should lose his life or save it."

"Then let the King's life alone be valued at six thanes' lives, and for the kingdom some further compensation is due; the one is due to his kindred, and the other to his people."

"Let violation of the King's protection be compensated with fifty shillings."

"If a freeman steal from the King, let him make compensation nine-fold."

"If the King feast in another man's house, and there any man do injury, let him make amends two-fold."

"If the King hath called his people to him, and any man there do wrong to them, let him make compensation two-fold, and fifty shillings to the King."

"And if any man fight or steal in the King's city, or nigh unto it, he shall lose his life, unless he make due amends."

"If a man be slain in the King's city, the King shall receive fifty shillings for his lordship."

"If a freeman steal from a freeman, let him make amends in public, and to the King a fine and all his goods."

"The King's peace shall extend from the gate of the castle where he is residing towards the four quarters, namely, by the space of three miles and three furlongs in length, and in breadth three acres and nine feet and nine barley-corns. Great heed should there be, and great vigilance, that none break the King's peace, especially in the precincts."

"The King's peace is of several kinds—

one bestowed by his own hand; the other the unwritten protection of all subjects upon the great highways and rivers, such as are used in traffic from one town to another. If any encroachment or obstruction is made upon these, let it be straightway destroyed, and the authors thereof punished."

"Concerning the great highways, note that homicide committed hereon is against the King's peace."

"Let the King's peace be firmly maintained as it existed in the days of his predecessors."

"Thus let the King's peace be established that all, of whatever kindred, be knit together with a common purpose to uphold it."

"All people in treaty with us shall enjoy our peace, as well by land as by sea, within or without a port. If any such arrive in a hostile land, and an army come upon him, his ship shall enjoy peace and all his possessions. If he have brought his ship to land, and erected a tent, let him have the like peace, so that he make himself known. If he flee or fight, and refuse to declare himself, his slayers shall not be guilty."

"And if one in holy orders or a stranger by any mischance lose his money, or his life, or if he be bound, or beaten, or in any way ill-treated, then let the King be to him in the place of a kinsman, or protector, if he have none other. Concerning the Jews: All of them, wheresoever they are within the kingdom, are under the protection and guardianship of the King. They and all their possessions are the King's."

"These are the prerogatives which the King of England alone and above all men enjoys for the preservation of peace and security. Breach of the peace bestowed by his hand, contempt of his writs or precepts, death or injury of his servants, infidelity and treason, disrespect to his person, fortifications without license, false coinage, outlawry, murder, robbery, burglary, assault with premeditation, narrowing highways, wreck, treasure trove, forests, feudal incidents, Danegeld, fugitives from justice or battle, false judgments, perversion of laws, churchmen, strangers, poor, needy, and friendless men, etc., etc."

Such is the fair growth of the theory of the King's peace from the germ of a patriarchal obligation tended by the devotion

of the Church to the overshadowing expanse of a feudal prerogative trained by the civil lawyers. But in spite of the insignificance of these feudal changes, they must still be regarded as the secular means which were justified by a spiritual end rather than as a policy of a mere self-seeking. This old simplicity of purpose is best seen in the coronation oaths and charters or other manifestoes of later Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet sovereigns, and may even be said to have survived in outward form as late as the Revolution. Canute admits the obligation that he should "everywhere maintain the glory of God and put down wrong, and work full peace by the might that God would give me." The Conqueror with one bold stroke secured the pacification of the country by putting his Norman followers within the ancient peace of the Crown. It was the preservation of this peace that enabled the native English to live in amity side by side with their fellow-subjects, whether Danes or Norman; whilst its treacherous violation on two memorable occasions was promptly punished by the downfall of the native dynasty in one era, and the burden of a grinding blood-tax in the other.

Henry I., in his Charter of Liberties, established his peace firmly throughout his whole kingdom, adhering admittedly to Saxon principles, which gained him the native designation of "the Lion of Justice." What the consequences were of the relaxation of this sovereign protection of the lives and property of the subjects we may easily gather from the King's apology to his exiled primate for the unseemly haste of his coronation ceremony: "But the necessity was such, because the enemy was willing to have risen against me and against my people, who are given me to govern," and this significant explanation is confirmed by the account of the Saxon chronicler of the anarchy which ensued when, in the fulness of time, the Lion himself was no more, and his peace expired with him, then "there was tribulation in the land," for every man that could forthwith robbed another. This, too, was no mad orgy, no relapse into original barbarism sanctioned by the silent presence of the mighty dead. What happened then has happened often since, is being enacted now. The forces of

religion and law and order were temporarily withdrawn, and the subdued elements of natural covetousness and crime took fearful shape and action. These enemies did not even wait for the craven successor's decease. Stephen was of the Lion lineage, but without the Lion heart. In his very prime we read: "Peace in the kingdom there was none; by the sword, by the fire, by the spoiler all was consumed." Fifteen years later the hour of exhaustion and remorse found a Lion prince ready to make his life-work the means of the nation's salvation. We read his programme in the dry report of the Chronicler: "The King held a General Council at London, and renewed the *peace* and laws and customs throughout England ordained in ancient times." And after this great King came other Kings, though not all Lions—many, indeed marvellously ill-favoured beasts—who renewed this peace by the strong arm and resolute voice of their ministers and judges, until a time came when the voice of the Church ceased to charm men into peace and charity with their neighbours, and the time-honoured customs of the Saxon throne and hierarchy were branded with the hated names of Prerogative and Prelacy.

Thus far the preservation of the King's peace is associated only with the general principle of constitutional government. It was not long, however, before the purity of this patriarchal policy was sullied by the imputation of interested motives. Henceforth the King's peace was destined to become but another fiction of the constitution. The sovereign was no longer the national leader, Rex Anglorum, the earlier Dux on an imperial scale, but the feudal proprietor, Rex Angliæ. The customary contributions of his subjects had become assessed by Domesday survey, and commuted by scutage and carucage as forced taxes, grudgingly rendered and scornfully accepted as a scanty provision for the now extensive schemes of the European potentate. To supplement this meagre supply, the Crown was now prepared to coin all its old benevolent prerogative into hard cash to meet the occasions of foreign war or household pomp, and an unfailing mine of wealth was opened in the dispensation of that protection which was now so necessary to its industrial subjects.

The simplest and commonest form at once of the King's protection was that given under his hand, or rather seal, to the subject petitioner. This was the convenient charter which answered widely different purposes under the new *régime* of inquisitorial officialism that flourished after the Conquest, serving alike as a title-deed and an exemption from vexatious exactions or litigation to those who could pay for its possession. This selfish policy was unfortunately facilitated by the administrative machinery devised by the first Plantagenet King, for the mere purpose, it seems, of being abused by his degenerate successors, and an official traffic was henceforth carried on in charters, fines, and oblations, regularly entered to the credit side of a now exorbitant revenue.

Charters and conventions, however, as granted to royal favourites, or entered into by individual suitors, were as nothing compared with the profit arising from the royal prerogative of the control of trade.

The Peace of the Fair has a somewhat complex derivation. In the first place, it would appear to be connected with the wise control of possible centres of disorder which the Crown was compelled to assume at the latest with the Anglo-Danish conventions of the ninth century. But it was not only necessary to protect the subjects from injury by the fraudulent dealings of foreign traders, it was equally desirable to overlook the progress of commercial enterprise in the interests of the whole community. The mere preservation of the peace throughout the great avenues of commerce, though at first the especial care of the Crown, following the Saxon guardianship of the great highways and rivers, was gradually abandoned to the charge of the local authorities with disastrous results, and, instead, the economic and international relations of the country became the peculiar care of the prerogative. Not content with lucrative compositions for charters of liberties, the Crown ventured to relieve its pressing necessities by lavish grants of franchises and monopolies, which threatened to work the ruin of its citizen subjects.

The native traders were even greater sufferers in their individual than in their corporate capacity. Their goods, they were told, were not their own to dispose of without yielding an

extortionate prise or maltolte, and even then they must consign them to stated ports, where an infinite variety of tolls might be levied on them by the ingenuity of official assessors, after which they were left to choose between the risk of further exactions at an English staple, governed by a *junto* of monopolists and mutinous soldiery, and a further license to seek a now slender profit in some foreign mart. Even the case of the defenceless and richly-laden merchant-stranger, Fleming or Jew, was no such evil one as this; for as the *protégé* of the Crown he contrived to make a double profit at the expense of the enraged lieges, even after discharging the "mutuum" or "misericordia" of the period.

On the other hand, the native producer was more favoured. The Peace of the Plough may be taken to imply the exemption of the essential means of subsistence from the incidence of feudal burthens, as well as the alleviation of natural calamities by the direct or indirect assistance of a paternal Government. From the later Saxon period the Crown had stayed the abuse of the purveyance for the royal household, and this restriction was repeated at uncertain intervals, and with more or less candour, down to the decisive enactment of Edward VI. In the reign of Henry II. we know that the Crown was petitioned in a novel and practical fashion by the overburthened husbandman who put in an appearance as a suitor at Court, bearing on his shoulder his disused ploughshare, "to signify the mockery of toil." Some such feeling as this seems to have animated the insurgents of 1536, when they emblazoned on their quaint banner of revolt against religious and economic destructiveness the plough, as an emblem of agricultural depression. On both occasions the Crown took the hint thus broadly tendered, and applied itself to the redress of real or fancied grievances. Indeed, it would not be too much to say that the consistent policy of later Plantagenet and Tudor sovereigns was one of agricultural protection against the encroaching mercantile interests. Thus we find shrewd statesmen, like Gardiner and Cecil, recognising the greater docility of the agricultural classes, contrasted with the restless energy of the new population of the

towns, and thus we meet with a school of agricultural revivalists that was never weary of proving the advantage of the Crown in the old order of things, from returns showing the rapid decrease in the number of ploughs, which have formed the basis of every ancient survey of the resources of this country. Here, indeed, the Crown was a peacemaker between the weak and the strong, the needy and the rich.

As for the selfish interest of the Crown in the preservation of the peace at large, almost at the outset we are confronted with the vague suspicion that the assessment of fines and amerciaments in respect of Pleas of the Crown was an essential portion of the King's ordinary revenue. The tradition, moreover, of a slightly later period mentions these receipts as the only source of income payable in specie, and therefore as doubly indispensable to the Crown. In the existing *Pipe Roll* of the reign of Henry I. we find the returns from this quarter amounting to at least a third of the ordinary revenue of the kingdom at a time when this chronicler boasts that a man might traverse the kingdom treasure-laden unharmed. In other ways an indirect profit might be made by insisting on the performance of certain ancient liabilities whereby the larger share of the national defence and police might be shifted on to the shoulders of the subjects, thus leaving the imperial revenue free for more congenial enterprise. But any such artifices sink into insignificance beside the open violations of the ancient peace of the Crown expressed in Saxon and Norman charters of liberties that we meet with in the dreary constitutional annals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is useless to insist on the ultimate victory of the Commons in the indictment and punishment of the arch-offenders against the laws of King Edward. Such victories may be purchased too dearly, and in any case the triumph was short-lived. The Church, too, which had formerly been the champion of their civil liberties, had now become the obsequious servant of the Crown. For a long time past she had enriched herself at the expense of her credulous flock, and now, in place of the old merciful spirit that shielded the fugitive felon with a single eye to his spiritual welfare,

the sanctity of the sacred office was extended to habitual criminals, and the protection of the holy place was converted into an interested harbourage of thieves. The wise prerogative of the old Saxon monarchy was utilized by Tudor kings in the development of an all-pervading sovereignty. Beneath the shadow of the King's peace the growth of the new prerogative flourished marvellously, but with a rank luxuriance that needed more than the petulant pruning of an hysterical and half-servile Parliament. Justice, indeed, the subjects had, though not of the purest, both in the Courts of Westminster and in the Chancery, or in any one of the new-fangled tribunals which exercised a paternal supervision over the supposed interests of needy or privileged suitors. But for this justice they had to pay dearly both in purse and person, to supply the deficiencies of a decaying revenue, and to support the pretensions of an upstart dynasty. The Assize of Arms of the Plantagenets was developed by easy stages into the musters; these, in turn, into pressing and billeting under the Stuarts; while the Danegeld and scutage respectively became the hated ship-money, and the hereditary revenue that defrayed the army of Sedgemoor. The primitive surveillance of the King's marshal expanded into martial law, and an odious jurisdiction within the palace precincts, which insured for the King's servants a partial hearing in the Court of Requests, and for their obstinate opponents a lingering sojourn in the Marshalsea. The peace of the highways and forests, though never so debased as this, was also strangely perverted. Highways, by land or water, were, indeed, jealously guarded by the Crown down to comparatively recent times; but forests and Crown-lands were looked on as fair subjects for profitable disposition, in which the well-being of the people was in no way regarded. The losing game of thriftless dissipation was invariably restored by the trump-card of parliamentary resumption, or precedent might serve as the mask of tyranny when the obsolete prerogative of the Crown was vindicated by the Stuart King, during whose gloomy reign there was no peace for the yeoman or the merchant.



Byzantine Frescoes and Rock-hewn Churches in the Terra d'Otranto.

BY THE REV. H. F. TOZER.

(Concluded.)

BYZANTINE FRESCOS AT SOLETO.

TO the south-westward of Sternatia, on the branch line which runs to Gallipoli, is the town of Soleto, which is likewise inhabited by Greeks. Near the middle of this stands a small and unpretending church, dedicated to St. Stephen, the only ornamental portion of which is the western façade. This is in the Lombard style of architecture, which is common in Apulia, and has a portal with a round moulding over it, and pillars at the sides, surmounted, the one by an eagle for a capital, the other by a lion. In the upper part is a wheel window, and above it a gable with a blind arcade; but the whole of the ornament is greatly dilapidated. The walls of the interior, however, are completely covered with Byzantine frescoes, which, though in parts they are much defaced, are of remarkable interest.* But, before I describe the frescoes themselves, it may be well that I should say a few words about a book which has been the established authority in matters of ecclesiastical art in the Greek Church from far back in the middle ages to the present day, and the rules contained in which were evidently familiar to the decorators of this building.

This book is the *Guide to Painting* (Ἐγχειρίδιον τῆς ζωγραφικῆς) of Dionysius of Agrappa—a work which only exists in manuscript in the East, but has been translated into French by M. Didron from a copy which he obtained from Mount Athos, and published under the title of *Manuel d'Iconographie chrétienne*. Its importance consists

* These, like the pictures at Carpignano, have been described by M. Diehl (*Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* for March and April, 1884); and I take this opportunity of acknowledging the advantage which I derived from studying his excellent account before leaving England, for without it, owing to the faintness of the colouring and other causes, much of what is represented there would have been unintelligible to me.

in its having systematized the traditional modes of representing sacred subjects. It is highly probable that, to some extent, the method of treatment was prescribed at quite an early period in the Eastern Church; but this book contains, in addition to instructions as to the preparation of the painter's materials and other technical points, and the arrangement of the pictures on the walls of churches, rules for the treatment of all kinds of sacred subjects, including the chief historical events of the Old and New Testament, the parables, the figures of the saints and martyrs, and allegorical or ideal groups. In these the position and attitudes of the persons, the backgrounds and accompaniments, and, to some extent, the features and expression of the faces are specified. The constant employment of the "Guide"—I have myself seen it in use on Mount Athos—accounts, to a great extent, for the singular uniformity of design in the paintings, both ancient and modern, of the Greek Church; but still the correspondences which are traceable between them, as we shall see in comparing the Soleto pictures with some of those in Greece, not unfrequently exist in points not noticed by this manual. We are thus led to the conclusion that more elaborate details must gradually have been added to the directions there given, and that these were either orally transmitted, or appended in the form of notes to the original treatise. That the latter was sometimes the case is implied in what M. Didron tells us in his introduction concerning a MS. of the work belonging to a painter on Athos, the margin of which was covered with annotations of this kind.*

The inner walls of the Church of St. Stephen present flat, unbroken surfaces, except at the east end, where there is a niche behind the altar, and at the west, where are the door and circular window already mentioned. Originally this window seems to have been the only means of admitting light into the building, for two other openings, which have been broken through the upper part of the south wall towards the east end, look like an after-thought. All along the lower part of the side walls figures of saints larger than life are painted; these, like all

* *Manuel d'Iconographie chrétienne*, pp. xxiii., xliv.

the other frescoes, except those behind the altar, though they are the work of Greek artists, and are inscribed with Greek titles and letters, betray their comparatively late date by their more artistic and more Italian treatment, and by the mitres represented on the bishops' heads, and other emblems of the Western Church. In the middle of the left-hand wall is a conspicuous female figure, ἡ ἀγία Ἀγαθή; and near it stands St. Michael, bearing in his left hand a medallion, on which, between the limbs of a Greek cross, are inscribed the letters ΦΧΦΠ; these, according to M. Diehl, signify Φῶς Χριστοῦ Φαίνει Πᾶσαν. In the middle of the right-hand wall is the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John; and flying angels with chalices catch the blood from the Saviour's wounds. Between this picture and the east end is an angelic figure with a nimbus inscribed with the cross (*nimbus cruciger*), an emblem which only accompanies the Persons of the Blessed Trinity, and with the title, Σοφία, ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ. This is the "Angel of the Mighty Counsel" (ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς) which is prescribed in the *Guide to Painting*, and represents Christ as the Wisdom of God.* It is an impressive piece of symbolism, and is peculiar to Greek art. The frescoes on both these walls above the row of figures are much defaced by damp; they form three tiers of compartments, one above the other, reaching to the spring of the roof; and those on the left-hand wall represent the history of our Lord; those opposite, other sacred subjects.

In the upper part of the east wall is the Assumption of the Virgin. In this, two angels support the throne on which the Virgin is seated; the apostles in two groups look up at her, and two prophets stand by, one on either side; above, Christ appears in glory borne by angels; and surmounting all is the figure of God the Father, accompanied by two seraphim. It is noticeable that in the Greek Church, though the Repose (κοίμησις) of the Virgin is celebrated, there is no festival of her Assumption; and though the "Guide" contains rules for the treatment of this subject in art, yet, as a matter of fact, it is very seldom represented. Anyhow, what

is here delineated differs widely from the scene as prescribed in that manual. Below this, in the hollow of the apse above the altar, is the Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. This is earlier in date than the rest of the frescoes, and M. Diehl attributes it to the twelfth or thirteenth century. God the Father is represented as holding the Son, a smaller figure, in His bosom, facing the spectator; and from beneath them the Spirit descends in the form of a dove on an enclosed place, which is shown to be a city (*i.e.*, Jerusalem) by a row of battlements, that forms the background to the group below. Within this the Virgin is seated with the apostles, each of whom holds a scroll inscribed with one article of the Creed. Above are two angels, and in the middle of the assembly stands an angelic figure like that already described, emblematical of the Word, with the same title. He is in the act of blessing the chalice, while a smaller angel opposite holds a round wafer.

The whole of the west wall is occupied by a picture of the Last Judgment. This part of the church was so dark that I could hardly make out anything without the help of a ladder, and on approaching nearer I found the entire surface to be thickly overlaid with cobwebs. In the splay of the circular window at the top, Christ occupies the highest position, while the Virgin on one hand, and St. John the Baptist on the other, intercede with him on behalf of the human race. The introduction of the Baptist is an Eastern trait, for in the West it is usually St. John the Evangelist who stands on our Lord's left hand.* Below the Saviour the instruments of the Passion are placed on a table, on either side of which Adam and Eve kneel; this is the Byzantine ἐπιμασία τοῦ θρόνου, which forms the transition scene between the coming of Christ and the Judgment.† At the archangel's trumpet skeletons are seen coming out of tombs, and wild beasts and fishes vomit forth the arms and other limbs of men that they have devoured. The earth is personified by an allegorical figure of a woman richly dressed and crowned, sitting on a lion; and opposite, facing her, the sea is symbolized by a man riding on a fish. Below, again, a

* Didron, *Manuel*, pp. 460, 462; cf. *Christian Iconography*, i. 67, 293.

* Didron, *Manuel*, p. 268, note.

† *Ibid.*, p. 262.

mailed archangel weighs the souls in a balance. On his right hand are the pious, among whom are seen a pope wearing the triple crown, and several cardinals and bishops. St. Peter, with the keys of heaven, opens a door, through which a man bearing a cross is entering. On the left of the whole composition is heaven, where is a garden with tall palm-trees; within it Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (the names of the two last are given) are seated on thrones, holding in their hands the souls of the saved. Here, as elsewhere, the souls are represented by small naked bodies. As Abraham holds only one soul, and the others more, this one is probably Lazarus, and is introduced to correspond to Dives, who appears on the opposite side, where hell is depicted. In this place of torment only three classes of sinners are specified by name, viz., the thief (ὁ κλέπτης), the usurer (ὁ κτήστης), and the rich man (ὁ πλούσιος), who points with his finger to his open mouth. The rest, strange to say, are representations of various trades and occupations—the tailor (ὁ ῥάπτης), the furrier (ὁ κουρσεσέρης), the tavern-keeper (ὁ ταβερνάρης), the currier (ὁ κουράρης), the cooper (ὁ βουτζέρης), and the agricultural labourer (ὁ τζαπατοῦρος, Ital. *zappatore*). What motive can have urged the artist to this wanton freak of malicious humour it is hard to divine. Above these there is a curious representation of adultery, in the form of two persons in a bed, with a devil creeping over one side of it. In the lowest part of the picture of hell is Satan, who holds in his arms a condemned soul. The figure of the arch-enemy is a bas-relief in stucco, and is the only one in which this material is employed.

In its general outlines this picture corresponds to what is laid down in the *Guide to Painting* (pp. 268-278), but numerous additional details have been introduced; the most remarkable of these, however, are found in similar designs in churches in Greece, and the points of correspondence which are thus established clearly prove the existence of supplementary instructions respecting the treatment of sacred subjects, such as I have already alluded to. To illustrate this point, and at the same time to show how thoroughly Byzantine this work is, notwithstanding the

Italian influences that are apparent in its execution, I will here introduce a few extracts from Didron's notes in his edition of the Greek manual, in which similar features in representations of this scene are mentioned as existing on the walls of a church in Salamis, and of two on Mount Athos. In describing the first of these, in which the resemblances to this of Soletto are very numerous and exact, he says, speaking of the resurrection: "Au son de la trompette d'un autre ange, la terre et la mer rendent les morts qu'elles ont englouties depuis la naissance du monde. Sur la terre, assemblage de forêts, de rochers, de montagnes, on voit accourir une multitude de bêtes . . . qui tiennent à la gueule et rendent, pour le jugement dernier, les membres humains qu'ils ont dévorés. Dans la mer, océan de flots agités, des poissons monstrueux ou réels . . . apportent également leur tribut de membres humains, dont ils se sont nourris. Au milieu d'eux, assise sur un cétacé gigantesque, est la Mer personnifiée, une grande femme, couronne sur la tête et sceptre à la main gauche" (p. 271). Again, when speaking of a picture in the convent of Vatopedi on Athos, he mentions these strange allegorical figures of the Earth and Sea: "La Terre est une femme vigoureuse et richement vêtue. . . . Elle est assise sur deux lions, et soulevée par deux aigles. . . . La Mer est une femme moins robuste et plus élancée; elle glisse sur les flots entre deux monstres marins qui lui servent de char" (p. 266). Of the convent of St. Gregory, also, we read: "Au couvent de Saint-Grégoire (mont Athos), la Terre fait également partie du Jugement dernier peint sur le mur occidental de l'église principale. Comme celle de Vatopédi, elle est femme et reine, assise entre un lion à sa droite, une lionne à sa gauche" (p. 267).

ROCK-HEWN CHAPELS AND FRESCOS AT MASSAFRA.

The antiquities which remain to be described are found at Massafra, about ten miles to the north-west of Taranto. The town of that name occupies the heights on either side of a deep ravine or *gravina*, which runs down from among the hills towards the north, and at this point opens out to the

plain, which extends as far as the bay of Taranto. The original town stood only on the western side, but in course of time a new suburb sprang up opposite, and in 1874 the two were joined by a massive bridge of several arches, which spans the ravine at a height of fully 300 feet. The cliffs at the sides are precipitous, and are honeycombed with ancient rock habitations. The view, either from the bridge, or from a point somewhat higher up the valley with its arches in the foreground, is marvellously picturesque, from the fantastic rocks at the sides, the rich and strange vegetation of fig-trees and pomegranates, prickly pears and aloes with tall flower-stems in the ravine, the sea of olives in the plain below, and the bay towards Metaponto, with the lofty Calabrian mountains behind. I was led to visit this place by information received from Mrs. Ross, the author of *Italian Sketches*, and I was greatly assisted on the spot by a local antiquary, Sig. Raffaele Grifa, who joined us in the town and accompanied us in our explorations.

In the cliffs beneath the town on the western side of the gorge there is a rock-hewn chapel, now called La Candellaia, which is approached by a series of narrow terraces. It is a rectangular chamber, excavated lengthwise in the face of the cliff; and it now stands open to the air, but originally either the rock must have been left as a wall in front, or there must have been pillars or other supports to the roof in that direction. It is about 30 feet in length from north to south, 17 feet in width, and 12 feet in height; but originally its elevation must have been considerably less than this, for the rock which formed the floor has lately been cut away. In the middle of the chapel there were two piers, from which the arches of the roof sprang, but only one of these remains. An arcading runs round the walls, and both in this, and in the supports of the roof, the arches are round; the capitals of the pillars from which these spring are ornamented with incised work. The sections of the roof between the arches are cut in different patterns, circular, crossed, or ribbed. The altar, of which only the base remains, was on the western side. The niches of the arcades were everywhere filled with brightly gilt and

coloured frescoes, the best preserved of which is the first on the right hand, representing the Presentation in the temple. It was from this, no doubt, that the chapel received its present name, for La Candellaia is the Italian title for the feast of the Purification, our Candlemas. This picture represents the Virgin and Child with Simeon, and the titles are subjoined: MP ΘΥ (μήτηρ θεοῦ), and ΣCS SIMEON. Next to this is a figure of a female saint, leading by the hand a child who holds a basket of eggs. As the child has the *nimbus cruciger*, which, as I have already said, is only worn by divine persons, he must represent the Infant Saviour, and the female figure will be the Virgin. The incident depicted, then, would seem to be something connected with the Purification; but I know of nothing corresponding to it in legendary art. On the west wall the right-hand compartment is occupied by a male and a female saint, the former of whom has the tonsure and bears a censer, while the latter holds a staff in her left hand. In the central compartment are the Madonna and a bishop; on the left St. Matthew and St. Nicolas. The frescoes on the south wall are much defaced. There is no date anywhere; but though, with the exception of the usual abbreviation of the Virgin's title, all the inscriptions are in Latin, the style of painting is Byzantine.

On the opposite side of the *gravina*, and further up than the Candellaia, is a subterranean church of S. Leonardo, to which, after crossing by the bridge, we clambered down from the heights above. This faces eastward, and consequently penetrates the cliff at right angles. There is an entrance porch, and this leads into a nave and aisles, which are separated by square piers, and are composed of three bays each. The porch is 15 feet deep from the entrance, and the church itself is about 28 feet long by 15 feet wide and 10 feet high. The sides of the piers are grooved, and there are simple capitals, from which round arches spring; but the roof is flat, and is left rough. Several steps lead up to the chancel. The nave and the southern aisle terminate in apses, but not the northern, and in the central apse the base of the altar remains. Between the south aisle and the chancel there is a low wall, like

that at Giurdignano, but there are no remains of any between the nave and the chancel. Here and there slight traces of paintings are visible.

About half a mile from Massafra there is another *gravina*, resembling this one in its general features, and running nearly parallel to it, in which stands the church of Santa Maria della Scala. This name is derived from a handsome stone staircase of modern construction, which leads down to it from above; the ravine here is about 150 feet deep, and the building stands about two-thirds of the way down. The church, which may date perhaps from two hundred years back, is uninteresting; but at the further end of it, above the high altar, there is a colossal Byzantine fresco of the Virgin and Child, well executed and well preserved, which closely resembles Cimabue's pictures of the same subject. As it was painted against the rock, this design necessarily occupies its original position; but where it stood in the earlier church it is impossible to say, for no trace of that one remains, and the rocks in the neighbourhood have been extensively cut away to make room for the present building. In a hollow in the cliffs close by, which serves for a chapel, there is a similar fresco of the same subject of ruder execution. The ravine below, like that of Massafra, contains numerous rock-hewn dwellings. Some of these were contiguous to one another, running along in successive chambers parallel to the face of the rock. The only tokens of human habitation in these were niches in the walls, and small hollows where lamps perhaps used to be placed; but in one, where the surface of the stone was less friable, we found crosses engraved, betokening the religious occupations of its former tenants. Openings leading to similar chambers could be seen at the sides of the valley as far as the eye could reach. It would seem that at some period of the Middle Ages this neighbourhood must have harboured a large colony of Greeks, who perhaps formed an extensive monastic community.

A brief sketch of the history of the Greek rite in Italy, to the continuance of which these monuments testify, may form an appropriate

conclusion to this paper. Our main authority on this subject is the learned work of Rodotà, *Dell' origine, progresso, e stato presente del rito greco in Italia*, which was published between 1758 and 1763; this has to some extent been supplemented by the *Ἱστορικὴ ἀναμνηστικὴ* of Zambelli (Athens, 1864), and by the researches of Aar, which have appeared in vols. vi. and ix. of the 4th series of the *Archivio storico italiano*. Concerning the process by which those Greeks who remained behind in Italy after the withdrawal of the Byzantine power passed over to the Western Church, as has already been remarked, very little information remains to us; but from the state of things which we find to have prevailed subsequently, we can draw a tolerably clear inference as to what then took place.

It would seem that the tenets and forms of worship of the Eastern Church were tolerated, and the customs of its adherents respected, on the sole condition of their recognising the Pope as their spiritual head. They retained without any modification the use of the Greek service-books and vestments. They used leavened bread in the celebration of the Eucharist, though this had been one of the bitterest subjects of dispute at the time of the Great Schism. They do not seem to have been required to conform to the doctrine of the Double Procession of the Holy Spirit. The priests, who, as we saw from the inscription at Carpignano, were previously allowed to marry, continued permanently to enjoy that privilege.* The Greeks, for their part, became loyal adherents of the See of Rome. Subject to their submission on this point, their independence was so fully recognised, that in 1195 Celestine III. issued a rescript to the effect that Greek priests should only be ordained by Greek bishops.† But, notwithstanding the toleration thus accorded to them, it is clear that at times their position was anything but a favourable one. During the early period the Norman princes occasionally persecuted the Greeks, probably with the idea that they would thus

* In a document existing at Brindisi, of the year 1326, the name of the daughter of a Greek priest occurs, and again, in 1582, married Greek priests in the Terra d'Otranto are mentioned. Aar, in *Archiv. stor. ital.*, vol. vi., pp. 308, 330.

† Rodotà, i., p. 379.

conciliate the Papacy;* and on other occasions in following centuries discouragement was offered to the Greek rite, and attempts were made to proselytise among its followers, both by civil and ecclesiastical authorities.† Still, the tenacity of life showed by that form of worship in Italy is remarkable, and it is impossible to read Rodotà's book without feeling that until a comparatively late date the number of those who professed it must have been very considerable. Thus, in a council of the diocese of Otranto alone, held between 1579 and 1585, 200 Greek priests were present.‡ The seventeenth century was the period which saw its most rapid decline. To prove this, we may mention some of the towns in the centre of the heel of Italy, concerning which we have the most definite information. In 1615 the parish church of Corigliano was transferred from the Greeks to the Latins; and in 1624 the Greek rite ceased to be used in Sternatia, in 1662 in Martignano, in 1663 in Calimera, and about 1688 in Zollino.§ Notwithstanding this, we find that in 1682 a Greek archbishop said mass at Lecce, and ordained a number of Greek clergy there.|| Even as late as 1760, when Rodotà wrote, there was a congregation of Greeks in Lecce, and another at S. Georgio, in the diocese of Rossano, amounting to 1,500 souls.¶

The Greek monasteries in South Italy require to be noticed separately. Before the twelfth century, when, as we have seen, these foundations were very numerous in that country, the strictness of life of their inmates, and the austerity of their practices, caused them to be regarded with great veneration; but in the following period, owing to the neglect of St. Basil's rules, and to the absence of proper supervision, their mode of life became very corrupt, and on several occasions the authorities at Rome were called

upon to interfere in order to check the scandals which thus arose. During the sixteenth century there was a recurrence of these disorders; and, in consequence of this, in 1579 Gregory XIII. annulled the independence of the several monasteries, and formed the Greek or Basilian monks in Italy into a single Congregation under a Superior of their own. It was during the period subsequent to this that the mixed rite grew up, which afterwards came to be universally adopted. Until the sixteenth century the services were strictly regulated by the traditions of the Eastern Church; but at a later time Eastern and Western practices came to be combined, so that, though the liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom were used, and the Mass was celebrated in the Greek language, the ceremonies employed were Latin, and the sacramental bread was unleavened. These changes, of the origin and precise date of which nothing is known, seem rather to have arisen gradually than to have been the result of a sudden alteration; but in 1683 Cardinal Nerli published a special missal for the Greek monks, in which the Eastern offices were abbreviated and arranged. The Basilian monks, also, in order to avoid singularity, gave up their Greek dress and adopted that of the Benedictines. At the time when Rodotà wrote, there were still fifteen monasteries in Italy, and a large number in Sicily, where the mixed rite was in use.*

Of all this at the present day only one trace remains, in a remarkable custom which is observed in two places. When I made inquiries on this subject from the priest of Sternatia, he informed me that at Nardò, a town situated between that place and Gallipoli, on the chief festivals of the Church, the Epistle and Gospel are read in Greek as well as in Latin. To discover the origin of this observance, we have to go back 500 years. In the fourteenth century, we are told, when Nardò contained both a Greek and an Italian population, the service in the cathedral was performed by Greek and Latin priests, officiating together, and robed in the vestments prescribed by their respective rites; and on these occasions the Epistle and Gospel used to be read in both languages.

* Rodotà, ii., pp. 130, 143, 168, 179, 225, 231, 246.

* Zambelli, p. 248.

† Aar, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 102, and *notes*.

‡ Rodotà, i., p. 378.

§ Rodotà, iii. 100; Aar, *op. cit.* p. 316.

|| Aar, *ubi supra*.

¶ Rodotà, iii. 94, 102. In this account I have purposely left out of sight the Albanians, who had immigrated into Italy in large numbers at various periods from the time of Scanderbeg (A.D. 1460) onwards. At Rodotà's request, a college for the education of their priests was founded by Clement XII. at S. Benedetto Ullano, in Upper Calabria.

In 1586, after the Greek rite was extinct at Nardò, a bishop of that place attempted to abolish the custom; but the traditional usage was regarded with strong affection, and the canons appealed against him to Rome, where decision was given in their favour.* Hence this practice has continued to be observed there until our own time. At Brindisi almost the same story has been repeated. There the mediæval custom was that on Palm Sunday the clergy should go in procession from the cathedral to a Greek church called *Osannà*, situated on a hill outside the city, and that there the Epistle and Gospel should be chanted in Greek. In 1659 the Archbishop of Brindisi tried to put down the practice, but the canons resisted him, and were supported by the Pope.† This custom is still maintained; and the ceremony takes place on the same hill, where the remains of this chapel are, near the Capuchin Convent, outside the *Porta Mesagne*.‡ It would be hard to find a more interesting survival than this strange, and almost unconscious, witness to the mutual toleration exercised by the adherents of two different forms of religious worship.



The Effigy of Richard Lord Grey de Wilton.

THE Church of St. Mary at Bletchley lies out of the main road, and is approached through an avenue of yew-trees. It has some monuments of more or less interest, notably a plain altar-tomb in memory of Catharine, only child of Daniel Eliot, wife of Browne Willis, the antiquary; also the small figure of a man in armour, kneeling, with seven smaller figures behind him; and on the wall of the chancel there is a brass plate enclosed in a frame of marble surmounted by a crest, in the centre a medallion containing a three-quarter length portrait of a man, figures, some kneeling, others standing, on either side. An inscription denotes the monument to have been

erected in memory of Dr. Sparkes.* But the principal feature in the building, and one which at once arrests attention, is an altar-tomb under the eastern arch near the chancel. On it is the recumbent effigy of a young knight in armour, sculptured in fine marble. The face is clearly cut, and the head is uncovered, and shows the hair curled. The hands are uplifted palm to palm, while the mystical collar, S.S., is seen round the neck. The feet rest on a lion. On the left side of the body is a dagger in its sheath, and a short gauntlet; on the hands there are no gauntlets. The ornamentation on the skirt is richly presented. There is a cross on a shield in the centre, with a square frame. There is a ring on the third finger of the right hand, and one on the fore-finger of the left; the little finger of the same hand has a ring near the nail.† On the left side of the tomb is the following inscription, yet legible: "In Hac Eccl. jacent Sepultur Richard Dom. Grey Baro Grey de Wilton qui obiit apud Waterhal." It is not possible to trace any further letters. Underneath are three painted coats-of-arms. The knight lies in all the calm, statuesque peace indicative of repose; the features and form are rarely chiselled—marble could hardly realize more completely the effect of a warrior taking his rest. It would be very difficult to discover any presentment of modern sculpture which could surpass this work in monumental beauty and truth. In expression the face is excellent, a dignified bearing giving the resemblance of nobility. On a pillar near the knight's head is a helmet, which is credited as having been the genuine head-piece worn by Lord Wilton. The ridge which runs from the nasal to the back has a spike at the summit. The vizor has no less than fourteen holes for breathing, and the *mentonnière* still retains its ornamental gilding.‡ The monument is that of Richard Lord Grey de Wilton, who died at his residence, Water Hall, in Bletchley parish, in 1442, and is buried here with his son and grandson.

* This is in Latin and commences "*Hoc Monumentum Tho Sparke filius et Hæres pietatis ergo mærens posuit.*"

† There has been some damage done to the figure, which has been roughly repaired.

‡ A casque in the Musée Royal d'Antiquités, d'Armures et d'Artillerie, Bruxelles, somewhat resembles this helm. It is described "*La visière sont ornés de filets en relief.*"

* Rodotà, i., pp. 392, 395, 396.

† Rodotà, i., p. 362.

‡ Aar, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, vol. ix., p. 237.

Water Hall, near Fenny Stratford, was the chief seat of Reginald de Grey, who died in 1307. His son, John Lord Grey de Wilton, died in 1323, and was seized of the manor of Great Brickhill, also of Water Eaton, Fenny Stratford, Bletchley, and Simpson. Reginald, son of Richard Lord Grey de Wilton, was summoned to the Parliaments of Henry VI., in the twenty-third, twenty-fifth, twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, thirty-first, thirty-third, and thirty-eighth years* of that monarch's reign. We find him later on summoned to the first and third, seventh and ninth, twelfth and twenty-second, and twenty-third Parliaments of Edward IV. The keepership of Whaddon Chase and estate descended to the Pigotts of Doddershall, who sold their interest to the Lords Grey of Wilton. In the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Arthur Lord Grey de Wilton added Old Lands and Old Lands Meadows to the grounds of Whaddon Hall, preferring this situation to Water Hall, near Fenny Stratford. Water Hall was entirely demolished, no trace of it now existing, whilst the materials were taken to Whaddon, which was thus greatly enlarged. The mansion there had been erected and added to from time to time by the Giffords and Pigotts. It was here that Queen Elizabeth honoured Lord Grey with a visit in 1568, he being Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Water Hall had been in the Grey family for four hundred years. In 1591 one Alexander Hampden was sworn in before Lord Grey as Sheriff for the County of Bucks. A certificate was made to him in the same year on the subject of recusants.† In October, 1598, young Lord Grey wanted a regiment, and to be chief commander of the English in the Low Countries. In the subsequent year it is arranged that he should go to Ireland with the Earl of Essex. After this the order was countermanded, then once more allowed. In a letter written from London by Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton at Ostend, detailing this and other news of the day, there is a curious passage relative to her Majesty the

great Tudor Sovereign. He relates that, "in honour of the Danish ambassador, the Queen, on the Twelfth Day, danced with the Earl of Essex, very richly and freshly attired." Some kind of misunderstanding arose between the Earl of Southampton and Lord Grey, and it was talked of privately that they were to meet at Munster. It appears doubtful if such meeting took place, for on October 10, 1600, Chamberlain writes to Carleton thus: "The Earl of Southampton and Lord Grey are come unhurt from the Low Countries, though report said they had fought and spoiled each other." Neither of the two was wanting in courage, as may be testified from the following correspondence:

"Lord Grey to Lord Southampton.

"August, 1600.

"Your coming hither shows your repentance of your former cool answer; now that neither disadvantage of times, peril, or your promise can be pretended, I call you to right me and your former letters."

To this the Earl replies:

"Your lordship seems determined to mistake both me and my letters. I came not in repentance, knowing too well that what has passed between us need not be wished undone. I must obey a command to answer you, and therefore I refuse your challenge; but lest you think I dare not walk alone for fear of you, I will ride an English mile out of the ports to-morrow morning with only unarmed attendants, wearing a sword and dagger, which I send to show you. I will wait you two hours, and defend myself against whosoever offers."

The ambiguity of this answer is evident; probably the writer, who was wounded in the mouth at the battle of Nieuport, prevented further proceedings.* We learn that in the disturbances connected with the foolish conduct of the Earl of Essex, Lord Grey was the leader of the Horse. Lord Southampton incurred the displeasure of Elizabeth for having privately married a cousin of the Earl of Essex, and for the offence was detained in durance vile,† a palpable example of

* This, the thirty-eighth year, the Parliament was held at Coventry.

† *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series, 1591.*

* *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series, 1598, 1601.*

† *Ibid.*

arbitrary prerogative. The estate of Whaddon was forfeited in the reign of James I., owing to the owner having been implicated in the so-called Raleigh conspiracy. The King made the estate a part of the dowry of his consort Anne, and after her death he gave it to his favourite, Sir George Villiers. In the reign of Henry VIII. Whaddon Chase was part of the dowry allotted to Queen Jane Seymour.

Reverting to Lord Richard Grey de Wilton, who died at Water Hall, we are reminded of the busy times in which he lived, when the Duke of Bedford, uncle to the King Henry VI., and Regent of France, carried on war against the Dauphin, but was obliged to raise the siege of Orleans, and afterwards died at Rouen. The campaign of Joan of Arc also animated the French soldiers, and was a factor in the war. In domestic matters strange customs prevailed. It was enacted that peace be made in three ways. Peace monasticall, which every man has over himself; peace economical, as touching the governance over his household; and peace political, whereby the King's estate is most assured.* At this time Joane Beauchamp, Lady of Burgavene, was bound in Chancery with sureties by recognisance in 1,200 marks, for keeping the peace towards one Nicholas Burdett. She was condemned for procuring certain persons to beat one Smith, but the judgment against her was reversed, errors being well assigned. In the fourth year of his reign the King granted to Thomas Cornish, of Uxbridge, in the county of Middlesex, a pardon for stealing of muttons; and in the fifteenth year Richard Widonell, knight, paid to his Sovereign a thousand pounds for a fine, for marrying of Jaquett, Dutchesse of Bedford, without license. John, Earl of Oxford, was another transgressor in the same line; he prayed for the remittance of a part of his penalty. John Norton and Walter Norton, of Bristol, transmit a private petition against Thomas Stamford, who had been condemned at their sute in 400 marks, and their prayer was granted, the said Stamford continuing a prisoner in the Fleet, and not in the King's Bench.†

In none of the stirring events of the period

* Hume, Appendix 3, vol. v., and Birch's *Memoirs*.

† Cotton's *Records*.

was Lord Richard a participator. He was only three years old when his father, the fifth baron, died. He was never summoned to Parliament. He took, happily for him, no part in the discomfiture of our army in France, inglorious as the campaigns in that country proved to be. He accompanied Thomas, Earl of Dorset, as one of his retinue in an expedition sent to Normandy. This Earl was uncle of the King Henry V., and Governor of Normandy in the third year of that King. Lord Richard was twice married, first to Blanche, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Philip de Vacche, K.G., by whom he had a son, Reginald, his successor. He married, secondly, Margaret, daughter of William Lord Ferrers; by her he had a son, named William.* The resources of sculpture, as they were employed advantageously in the Middle Ages, seem to arrive at perfection in a manner more likely to attain immortality than many modern instances of monumental art. The attitude of the effigy in Bletchley Church is replete with picturesque grace, and a characteristic elevation of sentiment altogether in accordance with our ideas of knightly honour and rectitude. It has been averred that a just estimate of chivalry is to be deduced from romances. In contemplating the work of the sculptor as displayed in this noble effigy, the same amount of knowledge may be gained through the fine art of the monumental artist.

W. BRAILSFORD.



Passages from the Journal of John Helder, an obscure Cambridgeshire Worthyp.



FOR many years, for reasons to which I need not refer, I had full rights of search over the large, though essentially theological, library of a venerable Dissenting minister, who long resided, and is now buried, in one of the villages of Eastern Cambridgeshire mentioned in this article. During my explorations, I had the fortune to disinter, from amid the

* Burke's *Extinct Peerage*.

miscellanea of the upper shelves, a small octavo-sized memorandum book, bound in parchment, with a folding cover held by an antique clasp, and filled with finely-written manuscript of considerable age.

The little book was evidently unknown to its owner; he had none of the weaknesses of a collector; and, after cursory inspection, presented me with my treasure-trove, observing that, as the finder, I had the better right to it.

On examination, the MS. proved to be a record, kept, after the first fifty pages, in journal form, of the spiritual life of one John Helder (apparently a farmer and general man of business, and person of some consequence in those parts), between the years 1721 and 1764, when it ceases on the recto of the last leaf of the book.

I have said of his spiritual life advisedly; for the man's thoughts revolved exclusively about the orbit of his soul; and his references to the affairs of his bodily existence are of a merely accidental character, and never occur save for the sake of their direct bearing upon his spiritual experiences. Yet, slight as they are, they afford glimpses of contemporary life in these villages, so remote from the stream of story, which cannot fail to interest lovers of "the antiquary times;" while certain phases of his religious beliefs and modes of thought, though doubtless paralleled in many recorded cases, carry us back direct to Bunyan and Wesley, and illustrate from an obscure source the wonderful Revivalism of the period.

John Helder was born on the 17th December, 1697, apparently in the neighbourhood in which he passed his life. His exact place of residence at any time is not mentioned; but it was about four or five miles from Burwell, in a parish where the Wake, or Feast, was held yearly on the 1st May, and in the immediate vicinity of Soham Mere; while in later life he was a member of the Independent Church at Isleham. In May, 1724, he was married to a "young woman," who, before unknown, had appeared to him in a vision during a dangerous illness in the previous year.

In or about 1723, under the influence of new religious impulses, he renounced "carding and dicing, dancing and reading ungodly

ballads, unchast songs, and lascivious discourses in play-books," in which he had much delighted, and at the same time left the Church of England, thereby offending all his relatives, and particularly an uncle with an estate, who, however, relented on his death-bed, and left it to him.

Although seemingly only a farmer and, perhaps, estate agent, he was not only a man of considerable education (as his correct orthography, fine caligraphy, and style of composition testify), but of cultivated and even erudite taste; for, besides being a constant reader of Flavel and Thomas à Kempis, he records on January 1st, 1734-5, that he has lately read Dr. Baker's *Reflections on Learning*, Dr. Edwards on the *Insufficiency of Human Learning*, Dr. Wotton's *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning*, and Dr. Bentley's *Dissertation on Phalaris and Æsop's Fables*; and can make out what he formerly wondered at, viz., how they that went to study at Athens, the more learned they were the more ignorant they thought themselves.

He took part in parish affairs, and in 1758 was made "a Commissioner for Ely and Soham Levell in Middle Fen, etc., being encouraged to undertake and go thro' this business by the hopes and prospects of being serviceable to the poor inhabitants of these drowned parishes by helping them to much worke, which, with an increase of wages, will better maintain their Families, lately distressed by dearness and scarcity of Provision, and by hopes of seeing the readiness of the Landowners to raise and lay out their money repaid with double interest."

He himself had bitter experience of Soham "Meer" in relation to "these poor drowned parishes;" once he was overtaken by a storm when crossing it in a little open boat with a small sail set, and was himself nearly drowned.

Another time, in December, 1747, a great flood coming down, he sent his son with other neighbours to fetch home the horses out of Beach Fen, and in crossing the "Cham" in a boat with three horses a rapid stream drove the sheets of ice against the boat, so that his son and two of the horses fell overboard, and the former was barely rescued.

Again, in February, 1745-6, "the wind lying North-east, and blowing very hard, brought the water against the Meer bank, and raised it higher than I had ever seen before, and kept it rising so much as made me believe y^e Meer was in danger of being drowned: y^e bank then was very dry and consequently light, and upon a break of a Frost not so solid as usual. The wind encreased in the night, and was very stormy. I got up soon after two of y^e clock in y^e morning and took my Bible to read in as usual before going out. . . . I knew if y^e Meer was drowned it would be a great loss to L^d Townshend, to my neighbours, and to myself." We gather from the text upon which he lit in his Bible—an omen which he accustoms us to regard as infallible—that the Meer escaped on this occasion, but there are references to times when his own poor lands were not so fortunate.

The Manor of Soham, it may be noted, belonged to the Townshend family for many years before and after this date.

The other recorded incidents of his life may be briefly stated. He lost a little son in 1728, and his wife in 1735, but had at least two other children, of whom the son predeceased him, and the daughter was at a boarding-school at Ipswich, where she sickened with and recovered from the small-pox at the time of her brother's death.

He never remarried, although in 1754, when he was 57 years old, the world raised many unjust reports against him on account of his keeping company with a young woman, who dearly and truly loved him, and whom also he loved right well; but God, to whom he appealed, knew he did not know whether she were a true woman or not.

As I have said, he appears to have been deeply engaged in the business of a farm, and therein sustained many losses. He refers especially to a distemper raging amongst the cattle, which in 1748 carried off all his own save one. Then his debtors were always disappointing him in their payments; those of his neighbours whom he befriended treated him the most scurvily; those to whom he had given no credit proved his best friends. Yet he was evidently fairly prosperous, for when the Norfolk Mail was robbed in January, 1748-9, he was very uneasy

about two drafts therein for £150; payment, however, was stopped, and fresh drafts were subsequently sent him and paid in due course.

Besides frequent visits to Cambridge and to surrounding parishes—notably to Freckenham, at the building of the Bridge—he often complains of the long journies which his business obliged him to undertake. Two of these will bear mention. In May, 1725, a family matter carried him as far afield as Worcestershire, under the following circumstances:—

A letter came from Droitwich, directed to the Rector or Vicar of Gazeley, inquiring of him whether there was any of the family of Helder living there or anywhere thereabouts. The writer called himself Joseph Helder, and was a very old man, who had some money to dispose of to the family if any of them was living. By express Divine direction, John Helder set off on horseback to Droitwich, and there saw his new cousin, who gave him ten guineas to defray his charges, and about two years and a half after died, made him his executor, and gave him a good deal of what he had. Upon the cousin's death, however, his trunk was broken open, and all the money which the thief could find taken away, at the news of which the gentleman who was appointed trustee was much surprized, but found it too true; but after a very strict search all over y^e trunk he at last found a secret place with near a hundred pieces of gold which the thief had not discovered.

And in 1742, on the occasion of a visit to London, he sat under the powerful preaching of Mr. Whitfield, in one sermon, and there got comfort and strength.

For many years of his life he seems to have been an invalid; and he summarizes the accidents which had already happened to him when he was only thirty-eight years old, in a list which vies with that of St. Paul himself:—

"Twice was I left in the water hopeless, and one minute's time longer would very likely have put an end to my life: my head has been broken at six severall times and places, yet not by the hand of man, but by falls and by cattle and other strange accidents. I have had three violent blows on

the mouth, one of them by a Ram and two by horses, by which some of my teeth were broken and others loosened, and my speech much hindered : I have very often had great deliverances from danger by waggons and carts, also by horses and other cattle, and by thieves and other enemies and by violent tempests."

In 1763, he wrote *Meditations on sundry portions of Scripture*, which he enumerates as follows :

"On Part of the First Chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians ;"—"The Broad and Narrow Way ;"—"The Vineyard of Red Wine ;"—"The Names of the Lord ;"—"His glorious Kingdom ;"—"Dialogues between the Ploughman and the Parson ;"—"The Plowman ;"—and "An Account of a Worke of Grace wrought on the Soul of a poor Ploughman ;" and he records that a secret pleasure has attended his soul while writing them. Dear heart ! when was ever an author's experience otherwise ? Whether these were published, or existed only in manuscript, I have been unable to discover.

The journal also abounds with poetical exercises, of which it may be said that they are neither better nor worse, omitting some hymns of Charles Wesley, than the other religious poetry of the time.

The last entry is under date of December, 1764, and I have no record of the date of his death.

A few references to events of national and local interest remain unnoticed, and I reproduce them verbatim :—

"June y^e 8th, 1727.—I being this day at Isleham, saw and heard the biggest tempest that ever hapned in my memory, and which much damaged a house there, and terrified and confounded the ungodly for the present."

"Sept. 8th, 1727.—On this day hapned a very dismal fire at Burwell whereby was 80 persons burnt to death. I was not present, but saw it at four or five miles distance at about ten of y^e clock in the evening, and though my body was absent, yet my soul did sympathize and was present with them that were then afflicted."*

* An account of this fire, which happened in a barn during a puppet-show, was published by Flo Gibbons in 1769, and is now rarely met with.

"Dec^r. 17th, 1745.—The nation has been alarm'd with y^e March and rapid progress of y^e Highland Army, the overflowing scourge coming out of the North."

"1st Dec., 1747.—There was a violent storm of wind and snow from the North w^{ch} did a great deal of damage about three in the afternoon . . . About two hours after I was informed by one of our men of the great distress they had been under at y^e Three Mills by y^e wind turning into y^e North suddenly, the sail-cloths being frozen and could not be rolled up, and the Mills all like to be torn in pieces; but by God's good Providence they were at last secur'd with little damage done to them."

"23rd Aug., 1760.—Am distressed by reading in the Newspaper of the French taking from the Protestant Powers the Cities and towns of Minden, Munden, Cassell and others, and knew not, as they seemed by this to be too strong for the Protestant Army under Prince Ferdinand, how soon they might land here, and bring destruction upon us by all the ravages of war."

"30th Aug.—I read in y^e Newspaper the advantage the king of Prussia had gotten over the Austrians to y^e advantage of above 10,000 killed and taken, and y^e victory obtained with small loss, 92 pieces of cannon taken wth many trophies of victory, all upon the 15th day of the same month. And also read in y^e same paper of great advantage by Prince Henry against the Russians, and 13th Septem^r rec^d an account of great advantage gained in some skirmishes by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick on the French Army either upon y^e 23^d of August above ment^d or the day before : Read also in y^e same Newspaper of a great advantage gotten in a skirmish by the Prussian troops posted in Dresden over the army of the empire and Wirtenberg troops, etc."

How all these events fit into his belief in direct mercies vouchsafed to himself belongs to the spiritual side of his character, with which we have here no space to deal, had our readers inclination to read. Suffice it to say that he had lively faith in an actual Satan, tempting and lying in wait for his soul : in preternatural guidance and revelation through the medium of texts of Scripture, flashed upon his mind or lit upon by chance

in the crisis of any decision or event; and an infallible mental conviction, immediate upon prayer, that things were falling out as he would have them. A man whose goings out and comings in were the subject of Divine governance—upon whose enemies the hand of God was heavy well-nigh ere they had ceased to offend him; a stone wall of Non-conformity, impossible to reason with, hard to reckon with, intolerant, possibly intolerable, (for he seems to have had his full share of strife with his neighbours,) yet with ability and force of character sufficient to lift him above his fellows in the day of discredited Dissent; an author whose credentials Time has stolen and buried out of sight, so that he has no chance to escape oblivion—who will begrudge him in the annals of his County this record of his name?

JAS. C. WOODS.



Saint Hilderferth.

"Come ye to the Shrine of St. Thomas the Divine,
And St. Hilderferth of fair memorie."

IN the south aisle of Swanscombe Church, Kent, there once stood the shrine of Saint Hilderferth. A writer in the sixteenth century tells us "his picture was yet standing in the upper window." This must have been the little fourteenth-century Decorated window which is still there, but without the picture, though it contains a fragment of ancient coloured glass, all that probably remained of the "picture" in the general wrack, and which, no doubt, had been religiously preserved by pious hands, and inserted at a later date; for we know that in 1547 an injunction was published against "feigned miracles," which were to be so utterly destroyed that "there should remain no memory of them in wall, glass windows, or elsewhere within churches."

Saint Hilderferth devoted his miraculous powers to the cure of insanity or "melancholia," and we are told by an early writer that distracted folk were accustomed to resort to his shrine in the little church of Swanscombe for the restitution of their wits, "as thick as men were wont to sail to Anticyra

for Heleboras." Lambarde goes on to tell us, "the means employed were most natural, ordinary, and reasonable; the cure was performed here by warmth, close-keeping, and good diet, means neither strange or miraculous; therefore, as on the one side they might be thought madmen and altered in their wits that frequented this pilgrimage for any opinion of extraordinary working; so on the other side, Saint Hilderferth (of all the saints I know) might best be spared, seeing we have the keeper of Bethlem, who ceaseth not (even till this day) to work mightily in the same kind of miracle." Hasted, in his *History of Kent*, alludes to the miracle-working Saint of Swanscombe as the "unknown Bishop," and in the present day, if by chance the name is mentioned in connection with this peculiarly historic parish, he is generally described as the unknown Saxon Bishop; so shrouded in mystery was he whose miraculous cures of insanity at Swanscombe have rendered his name famous and familiar. The fact of one of the dedications of the Collegiate Church of Gournay in Normandy, being to St. Hildevert, induced the writer to make some attempt to elucidate the mystery. And to one of the canons of that church he is indebted for the following particulars of the life and history of Saint Hildevert, Hildebert, or Hilderferth as the name is variously spelt. He was born in A.D. 617, and early embraced a religious life; and in 672, on the death of Bishop Faro, was elected to the vacant see of Meaux in France, this dignity he held but for eight years, the good man dying in 680. During the sixty-three years of his life he seems to have done much for the welfare of his countrymen; possessing great riches he appears to have devoted them to the erection of churches. But as is generally the case with the monkish traditions of the period, it was not till long after his death that we hear of his wonderful powers. More than three centuries had rolled by, the really good and beneficent work done by the Bishop during his lifetime was fast fading from the minds of the people. The churches built by him were owing to the belief in the impending destruction of the world, allowed to fall into decay, and as the thousandth year rapidly approached without bringing with it the long dreaded and terrible portents of the dissolution of all things, some-

thing was needed to stir the flagging zeal of the people and prepare them for the necessary work of church restoration and building; and what in those days of spiritual ignorance and superstitious belief in miracles so natural as to endow the bones of the church-building Bishop with supernatural power? So when some person, affected by "melancholia" or mania of some description, was praying before the cross in the Church of Vignely, where the remains of Bishop Hilderferth rested, and calling upon the name of that good man suddenly found himself relieved from the delusion under which he had laboured; no marvel the news of the so-called miracle spread far and wide; no wonder that many similarly afflicted hastened to the tomb in certain faith of speedy relief.

The offerings made in grateful recognition of restoration from imagined disease, doubtless soon enabled the authorities of the church to restore and make it worthy of its pious founder. That object effected, the remains were removed from Vignely to Meaux, where the same satisfactory result being attained, we next find the body carried to Beauvais—

"His body's resting-place of old,
How oft their patron changed, they told;"

and then the good priests, custodians of so great a treasure, deemed it not right to confine its benefits to a limited neighbourhood, so selecting a number of religious and faithful men, they entrusted to them this miracle-working body, to carry it through the length and breadth of the land for the benefit of the people and their Church. In the course of its peregrinations the corpse arrived at Gournay. There the great man, or lord of the place, known as Hugo I., refusing to recognise the sanctity of the remains, ruthlessly caused a great fire to be made, and to the horror of those in charge of it, the body of St. Hilderferth was by his order thrown into the midst of the flames. But to one capable of curing the "mind diseased," such treatment was of no effect, for we are assured the flames were powerless to consume the bones, and as a matter of course, that unbelieving sinner—the premier Count Hugo de Gournay—was convinced, and from being the savage scoffer became the contrite convert, and on the spot where the indignity

was offered, he built and dedicated to Saint Hilderferth, the large and beautiful church which still bears his name, and is now the Collegiate Church of Gournay. In this building the remains were enshrined, and when it was thought advisable to make further progress, no power could remove them. "The saint remained immovable." In this instance conforming to the general custom, for we hear the same of many mediæval saints. Of a contemporary, St. Cuthbert, who died in 688, we are told that he journeyed upon the shoulders of some monks for many years through Scotland, and quietly so until the monks attempted to sail for Ireland, when several warning tempests drove them back, and they made their way to Melrose, where in spite of all efforts to remove him, St. Cuthbert for a considerable period remained immovable.

But to return to our saint, though he refused to permit his bones *en masse* to be removed from Gournay, he did not object to the abstraction of fragments, for the old rolls existing at Gournay tell us that to Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury (c. 1202) was given a fragment; also that a few years later the reliquary at Gournay was again opened for the purpose of giving a small bone of the saint's hand to the Grand Duchess of Longueville; and again, about 1373, when the head was removed and placed in a casket of pure gold, presented by Blanche, widow of Philip of Valois, King of France. And so, though long forgotten here in England, St. Hilderferth continued to be revered in France till the Revolution of 1789 denied to him that sanctity which so many centuries had respected. The Republican authorities entering the church, stripped the gold and silver from the cases enclosing the remains, and having thus obtained all that they considered of value, left the bones in the church. In order to save the relics from further profanation, one of the priests attached to the church opened, in the presence of many witnesses the case, and removed the bones, rolls of parchment, and remnants of rich robes therein contained, all of which he enveloped in a linen cloth, and then reverently confided the precious parcel to the earth in a small cemetery reserved for the canons of Gournay; but a certain acute lawyer in the town, fearing that the action of

the earth might prove as injurious to the relics as even the tender mercy of Red Republicans, caused them to be exhumed, and carefully guarded them within his own house until the end of the year 1802, when, upon the re-establishment of order, he made known his secret, and the archbishop appointed a commission of priests, comprising the clergy of the church of St. Hilderferth, to thoroughly examine into the matter. They, after due enquiry, were able to verify the relics so preserved as being the very same that had for so many centuries been venerated. The bones were, therefore, placed in a new reliquary, and on May 22, 1803, with great pomp and ceremony replaced in their original position within the church of St. Hilderferth at Gourney, where they still remain.

How Swanscombe Church became possessed of a relic of this miracle-working saint must, we fear, ever remain a mystery. It is not likely that Archbishop Hubert deposited the precious fragment given to him anywhere but in his own cathedral. Relics of saints were of so great value to the church which displayed them, and the belief in their miraculous powers had worked itself so deeply into the religion of the times, that it was held a good and pious deed, "if ancient tales say true, nor wrong these holy men," to obtain possession of them in any manner. "*Si possis recte, si non quocunque modo.*" It will be remembered that Swanscombe was included in about one of the first grants made by the Conqueror to his powerful half-brother, the turbulent and warlike Bishop Odo. Would not the possession of a miracle-working relic of St. Hilderferth gratify the inhabitants, and tend to elevate the donor of so priceless a gift in the minds of the people of the early part of the eleventh century? For a man like Odo, possessed of vast territory, and independently of his high ecclesiastical office, the near relative of a King holding enormous church patronage, and especially favoured, by the Holy Father, to ask was to have. To him, therefore, it is just possible that Swanscombe may be indebted for the miracles supposed to have been worked there in the days of "long ago." If so, long, very long, ere Canterbury possessed its famous shrine, long, long before St. Thomas of that city was added to the calendar, were pilgrimages made to the shrine

of St. Hilderferth at Swanscombe; and when in later days the scene of the murder of the "English Archbishop" became in the eyes of Churchmen a holy place, to die without seeing which was accounted sin, the old shrine of the mania-curing Norman Bishop at Swanscombe, we may be certain, was not forgotten. It lay near the highway to Canterbury, and we know if the fervent zeal of the pilgrim of old to kneel at every shrine he possibly could was wanting for a time, curiosity was at hand to take its place, and every building of note—secular or ecclesiastical—was visited, if not from motives of devotion, yet as "things to be done;" the mediæval pilgrim being, in fact, the prototype of the modern excursionist. Pilgrims to Canterbury, rich and poor, who landed at the ferry at Greenhithe, would visit the shrine of "Saint Hilderferth of fair memorie" hard by at Swanscombe, and dropping their offerings into the strong box, pass onwards. Thus it came to pass that however much melancholia possessed the pilgrims of those days, St. Hilderferth's shrine did not depend entirely upon those who came to be healed, but benefited and became enriched by that strange and long-continuing form of religious frenzy which developed itself in the wandering from shrine to shrine on the face of the earth. It is rather remarkable that during the work of the restoration of this church some years since, through the munificence of the late Sir Erasmus Wilson, F.R.S., the most noteworthy "find" was that of an early fifteenth-century padlock—the "*serura pendens*" of old documents—richly ornamented with gilded scroll work, and possibly the fastening of the strong box once attached to the shrine, now no longer of use, for the evil day had come, perhaps not before it was expected—the Reformation struck the fatal blow which destroyed every shrine in the country. What became of the relic or relics of St. Hilderferth we know not; like Wycliffe's ashes, it or they may have been consigned to the fast flowing river, to be swept to the four quarters of the globe, but more probably beneath the church's

"Gothic shade
His relics were in secret laid;
But none may know the place."

J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY, F.S.A.



Sarum.

"The Cathedral I take to be the completest piece of Gothic worke in Europe, taken in all its uniformitie. . . . There are some remarkable monuments, particularly the antient Bishops, founders of the Church, Knights Templars, the Marques of Hartford's. . . . In the afternoon we went to Wilton, a fine house of the Earl of Pembroke's. . . . The garden heretofore esteem'd the noblest in England. . . . It has a flower garden not inelegant."—*Evelyn's Diary*.



ALISBURY and its neighbourhood would prove full of interest to the average individual, but to those in search of either art, architecture, or archæology it is rich beyond most cathedral towns.

To speak of the city first, though it has no advantages of situation, being built on level ground, it may be described as decidedly picturesque. The old High Street, with its uneven houses, would compose very well looking either southwards to the Close Gate, or northwards to the tower of St. Thomas's Church, a fine thirteenth-century building, in the heart of the town, surrounded with the quaintest and most paintable old red gabled houses which, with the grey church and its green graveyard, will please the eye and attract the pencil of all artists. The church itself, independently of its fine pointed arches, contains some curious mural paintings of the fifteenth century, discovered when Mr. Street restored the chancel twenty years or so ago.

In Silver Street stands the old Poultry or Green cross, the market for poultry and vegetables, an open hexagon, supported by a central pillar and six buttress-piers. The Market-place, with its statue of Fawcett, is modern; but there are many quaint streets in Salisbury, as well as in its two ancient suburbs of Fisherton (mentioned in *Domesday Book*) and Harnham, "a pretty village ere Salisbury was builded," for Salisbury only came into existence in 1220, when old Sarum was abandoned and the cathedral transferred to the valley.

The town contains two other fine old churches. St. Martin's, on a slight rising ground at the eastern end, is supposed to be the earliest in date of the three parish churches. It has good pointed arches, but a dateless

altar-tomb, and an early Norman font with a picina and a receptacle for holding water, point to its early foundation. A peculiarity about this church is the fact of the east and west walls not standing parallel.

St. Edmunds, at the north-east end of the city, was founded as a collegiate church in 1268. In the middle of the seventeenth century the tower fell, and destroyed a large portion of the nave and transept. The present church is formed out of the old chancel, from which one may judge the size and importance of the original building.

The chief and greatest beauty of Salisbury is, of course, its lovely cathedral, which is particularly striking from being throughout in one architectural style, namely, Early English; but next to it must be admired the unrivalled close, spacious beyond the ordinary, and beautifully carpeted with rich velvety turf, owing, no doubt, to the lowness of the site and its proximity to the river (which formerly at times flooded the cathedral). The grass is particularly verdant, while the old gardens of the close are remarkable for their turf walks. Fine elms throw a pleasant shade, and picturesque houses of all styles and dates surround the cathedral. The Bishop's palace, standing in a beautiful garden, is not visible till you are within the embattled walls which enclose it. It stands on the south-east of the cathedral, is in part very old, having chiefly been built in 1460, and is irregular in appearance, with a tower. Opposite the west end of the cathedral is the deanery, and near it the King's House, built in the fifteenth century, as its gable ends and mullioned windows will tell; it is now a training college, but was once, as its name implies, the residence of monarchs. Here Richard III. held his Court, and later James I. came as a guest to Sir Thomas Sadler. Not far off is another house, called the Wardrobe, in past times attached to the King's House.

The close is entered by three gates; that leading from the High Street, built from the remains of old Sarum Church, bears a figure in a niche over the arch said to be that of Charles I., but it has more likeness to his father, James I. Just within this gate is an almshouse for the widows of clergy, a seventeenth-century building. It is charming

in tone, and has a quaint pediment above the central doorway, and is surmounted by a casemented cupola, and the whole overshadowed by the cathedral's graceful spire would make a delightful subject for the artist. St. Ann's gate leads from the close on the east, while the pretty Harnham gateway, with its surrounding houses, leads to the suburb of that name. Here, close by the old bridge over the Avon, on a small island, stands the hospital of St. Nicholas. The original foundation was suppressed at the Reformation, but it is now an almshouse for six poor men and the same number of women.

More than one celebrity has lived in Salisbury Close, among these the father of the first Lord Malmesbury, an author, and the leader of the Salisbury society of his day. Fielding, too, sojourned for a time in the close, though it was not there he wrote any of his novels, for he soon removed to another part of the city.

It is now time to speak of Salisbury's crown, the cathedral itself, beautiful in its simplicity and elegance, and in the strength and perfection of its masonry. It is built in the form of a double cross, and one of its most noted features is the lofty and graceful spire, rising to 400 feet. The west front, the last completed portion; has niches for 123 figures, though, thanks to Cromwell's soldiers, only eight remain; but when the cathedral was restored a few more were added. It is supposed the five tiers of figures originally consisted of firstly angel, secondly Old Testament worthies, thirdly apostles, fourthly doctors, virgins, martyrs, and saints; on the lowest tier worthies of the church.

On entering by the west door, one is at once struck by the beauty of the building. If fault there be, it is perhaps a slight appearance of formality from the strong contrast of the dark-polished Purbeck, which is mixed with the freestone in the nine groups of clustered pillars, over which again are a succession of other pointed arches, subdivided into four smaller ones, and ornamented with trefoils, quatre-foils, and rosettes, and over these again a course of triple lancet-windows in the clerestory.

A curious feature at Salisbury is the stone bench running along under the pillars for the

whole length of the cathedral, both north and south, on which are placed altar-tombs, bearing in some cases recumbent figures. These cannot here be particularized; but that of William Longspee, first Earl of Salisbury, and son of Henry II. and Fair Rosamond, should be named, also that of his son, another William Longspee, one of the most celebrated of Saint Louis' crusaders; he died fighting near Cairo, 1250, and was buried at Acre. This mailed warrior, with crossed legs, was placed here to his memory by his mother, Ella Abbess of Lacock. Close upon this tomb is the singular little effigy called the "Boy Bishop." The well-known legend says, that on St. Nicholas Day, December 6, the choir boys selected one of their number to be Boy or Choral Bishop, who bore the style and title till Innocents' Day, December 28, the rest of the choristers playing prebendaries. On the eve of the Innocents' Day they all attended service in state, and drew such crowds that the ceremony was abolished. In 1542 Mary revived it for a time, but it was put an end to entirely in Elizabeth's reign. Any Boy Bishop dying during his short tenure of office was permitted burial with all ecclesiastical pomp; hence the supposed origin of this unique little monument. Very many of the earlier monuments were brought away from Old Sarum.

While writing of these tombs I will mention a few others worthy of note, some of more recent date. On the floor of the Morning Chapel (north-east transept) two fine brasses in first-rate preservation should be noticed, one to Bishop Wyvill, who recovered the possession of Sherborne Castle for Sarum, and died 1375; the other to Bishop Gheast, who died 1576, leaving a large library to the cathedral. In the east wall of this chapel is the old lavatory of the monks. Against the north wall of the choir aisle lies a skeleton effigy, said to be to the memory of a man called Fox, who tried a forty-days' fast in imitation of our Lord, and near it the lean figure of a precentor, who tried the same feat in 1554. Not far from here are buried without monument several members of the Pembroke family, "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother," among them. At the extreme end of this aisle is a highly ornate monu-

ment to the Gorges. Sir Thomas, who died 1610, was the owner of Longford Castle, his effigy, with that of his widow, a Swede, who came over to the court of Elizabeth as maid of honour to the daughter of King Eric, lies under a renaissance canopy. Helena Snakenberg, married first a Marquis of Southampton, and survived her second husband, Sir Thomas, twenty-five years, dying when eighty-six (1635). Pendant to this tomb in the south aisle is a very beautiful monument in varied marbles, gilt and painted, and with much ornament; the figures, life size, represent Edward, Earl of Hertford, son of Protector Somerset, and his wife Catherine, sister of Lady Jane Grey, who, being of royal blood, has her effigy raised a step above that of the earl, who was her second husband; both are recumbent with hands in the attitude of prayer—the earl in armour, and his wife beautifully attired; at either end kneels a figure in armour. In the same tomb are interred Charles, Duke of Somerset, and his wife, the daughter and heiress of Joceline Percy, last Earl of Northumberland.

Close by is the new recumbent marble effigy, just erected to the memory of Bishop Moberly. Lower down in the south choir aisle is the interesting monument to Bishop Giles de Bridport, in whose time the cathedral was completed and dedicated—its architectural style is a very faithful copy of the cathedral itself; the reliefs in the spandrels of the canopy should be noticed, as they are curious illustrations of the Bishop's history. Formerly this monument had a chantry chapel attached, and on the east a double ambry still stands.

The oldest portion of the cathedral is the Lady Chapel, now used for daily service at 7 a.m. Formerly the Hungerford and Beauchamp Chapels stood to the north and south of the retro-choir, but though beautiful specimens of monumental art, Mr. Wyatt had them removed when he restored the cathedral a hundred years ago.

The choir contains two chantry chapels, one Bishop Audley's, who died 1524; an elaborate piece of art. Opposite to it, on the south side of the altar, stands the Hungerford Chantry Chapel. It was originally erected in the nave in 1429 by Walter, Lord Hungerford, but was moved to its present position at the

end of the last century by his descendant, Lord Radnor, and is now used as his family pew.

Salisbury contains scarcely any old glass, all that existed being collected into one of the south transept windows. But there are one or two pleasing modern glass designs, specially one overlooking the curious Radnor pew, put up to the memory of the late Countess by her twelve children; it is very graceful in drawing, and delicate in colour, one of Mr. Holiday's designs executed by Messrs. Powell. It represents Sarah, Hannah, Ruth, and Esther, and the four Maries of the New Testament. Another window to be noticed is that of Angeli Ministrantis and Laudantis, the figures after Burne-Jones, the grisaille by Morris; probably, from its strong and rather crude colour, an early production of these artists.

The cloisters, recently restored, are remarkably beautiful; the brilliant turf with its two central cedars add much to the effect, as seen through the fine windows with their sexfoil openings. These cloisters, forming a square on the south side of the nave, lead to the octagonal chapter-house, with its central pillar; running round beneath the windows is a curious series of sculptures, illustrating Old Testament scenes from the Creation to the giving of the Law. The sculptures over the entrance-door in the vestibule are even more remarkable, and will repay an attentive investigation; they are thought to represent the Virtues treading on their opposition Vices.

Before leaving the cathedral, the visitor should note the roof-paintings over the choir and presbytery. If he enters by the west doors, he will do well to leave by the charming north porch, one of Mr. Street's restorations, the rest of the cathedral having been restored under Sir. G. Scott's direction.

To those interested in history, the site of Old Sarum will be a spot to visit. It is curious to think that this barren mound was once teeming with life and action as a religious and military centre, with its cathedral and castle, while now the double ramparts and ditches abound only in trees and bushes, and where once were busy streets, grass and corn flourish. From the summit one overlooks on one side the newer city, with its spires and towers embowered in trees, and the distant

Avon winding on its way to meet the Nadder and the Bourne ; on the other, one looks to the more dreary Wiltshire downs. Old Sarum must have had a lofty situation, but its want of water, which in part caused the exodus, is evident.

There are many mentions of Old Sarum in British and Saxon times. Alfred the Great added to the city, 871, after his battle with the Danes at Wilton. Edgar convoked an assembly there. Sweyn, the Danish King, ravaged and partly burnt it. In 1076 the first stone of the cathedral was laid by Herman, the first Bishop of Sarum, the See having been removed from Sherborne to Sarum as a place of more security and importance ; but it was Osmund, the Norman, who finally built and consecrated the cathedral of Old Sarum. He came over with William I., and becoming his chancellor, was rewarded for his services with land and honours, and grew a powerful and important prelate. In 1086 Sarum was the scene of the English States doing homage to the Conqueror. There, too, Henry I. held court in the prelacy of the great Roger of Sarum. After his time the citadel ceased to be the property (as hitherto) of the ecclesiastics. Stephen's civil wars changed all that, and laymen had the military charge ; this led to frequent quarrels, and, together with the scarcity of water, resulted in the removal of the cathedral in the reign of Henry III., when the clergy and townspeople escaped from their military despots, and in 1220 the foundations of the present cathedral were laid. Legend says the new site was chosen by the direction of an arrow-shot from the ramparts of Old Sarum by the then Bishop, Poore ; or, again, that it was revealed to Bishop Poore in a dream by the Virgin Mary, the church's patroness. The town, we are told, soon fell in ruins, but the royal fortress was kept up for some considerable time, and as late as the reign of Henry VII. was the county gaol. In 1295 Old Sarum as a city sent members to Parliament, and till the Reform Act, in 1831, returned two members. We do not hear of any celebrities being natives of Old Sarum, except John of Salisbury, the great scholar. There is a solemn dreariness, which even a brilliant sunny afternoon could not efface, about this mound, which once contained a palace, pon-

tiffs, and a fortress, and which from earliest times till a comparatively late date played a part in our annals, but is now desolate.

Few people who go to Salisbury fail to pay a visit also to Stonehenge. In doing so the village of Amesbury is passed. Here the church is worthy of a visit ; a solidly-built and substantial building, it is cruciform, with one aisle on the south side of the nave, and may date back to the days of the convent, one of the most well-to-do religious houses in the kingdom. It was originally established by Queen Elfrida, widow of Edgar ; and Queen Eleanor, widow of Henry III. and mother of Edward I., became a nun and was buried at the Benedictine convent ; here also one of her daughters took the veil. The beautiful carving of the hammer-beams should be noted. This convent was closed in 1540 ; in the eighteenth century, the estate belonged to the Duke of Queensberry, whom George I. often visited.

In driving back from Stonehenge to Salisbury along the banks of the Avon, varied and pretty scenery is obtained, besides passing places of interest, which may be briefly alluded to here. Lake House is a graceful example of Elizabethan architecture, and its yew-clipped hedges a fitting setting to the gray-stone building. Further on is Heale House, interesting as a refuge to Charles II. after the Battle of Worcester ; the house is not seen from the road, only the long avenue leading to it. Nearer still to Salisbury and Old Sarum is the mediæval "Field of the Tournament"—one of the five places in England appointed for tourneying in Richard Cœur de Lion's time ; the smooth turf hill-side, rising abruptly for a considerable height, must have been splendidly adapted for watching the games. The small village of Stratford (curiously enough another Stratford-on-Avon) has a quaint little church ; untouched by the restorer's hand, it remains as it must have been a century and a half ago—the hour-glass stands fastened to the chancel arch by the pulpit to fix the length of the discourse. We will hope, though the wooden seats are not cut down, the sermon may nowadays be shorn of some of the heads, and not last the appointed hour. A lime avenue leads to the high-road, and just opposite stands the parsonage—a pretty creeper-

covered house, of Elizabethan and Queen Anne styles. The rector is proud of living where the elder Pitt spent his youth, and will conduct the stranger through his house and garden, discoursing meanwhile on the former owner of his house—how Thomas Pitt, the Earl's father, rebuilt the church, and placed his name in large letters on the tower, followed by "Benefactor," and how the Communion plate, also given by him, has the Pitt arms conspicuously emblazoned, while "I. H. S." is engraved out of sight. The elder Pitt began his political career as representative of Old Sarum in 1735.

Another parsonage is to be viewed near Salisbury—Bemerton, where George Herbert lived, besides the satisfaction of seeing his quiet home, a lovely view of the cathedral is obtained from the pretty garden. Just across the way from the tiny parsonage is the still smaller church, measuring only 46 feet by 18 feet, and holding exactly 50 chairs. Apparently the church is of ancient standing, as it is mentioned in *Domesday Book*. Close by is a new church, built to the memory of the poet.

Last, but by no means of least interest to the art lover and artist, are the splendid collections of art treasures with which Wiltshire abounds. Nearest at hand, and, through the goodness of the Earl of Pembroke, a sight attainable to all any Wednesday in the year, are those of Wilton House. The estate, itself the site of a Saxon nunnery, was conferred by Henry VIII. on Sir William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke; and the present house was built from designs by Inigo Jones. Any glances through the windows, which can be spared from the beautiful collection of pictures within, reveal lovely grounds, tastefully laid out, with fine old cedars, and a graceful bridge spanning the river Nadder, which flows through the well-kept grounds. The vestibule contains a fine collection of statuary and marbles, both Roman and Grecian; while two of the largest drawing-rooms are entirely hung with some of Vandyck's best works. These are mostly of the Pembroke family—one a life-sized group; the rest often single figures. But over the mantelpiece in the principal drawing-room hangs that charming picture of Charles I.'s children, which the Earl of Pembroke generously lent, among

others of his collection, to a recent Winter Exhibition. There are also Holbeins, and an excellent mixed collection of old masters. Wilton Church, erected by the late Lord Herbert to the memory of his parents, should not be neglected; it is in the Byzantine style, and its elaborate details will repay investigation. On either side of the altar are the tombs of the Earl and Countess, the latter a Russian, and daughter of Woronsow, the ambassador. They are represented recumbent in white marble. Mosaics and carvings abound, and the font is an antique from Italy.

Many will feel interested in inspecting the industry which makes Wilton well known—namely, its carpets. The factory, whence issue these beautiful fabrics, is by no means imposing; and it will be a surprise to learn that no machinery is employed or much stock kept, the orders being executed by hand as they are received.

At Longford Castle, the seat of the Earl of Radnor, an even richer collection of old masters may be seen; but this is only by permission, and therefore not so accessible to all. Here the drawing-room contains a varied collection of art. Family portraits (some of charming children) by Sir Joshua, Gainsborough, or Sir Joshua's master, Hudson, together with Titians, Vandycks, and a Velasquez; in an inner room hangs a fine Albert Dürer triptych. In the room known as "The Gallery" is a splendid Holbein, called "The Ambassadors." Two male figures, life-size, in the elaborate dress of Holbein's day, stand on either side of a table covered with various articles. At their feet is a curious object, rather resembling a dried fish, of large proportions; but when viewed from a particular angle (so as to telescope it), it becomes a skull. Here also are two lovely Claudes, two N. Poussins, a Murillo of "Ruth and Naomi," a Correggio, a Rubens landscape, of the Escorial, and several other works. In an adjoining turret-chamber hang two most perfect Holbeins, rather under life-size, of "Egidius and Erasmus;" while in the balcony surrounding the triangular hall, lower drawing-room, corridors, and state bedrooms, will be found many excellent works, several of the Dutch school, besides a few Italian masters, etc. The steel chair in the gallery is a marvel of art, given by the citizens of

Augsburg to a German emperor, it is a wonderful example of the delicate chasing in high relief of the German artificers of that period; it is covered with illustrations of incidents from the Siege of Troy to the date of presentation.

EVELYN REDGRAVE.



Customs of the Manor of Berkeley, in the County of Gloucester.

THE customary or copyhold customs of the Manor of Berkeley, and of the several branches or sub-manors—viz., Ham, Alkington, Hinton, Slimbridge, Hurst, Sages, Cam, Cowley, Canonbury, Wotten Burroughs—as the same have been at several courts holden for the Manor of Berkeley, presented to be ancient customs therein, especially in July, 40th Elizabeth, by 92, and after by 104, and last of all by 112, of the most able customary tenants thereof, drawn together for that purpose, as followeth:

1st Imprimis. That estates may be granted of any copyhold messuages or lands, for three lives or under; and that the wife of every such copyhold tenant dyeing seized and in possession, shall, after the decease of her husband, hold the same so long as she shall live chaste and unmarried, and that for such lands as are herriotable, the best quick beast that the tenant hath at his death shall be paid the lord for an herriott; and if such tenant have no quick beast, then the best good which he hath shall be paid for the herriott.

2nd Item. That the lord of the manor for the time being, being seized of any estate of inheritance or freehold thereof may grant estates in reversion at his pleasure, to any person or persons, not exceeding three lives, to begin after the expiration of the former copy in being and that the same are good by the custom against those who shall have any estate afterwards in the manor.

3rd Item. That if there be any default of reparations in any messuage or house, or if

any spoil or waste be done upon the same that it ought to be amerced for the same from time to time, till it be repaired and amended; and that if any default of reparation be, and the same not presented by the homage, whereby the same falleth into decay or cometh ruinous, that then the customary tenants of that manor shall repair the same at their own costs and charges, and that if any customary tenant fell or cut down any wood or timber, and by himself or his executors carry it away or sell the same from off the land, he shall therefore be amerced treble damages.

4th Item. That all the copyholders may take upon theyr several tenements, at all seasonable times, house bote, hedge boote, plough boote, and fire boote, without waste making; and if any waste be committed they shall be amerced for the same by homage.

5th Item. That any customary or copyhold tenant for two or three lives being the first taker, may surrender into the hands of the lord or of the steward for the time being, or otherwise sell his estate and then the second life and third life shall be utterly void upon any such surrender, or upon such sale being found a forfeiture, neither in such case availeth it, whether the second or third life paid all or any part of the lord's fine or not.

6th Item. That any copyholder, holding in his own right, may, by his letter of attorney under his hand and seal, and delivered as his deed, surrender and deliver up into the hands of the lord, by the hands of the steward for the time being, all or any part of such lands or tenements as he so holdeth, and the same surrender to be as good to all intents and purposes as though such surrender had been made by the customary tenant in person, in open court, there personally present.

7th Item. The custom is, that if any man take of the lord, by copy of court roll, any lands or tenements, for term of three lives or under, in manner following, that is—to himself, A. his wife, and B. his child, or to any other person (he being then married to his wife), in this case, the wife shall have but the widow's estate and not her life, after her husband's decease, though she be named in the copy by her christian name. But if she be named in such copy before her husband,

that then she shall have the same for her life, though she do marry afterwards.

8th Item. If any customary tenant die after the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, it shall be lawful for his executors or administrators to hold all such messuages and lands, which he held, until the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady, then next following, and then the next life or taker to take to it, paying for the seeds and one earth, if any of the land be sowed or plowed; but the same next life or taker may, before the said Annunciation, fallow the arable land for barley, and sow beans and pease, and the said executors and administrators shall pay the lord's rent for the whole half-year then ending.

9th Item. If any customary tenant dye after the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady, it shall be lawful for his executors or administrators to hold such messuages and lands, which he held, until Michaelmas-day then next following; the same executors and administrators permitting the next life or taker to enter and take the meadow, and fallow and the same to occupy to his use, according to his estate then in being, and the said executor or administrator to pay the lord's rent, for the whole half-year then ending; and that (by the custom) is to be reputed for meadow that hath most usually been mowed for fifty years, then last past. But if upon such tenant's death, the same do fall in hand to the lord, then no executor or administrator is to hold the same at all, but the same peaceably to enter.

10th Item. If the first life or named in the copy, shall or do sell his or her estate by word or writing, without license from the lord, or his steward, he or she shall forfeit his or her and all the rest of the estates mentioned in the same copy, unless it be a woman under covert baron, but no other life named in the copy shall forfeit thereby but his own estate only.

11th Item. If any person having a reversion-copy for two or three lives, do sell or grant over the same to any person by parol or writing without licence, if such person were the first life named in such reversion-copy commonly called the taker, the same by the custom is a forfeiture of the rest of the lives named in such copy, and also of their wives widow's estates.

12th Item. By the custom of the manor any copyholder may, by word or writing let his copyhold lands for three years, so that the same be one day in each year actually in his hands and occupation, and during such time may dwell from off the same. But to let or sell the same in any other sort without licence is a forfeiture of his estate.

13th Item. The custom is that if any customary tenant dye and herriott be paid after his death, and if before entry or admittance of the next life, that by the copy is to hold the same, the said next life also decease, that herriott notwithstanding shall be paid, and that the widow of such tenant so dead before entry or admittance, shall have her widow's estate, and the herriott to be paid if she also should decease before admittance.

14th Item. The custom is, that if any copyholder dye seized of any copyhold lands or tenements, the next life which by the copy is to have the same, being within one-and-twenty years and unmarried, that the lord by his steward, shall commit the custody of the body and of such customary lands, until the infant (male or female) come to the age of twenty-one years, at such rate, as in the discretion of the steward to the infant's use, shall seem fitting, and such committee not to be further answerable to the infant, than the rent and conditions agreed upon in open court.

15th Item. The custom is, that if a cow happen to be an herriott, which hath a calf, or mare that hath a fole, or an ewe that hath a lamb, or a sowe that hath piggs. That such young shall go with the dam for herriott, and be as parcel of her so long as they are unweaned and unsevered from the dam.

16th Item. The custom is, that if any customary tenant dye seized of any customary lands which suffice for the breeding of an horse, beast, or other beast, having no such beast of his own at the time of his death, that either the best beast of his under tenant occupying the land, or the value of such an herriott out of the tenant's estate, or from the next in remainder, as the case requireth, shall be paid for an herriott; than which no one point of custom hath more often happened.

17th Item. The custom is, that if upon the death of any customary tenant in possession,

claim be not made by the next in remainder or reversion or by the widow for her free bench or widow's estate, within three general courts next following, such party, after proclamations made at such courts, is barred by the custom, unless such party be an infant, femme covert, in prison, of non sane memory, or beyond the seas in the king's service.

18th Item. The custom is, that if any man lying upon his death bed, or in time of extreme sickness, when death followeth, where true ends of holy wedlock cannot be intended to be, shall take a wife and dye, that such widow, wife or woman shall have no free bench or widows estate as presumed, also not to stand with the first institution of the custom, with the ordinance of God, or the honour of religion.

19th Item. The custom is, that a lease for years made by any customary tenant by licence, reserving a rent, is good against his widow during that term, and she only to have the rents; for if such customary tenant may by licence of the lord surrender, and so altogether barr his widow, which is the greater, he may by like licence of the lord make such a lease, which to do is lesser than to surrender away his whole estate altogether; neither can the wife, by the death of her husband, have from him a greater interest than what was in him at the time of his death, which was the rent reserved and the possibility of surviving the term.

20th Item. The custom is, that neither the executor nor the administrator of a customary tenant may, after his death, sell or withdraw the dung or soil that was at his death upon the ground, nor timber, tallet-poles, or the like, that were felled for the repair or use of the houses, but to remain for the usage of the next life; for the act of God in the tenant's death shall not prejudice any man, either the lord of the manor, or the next life in remainder or reversion; for the copyholder had such things only to the use of his tenement, and if he could not by the custom have sold them away in his life-time, his executors or administrators cannot after his death, for they can have from the dead no greater power or interest after his death, than what was in him at his death.

21st Item. The custom is, that if any copyholder shall not dwell upon his copyhold house, or having for some time dwelled

thereupon, shall recede or go from the same, and dwell out of the manor, that the same is a forfeiture of his estate after public proclamation at three courts made for his return.

22nd Item. By the custom the widow of a copyhold tenant may immediately after her husband's death waive or forsake her widow's estate, and so pay no herriott, but if she once take the profits it is otherwise, though but for a short time; and having once taken away profit, though she dye before the next court, or her admittance, yet she shall pay herriott, and the like custom, for payment of herriott is for the second and third life in the copy, though such person die before admittance in court.

23rd Item. The custom is, that if a copyholder dye, leaving his house in decay and not sufficiently repaired, that the next life after him shall repair it, and not the homage of the manor; for next life might have complained thereof before them in court, and so have had it repaired. But if it so fall into the lord's hands by the death or forfeiture of the last life having not been presented or payned by the homage at the last court, that the homage, viz., the whole customary tenants of that particular manor, shall repair the same at their charges, for that it comes ruinous to their lord by their default.

24th Item. The custom is, that the lord of the manor may, for fines for contempt, treble damages for wast, and the like amerciements imposed in open court upon any copyhold tenant, distrain any cattle going upon any such copyhold lands, either of the copyholders own, or his under tenant's, because the same was adjudged by the homage themselves to be just and right, which received a trial at Lent assizes, Anno 14 Regis Caroli, between Tyler, plaintiff, and Fillimore, defendant, and then were three presidents fresh in memory, vouched and proved by twenty-eight copyholders, produced as witnesses for the defendant, out of each manor three or four; whereof the judge, upon hearing seven only, was so satisfied that he bid the plaintiff be non suited (*vidzt*), one president twenty years ago in the manor of Alkington, when Thomas Bayleye's cattle were taken and impounded for treble damage in waste committed by Clutterbuck the copyholder. The second in the manor of Cam, about seventeen

years, agoe when Tyler's cattle were taken tenant to Parker the copyholder, who had committed waste and amerced in the treble damages. The third in the manor of Cowley, when treble damages was levied, about five years agoe, upon the cattle of Richard Woodward, who rented the copyhold of Widow Lords, who committed the waste; and they all affirmed that the lord was at his election whether he would take the cattle of the copyholder or of his lessee, for any amerciamient; which being impounded, were not to be releived by their custom, because the custom was in favour of the copyholder, who, otherwise, forfeited his estate in wast, and for that the wast was valued by themselves upon oath at the lord's court, which the lord was tyed to accept of, and not to take the forfeiture of the copyhold forfeited by the common law. The like president was in Hinton manor between Lewis and Joseph Hopton.

25th Item. The custom is, that if any copyholder commit felony, above the value of twelve pence, and thereof be convicted by due course of law (see my copyh. vol i. p. [346] [348]), this is a forfeiture of his copyhold estate, as well as by the common law.

26th Item. By the custom, no widow, holding by her widow's estate, can alter or change the nature of her land, but to continue it the same quality and condition as the grounds were, when her husband died, and not convert that into arable which was land pasture, and the like; but in all things, to continue such her holding in the same plight, as it was past to her, without a prejudice to those in remainder or reversion, for that such widow's estate is only by the courtesy of the custom, and not by any grant by her made to her in the copy.

27th Item. The general custom throughout the whole hundred and barony of Berkeley is, that, as well upon alienations of freehold lands as upon descents, relieves are paid, which in all antient rolls, are entered secundum consuetudinem patriæ and so for heriott service.

Examinatur et concordat cum Rotulis Curia.

Per me, Johem Smith,
Seneschallum ibidem.

Watkin's *Copyholds*, pp. 297-312.

The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Some Old Law Cases (*Continued*).—

In 12 Will. III. a case was heard in Banco Regis, in which Holt was the judge. It was brought by the farmers of Newgate Market against the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and the question was whether every house in the market had not of right so many feet of ground towards the market belonging to it. Holt ruled that the Act for building in London orders a man to build his house contiguous to his neighbour's soil. It was (he says) a necessary consequence that it gives you all easements over your neighbour's soil, as lights, passages, etc., without which you cannot pass to your house, but gives no right in the soil. In a case tried in Hilary Term, 11 Will. III., the appropriation of a church was called in question. The evidence adduced showed that James I. by letters patent had granted to B. and his heirs the appropriation of the church in Aldgate, reserving the right of patronage, and there was a covenant on the grantee's part to pay the chaplain £10 per annum, there being no vicarage endowed out of the impropriation. Charles II. made a certain Dr. Hollingsworth the clerk or curate by grant under the Great Seal, and he enjoyed it for many years. The assignee of the patent brought an action of ejectment, pleading that Hollingsworth had only right of entry to preach, but no right to possession. Gaining his point, Dr. H. sued Brewster, who was the assignee. Darnall, for the assignee, argued that the church was not demised as a messuage was. The Court decided that Hollingsworth should have moved for a special rule, as he had no right to possession, and that the church was a messuage, and might be recovered by that name in a præcipe. In an anonymous case in which Holt was likewise judge, held 12 Will. III. in the King's Bench, he made a remark which is perhaps worthy of preservation. He said: "We cannot alter records. I have no mind to build a new clock-house, as Lord Chief Justice Hengham did"—the said Hengham, according to tradition, having done so, being fined eight hundred marks for merely out of

compassion altering a fine on a very poor man from 13s. 4d. to 6s. 8d. Out of the fine levied on the judge a clock-house was built at Westminster. On this veracious piece of knowledge, Sir William Blackstone says that clocks were not introduced till one hundred years after Hengham's death. So much for the judge's knowledge of things outside the legal atmosphere.—(*To be continued.*)—W. H. BROWN.

Jottings from Winchester Registers.

—The plague in Winchester is abundantly placed before the present generation by the copious allusions to them in the municipal archives and the parish registers, and these MSS. show that here the most severe visitation was in 1625—the year that Charles the Martyr came to the throne. The payments to the plague-stricken people and their distressed families appear in August, September, October, November, December, and January. I give one extract from the Cofferer's Book: "Taken more out of the cofers the same daie (August 27, 1625) tenne pounds, which was delivered to the Maior (John Trussell), to be by him laide out for the reliefe of the poore infected people in the pest-houses and elsewhere in the citie, and towards the reliefe of poore people who are likelie to famish for wante of worke and reliefe." To depict the effect of the "sore disease," I give the deaths in St. Maurice and St. Peter Colebrook parishes in this year, and they show that the plague was more destructive than in 1665-6. There were eighty-thrèe deaths, and the average mortality for previous and following years was twenty-four. The recorded deaths were as many on one occasion as five in the day, on one four, and on many others three and two. There were forty-seven deaths in sixteen families. In those named Prince and Goodall five died in each, and in others the deaths ranged from three to two. Amongst the names are those of two families still living in Winchester, Newbolt and Goodall. The Great Plague as it is called, and terribly great it was, can only be guessed at as to its ravages. The mortality from March 9, 1665, to May 20, 1666, was sixty-seven, and the marks in the register show that thirty "dyed of the plague," inclusive of a "Duchman," a prisoner on parole from Admiral Opdams' fleet. The place of

exchange of money for market produce was just without Westgate, on the base of an old processional cross of the fifteenth century, and on this was built in 1669 a monument, still existing, to commemorate the plague and the formation of the Native Society to relieve the distress caused by the plague. In this connection an extract or two from the municipal archives of Charles's reign will interest readers of the *Antiquary*. The following is certainly a very early notice of emigration to America: "December 30, 1625.—Taken out of the cofers of the citie fiftie shillings, and tenne shillings more allowed of for a past fyne, which three poundes were employed for the apparelling of six poor boyes that went to Virginia." There is also a record of two or three apprenticeships of poor children, and it may be noted that the Native Society has since 1669 kept up its charity, and chiefly in apprenticing deserving children. The city suffered from the plague in 1603 also, when the regulations for watch and ward of all the gates, and the exclusion of everyone save vendors of consumable articles, were most curious, and a "bagman's" wife was committed to the Westgate "caige" with a writinge on the door to tell passers her "contempe," and one Anthonie Burde, an alderman who had gone to London against the city ordinances to prevent infection, was committed to prison at St. John's House. On the eastern and western downs of Winchester are several mounds which mark the interments of the plague-stricken.—W. H. JACOB.

English Prisoners in France.—

During our wars with France, in the beginning of the present century, the English Government was rigorously interdicted from extending any aid to British prisoners in that country. But private effort and energy were not wanting; a committee was formed in London, having its headquarters at Lloyd's Coffee House, and means for relief were organized. Circulars were addressed to the ministers and churchwardens of parishes all over the country. From one of these, addressed to the parish of Topcroft in Norfolk, the following extracts are taken: "The Committee beg leave to state that the last Subscription, amounting to £30,000, has been applied during three years in adminis-

tering Relief to upwards of 6,000 of the Prisoners, and has, according to advices from the very respectable Gentlemen who were employed in France to select the proper objects at the different Dépôts, produced the most beneficial effects. But as the Fund is now exhausted, they will, without fresh Contributions, be under the painful necessity of discontinuing these salutary supplies. To avert such a misfortune, they think it their duty to use every exertion in their power; and in thus recommending the New Subscription to your favor and protection, they hope they shall not be deemed guilty of any offensive intrusion. The necessity for the subscription is the more urgent, because France has rigorously prohibited the English Government from extending any Relief to the Prisoners; and it is therefore only by the Donations of Individuals that Relief can be applied: to the remitting of which the French Government make no objection. For the former Subscription, considerable Sums were raised in some places through the influence of the Clergy, who considered the object deserving of recommendation in their Sermons, and the Committee would think it a great advantage to obtain the same valuable assistance now. Very particular details of the distribution of the last Subscription have been received from France, and remain in the hands of the Secretary for inspection, who will be happy to furnish any further information that may be desired on the subject; and any Letters relating to the Prisoners, it is respectfully requested may be addressed to him under cover to Francis Freeling, Esq. Post-Office."—"The COMMITTEE at LLOYD'S for managing the Subscription raised for the Relief of the British Prisoners in France, seeing their fund exhausted after three years expenditure, and finding the Negotiation for an exchange of Prisoners at an end, feel themselves under the necessity of soliciting a New Subscription in favor of those truly unfortunate persons, still confined without a prospect of being liberated. The Committee beg to state, that there are at present upwards of 10,000 British Prisoners in the different Prisons of France, for the most part in great distress; and that the subscription is intended for the alleviation of their sufferings in some degree, by assisting them with

articles of Clothing, Bedding, Fuel, and such other necessities as they stand the most in need of. They think it proper to add, that the relief from the last Subscription was entrusted to the care of some of the most respectable persons detained in France amongst whom were Clergymen, and several Officers, both Naval and Military; and that they have made so satisfactory a distribution of the funds, and rendered such particular details thereof, as to entitle them to the highest credit. The same gentlemen, there is reason to expect, will kindly undertake the distribution of a new Subscription." The Committee then state that relief is restricted to "prisoners in distress," and that it had hitherto been dispensed as follows: "4 to 6 Sous per day to Women and Children in distress, living with their husbands or parents, who not being considered as Prisoners by the French Government, do not receive any rations. 4 to 6 Sous per day to the better sort of the distressed Non-combatants, to certain Passengers, and to distressed Masters of Vessels under 80 tons register, who are paid only as Seamen by the French Government. 3 Sous per day to old Men of 55 and upwards; and to wounded Prisoners who have lost a limb or who are disabled for future service. 2 Sous per day (being about a penny) to all the Prisoners in distress. Medicines and Relief to the Sick whose complaints do not oblige them to go to the Hospital. Assistance to all descriptions of Prisoners on their March from the Coast, or from one Dépôt to another. Occasional aid in Clothes, Bedding, &c. to all Prisoners in Distress. Schools established at most of the Dépôts to occupy and improve the young Men who are Prisoners. To maintain the above scale of relief, now requires a sum not less than £20,000 or £25,000 annually, including the loss arising from the present unfavourable rate of Exchange: and the Committee have received the strongest Representations from those acting for them in France, to show that it cannot be reduced without causing very great distress and melancholy consequences. Here it seems proper to note that all Assistance to the Prisoners on the part of the English Government is prohibited in France, but that charitable succours from Voluntary Contributions are permitted. The principal Com-

mittee established in France to manage the Relief of the Prisoners is stationed at Verdun, and consists of about twelve Gentlemen on parole there; they manifest extraordinary pains and attention to administer it in the most beneficial manner, and in furnishing the Committee at Lloyd's with regular and exact Details of all their Proceedings. Committees or Agents are established upon the same principle for the following Depôts, viz.: Valenciennes, Cambrai, Arras, Sarre Libre, Bitche, Givet, Besançon, Briançon, Mont Dauphin and Auxonne, who act under the Direction of the Principal Committee at Verdun, and furnish their accounts monthly."



Antiquarian News.

ON September 29 Mr. Henry Irving visited Dalmeny Park, when Lord Rosebery presented him with a ring which had belonged to David Garrick. The ring is one of ancient fashion, and singularly beautiful. Upon it is an exquisite portrait in enamel of Garrick, while within the ring itself is the name "David Garrick."

A curious find from the lower workings of Silks-worth Colliery, near Sunderland, has been reported. It is a piece of stone over 2 feet in length, about 4 inches in depth, and an inch or two in thickness. It is dark-brown in colour, and is covered with small round superficial indentations. It appears to be a portion of a fossilated reptile. It was found recently in the midst of the coal and stones in the pit.

We learn from the *Athenæum* that one of the most remarkable collections of South American antiquities, known as the Centeno Collection at Cuzco, has been bought, after negotiations extending over several years, by the Museum at Berlin. It is coming to Europe on board the Prussian ship *Kosmos*.

The public-house known as the Airedale Heifer Inn, Great Horton, belonging to Messrs. Jos. Stocks and Son, Shibden Head Brewery, and occupied by Mr. Wm. Briggs, is now in process of being re-roofed and slated. In removing the old slates the workmen found that they were all fastened down by sheep-shanks, from 4 inches to 5 inches long, each slate being separate. The oak spars were held in position by oaken dowels, or pegs, instead of nails as at present. The building

is supposed to be about 200 years old, and formerly belonged to the Bowers, an influential family in Horton 150 years ago.—*Bradford Observer*.

Pope Leo XIII. is occupied with an historical work, which has taken him some years of study and research to compile, with the help of the Abate Pessuto, to whom he has confided the editing. It is a *Codex Diplomaticus Ecclesiasticus et Civilis Urbis*, which regards, in particular, the history of the city of Rome in the Middle Ages, and especially that period when Gregory the Great reigned, in the fifteenth century, a period which up to the present has, although of great historic interest, been little known.

The wonderful exhibition of fossil trees to be seen at the west end of Victoria Park, Whiteinch, has been, and is being still, visited by large numbers of people from all parts of these islands, and no one who takes the trouble of travelling down from the Kelvingrove Show to Whiteinch in order to see the long-buried forest comes back regretting that he made the journey. At all parts of the day visitors are standing gazing in wonder not unmixed with awe at the extraordinary phenomenon spread out before them. The trees are still in a capital state of preservation, but great fears are entertained about their safety should frost set in before they are covered. We do not know whether the arrangements for having these precious relics enclosed are in a forward state or not, but certainly there is nothing being done on the spot for their preservation from the danger of disintegration, which a severe spell of frost would certainly bring about. The Whiteinch tramcars, which pass the Exhibition, going westwards every fifteen minutes, convey passengers to the Fossil Grove for a fare of 2d. For the information of strangers, we may say that nothing is charged for a sight of the Fossil Forest, as it, like the Victoria Park in which it stands, is public property.—*North British Mail*.

A scaffold has been erected round the ruins at the east end of the nave of Croyland Abbey, and an inspection has been made with a view to preservation. It is said that, unless it is supported in some way, the finest part of the ruin, viz., the south-east block of masonry, with the fine Norman arch, must fall and crumble away. A plea for a reparation fund has received the powerful support of the *Times*.

The following is a translation from an article in the Roman Catholic *Germania* describing the way in which the sacred relics of Aachen were stored away after their recent exposure in the cathedral: The relics were first wrapped in silk wrappers, the gown of the Mother of God being enveloped in white, the swaddling clothes of Christ in yellow, His loin-cloth in red, and the cloth on which the head of John the

Baptist was carried in pale-pink silk. After this each relic was wrapped up in a cloth richly embroidered with real pearls, the four cloths being presents which, in 1629, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugénie of Spain offered at the sacred shrines. Next, each relic was put in a special pocket closed with buttons, another cloth was wrapped round them, and a cover of tissue paper, the colour of which corresponded to that of the silk wrappers. Each parcel was then tied up with silk ribbons, the ends of which were sealed with the seal of the relics. Then a torchlight procession accompanied them to the Hungarian Chapel, and they were deposited in the large "Mary's shrine." The iron lid was screwed on, the padlock filled with lead, and the key to it was crushed to powder before the eyes of the spectators. A Te Deum was sung, and the solemn procession returned to the upper regions to sign a paper, in which it is stated that the sealed relics had once again been enclosed in the secret parts of the minster.

A tunnel near Samos, which dates from about 580 B.C., has recently been explored by a German expedition. It was constructed as a water conduit, and has been driven through limestone rock to a length of 1,235 feet.

The *Athenæum* reports that within the circuit of the new Olympian Exhibition at Athens a Roman tomb has just been discovered, containing two lachrymatories, a metal mirror, and various precious objects, as a ring of gold, a jewel mounted in gold, and thirty leaves of gold in the form of a trefoil.

The eldest son of King John of Abyssinia was lately married to a daughter of the King of Shoa. On the wedding-day the bride wore what is said to be the "Queen of Sheba's crown," which, according to native record, has been in the possession of the Ethiopian kings for the last twenty-five centuries.

Herr Nicolaysen, Norwegian State antiquarian, has just completed the excavation of the ruins of an ancient monastery, on the west coast of Norway. The assembly-hall, sacristy, and refectory have been laid bare, as well as the covered corridor running along the courtyard. The roof of the assembly-hall appears to have been supported by a huge pillar in the centre. A large number of finely-cut sandstone blocks have also been found, making certain parts of the edifice almost complete. These blocks were obtained from a quarry close by, celebrated for the quality of its stone in olden times. All the details of the architecture show a rich and advanced Romanesque style, and the interior arrangements are generally identical with those found in early English monasteries. The whole building remains form a square, with the chapel on one side and the dwellings on the two others, the fourth being a

brick wall. A few graves were encountered, but only one contained human remains. The skeleton is believed to be that of an abbot, from the cloak and mitre found with it. — *The Builder*.

Mr. John Glas Sandeman writes from 121, Rua do Campo Alegre, Oporto, September 27: "An interesting relic of the Peninsular War has just come into my possession. It is an English-made chased gold snuff-box, with the following inscription engraved inside the lid: 'Presented by Lieut.-colonel Fletcher and the officers of the Royal Engineers serving with the British army, under the command of Lord Viscount Wellington, in token of their consideration of the liberal accommodation (*sic*) afforded them by Senr. Jozé Rodrigues Magalhaes in the years 1808-9 and 10.' There is no mention of any place, but it was shown me by a silversmith in this city, from whom I bought it, and Senr. Magalhaes was probably a resident here, and these officers must have seen something of the occupation of Oporto by Soult, and the passage of the Douro by Wellington. It would be curious to know if there is anyone now living who may have heard of this relic." — *Glasgow Herald*.

Sir Nelson Hicroft, Bart., of Kempshott Park, writing to the *Hampshire Chronicle* respecting a recent discovery of prehistoric vessels at Dummer, says: "Dr. Stevens, late of St. Mary Bourne, but now Curator of the Reading Museum, has twice visited the spot, when three other vessels, two large and one small, have been found. All are of the same slightly baked clay, ornamented with bands. These are sometimes raised, and ornamented, not as was thought at first with a pointed stick, but with the forefinger or thumb of a woman or boy; while in one case, at least, a second band of ornament was formed by the indentations made by the tip of a finger. With one exception all were placed in the ground bottom upward, the bottoms themselves being in every case wanting, probably destroyed by the plough, they being only six or eight inches underground, and they were filled with earth, clay, and a few burnt bones. The only exception is the first found, which was upright, and nearly filled with burnt bones only. On it was placed a small vessel of better baked ware. This Dr. Stevens pronounced at once to be a food vessel. A foot or more underground a flint implement was found, nearly circular, about five inches in diameter, with sharpened edges. It needs but a handle to make an efficient tool. In the field Dr. Stevens found several flint implements, relics of ancient occupation. These implements, which are frequently found in North Hants, much resemble those now used by the natives of Terra del Fuego, the southern point of America, and probably indicate much the same civilization, or rather the want of it. In Little Nutley Copse, the property

of Major Purefoy Fitz-Gerald, are some mounds, which he, I trust, intends to explore, and which may prove to be ancient entrenchments. Dr. Stevens fixes these remains as of the Neolithic, or later stone age, and as being made, therefore, by a race earlier than that which Cæsar found in this part of Britain. This elevated spot would now be unsuitable for the settlement of a rude tribe, from the total absence of water, except from deep wells and surface ponds, but there are indications that streams once flowed at a short distance, both from below Dummer Clump, and down the steep sides of the woods overhanging Nutley Church and the Candover Valley."

A monument has been erected in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, to the memory of the famous Marquis of Montrose, who distinguished himself in the cause of Royalty during the Civil War which preceded the Restoration. The origin of the monument, says the *Builder*, may be attributed to a remark made by the Queen when being shown over the cathedral after its restoration. When shown the spot where were collected the scattered remains of the "Great Marquis," which were brought together by order of Charles II., and interred with State ceremonial in St. Giles' on May 11, 1661, her Majesty expressed her surprise that there was no memorial to so remarkable a man.

Sir Alexander Cunningham, late director of the archæological survey of India, has offered to the British Museum, practically at cost price, the choice of his unrivalled collection of gold and silver Indo-Greek coins. The medal room already contains a fine collection of this interesting series—mostly acquired from the India Office—as may be seen in Prof. Percy Gardner's recent catalogue; and after this addition it will undoubtedly possess, as it should do, the most complete collection in existence.—*Academy*.

The following description of Tything Farm, a residence of the present Lord Mayor of London, appeared recently in the *City Press*: Nestling under the shelter of St. Martha's Hill, near Guildford, is a quaint timber-built, three-gabled farmhouse, simple and pretty in its old English homeliness. Approached by a winding path across a trim green lawn, and sheltered by several fine old trees, the old house seems to withdraw itself from the public gaze, and to seek with modest retirement to exist unnoticed by the passer-by. . . . Tradition and old-world story have given a halo of much interest to the farm. Once the residence of the priest in charge of the lonely chapel of St. Martha, it sheltered the famous Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, when a lonely monk serving the altar of the chapel. In one place, in fact, the building tells us its own story. An ancient wall

with a curious Gothic triplet window, an old crypt or cell below, and a dug-out walled-in herb garden speak in eloquent language to us of the times when Tything sheltered the priest of St. Martyrs, and of the oratory or chapel that formed part of its building. Many of our readers doubtless are acquainted with the skilful manner in which Martin Tupper, in his story entitled "Stephan Langton," weaves into the plot the leading incidents in the life and history of the Archbishop; but few may be aware that in the dining-room of the present farm exist portions of the house wherein as humble monk he dwelt, or that the windows look out upon the herb garden, so useful in the days when medicine consisted of simples compounded and distilled from herbs by the worthy monks. But little of the ancient portion of the chapel of St. Martyrs, as it is more accurately called, remains, but in the chancel are the two stone coffin lids, one carved with a patriarchal crook and the other with the simple cross of an abbeys. These lids seem to show that the noble prelate, whose English love of freedom wrung from the tyrant John our Magna Charta of liberty, lies buried with his beauteous love Alice beneath the chancel of the lonely church. The altar that saw and heard their vows received their bodies, and in death they were not divided. . . . The open-timbered roof of the dining-room left in its natural dark oak, the open fireplace with its lining of quaint old blue and white tiles, and its rude iron firedogs and fireback, the dull green walls and rich dull yellow velvet hangings, and, above all, the interesting substantial old-English oak furniture, bespeak that generous love of the past, and careful appreciation of its beauties, that distinguish the present owners. The curious old long low sideboard, flanked by a pair of carved oak figures of monk and lady, seem to carry us back to the old life of the room, and we could almost believe that we may see the sandalled and cowed father working in his tiny garden outside, and that we are still living in the times when King John reigned over England, and Tything Hermitage was in its early glory. Passing by its doors is the Pilgrims' Way, once trod by hundreds of eager pilgrims on their way to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Crowning its hill is St. Martha's, in the distance the twin chapel of St. Catherine's, and near by the quaint villages of Albury and Shere, and the interesting old town of Guildford.

A discovery of Romano-British pottery at Little Chester, Derby, reported by the *Athenæum*, includes a rim of a mortarium, or mortar: "Its colour is the almost invariable dirty cream of these culinary vessels, but the largely marked maker's name, Vivius, is coloured in chocolate, painted before firing. No instance of a coloured maker's mark has hitherto, we believe, been noted; at all events there is no instance

among the mortaria and other large Roman vessels at the British Museum, or in the splendid collection of pottery of that period at York."

In the excavations made at the Piræus in consequence of the discovery there of the torso of Æsculapius, near the Tsocha Theatre, have been found the fragment of an acroterion ornamented with a group of serpents, and another of a votive relief bearing an inscription; also a piece of mosaic pavement and a door plinth, both Byzantine.—*The Athenæum*.

Among the most important acquisitions made by the trustees of the British Museum during the year are the following works: A Bible in the Georgian language, in folio, printed at Moscow in 1743, at the expense of Prince Bakar, the son of King Vachtang, who made use of materials collected by his uncle, King Artchyl. This book is excessively rare, as nearly the whole impression was destroyed in the burning of Moscow in 1812. Only ten copies are known to exist, and no other edition of the entire Bible has ever been printed in the Georgian language. Another rare Bible is the one in Armenian, printed at Amsterdam in 1666, 4to., illustrated with numerous woodcuts, as also a Psalter in Armenian, printed at Venice in 1565, 8vo. This book was the first production of the Armenian press established by Abgar at Venice, and is believed to be the first portion of the Bible printed in Armenian. To these should be added Archbishop Parker's rare work, entitled *De Antiquitate Ecclesie Britannicae*, printed in Lambeth Palace by John Day in 1572, folio, and intended for private distribution among the friends of the Archbishop. It is believed that no more than twenty-five copies of this work exist, and no two copies agree entirely in their contents. Four copies are now in the British Museum. Finally, the Missal for the use of the Diocese of Seville, printed at Seville by Jacob Cromberger in 1507, folio; a Service-book of the greatest rarity, and printed on vellum. It is a magnificent example of early Spanish typography, and issued from the press of the first of a family of German printers who worked at Seville until the middle of the sixteenth century. Only one other copy is known to exist, and that is in the Casanati Library at Rome.

We learn from the *Builder* that the *Weiner Zeitung* states that the remains of a Roman amphitheatre have been discovered at Deutsch-Altenburg, on the Danube. The exceedingly level state of the ground in a corn-field led to the surmise of there being some walls beneath, and on excavations being made, a gallery and remains of a Roman amphitheatre were discovered. Close by, the remains of a Roman road were also discovered.

During the past twelve months the work of exploration has been steadily progressing at Roche Abbey, upon the estate of Earl Scarborough. Roche Abbey was founded about 1147 for Cistercian monks. Of late, the work of excavation has been conducted by the Rev. F. H. Valpy, chaplain to Earl Scarborough. Some time ago his lordship exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries a remarkable block of stone, a cube of 9 inches, with a cavity in the top, covered by a smaller stone, which had been discovered in the ruins. When opened it was found to contain a relic, consisting of a splinter of bone, and a broken iron ring, wrapped up in sheet lead. Mr. W. St. John Hope and Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, who inspected it, suggested that the relics were those of St. Godric, whose mail-shirt was a source of numerous like treasures over the North of England, and that the stone has been built upon one of the altars. The screen of the edifice has been unearthed, and is 78 feet from the main (western) entrance, and 81 feet 9 inches from the chancel steps. There are three doorways at the western side, and these are laid open to view. The position of the choir-stalls has been fixed, while in the body of the church, just outside the screen, are several tombs bearing inscriptions and designs. The one immediately in front of the door leading to the choir-stalls is a slab with an English inscription, and supposed to be the middle or the end of the fifteenth century; nearly all the words have been deciphered, but a few are too much broken for identification. It reads: "Here lyggs Peryn of Doncastre, and Isabel his wyfe, a gude tru-brother while he was on lyfe. Jesu by Thy mercy bring them to blysse, Pater noster for them, whoso redis thys." Another contains a Latin inscription to the following effect: "Here lies — Rilston, gentleman, a benefactor of this monastery, who died the 9th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1498, to whose soul may God be favourable, amen." An adjoining tombstone bears the name Rilstone, and is evidently belonging to the same family. There are three others which appear to be of an older date, two of them bearing no inscription at all. The kitchen has been explored, and the walls of the refectory have been traced, and will be soon worked out.—*Leeds Mercury*.

A discussion has been lately carried on in the *Times* on the subject of Parish Registers. A correspondent, who visited something like 100 parishes in the county of Wilts, and by the courtesy of the incumbents perused the registers, gives his description of the condition in which he found them. "In some," he says, "but few, instances they were perfect; some were mutilated, some were kept in clerkly handwriting, some were badly written and worse spelt. At Westwood, Wilts, now a separate rectory, but some years ago one of the

seven parishes in charge of the vicar of Bradford-on-Avon, I found the registers in an unlocked iron chest, open to anyone. They had been shamefully treated, and I heard that a former churchwarden was in the habit of tearing out the leaves to light his pipe, and he also used the bell-ropes for waggon lines; there was then no resident parson. At North Bradley, in the same county, is a forged entry of a baptism, in the latter part of the last century, when the vicar was non-resident and the clerk had charge of the registers. The late Archdeacon Daubeney, afterwards vicar, discovered the insertion, and there is now a letter from him between the pages of the register calling attention to the forged entry. Boyton registers, also in Wilts, where the late Duke of Albany resided, are most unique and in capital order. The entries of marriages during the Commonwealth are numerous and in good handwriting; they were performed by the civil power. The registers of Hill Deverill, Wilts, were imperfect by the loss of a book. On the death of the Dowager Duchess of Somerset a few years ago, the volume was discovered in her possession and returned to the parish. The oldest registers in Wilts are at Bratton, in Westbury parish; they date from 1539, and are perfect to the present. My experience of parish registers in Wilts has been to show me that where they were kept as they formerly were, by a paid servant, generally an attorney, they are, as long as that system lasted, in good order; but where they fell into the hands of the parish clerk their condition is lamentable. Besides the entries of baptism, marriage, and death, some persons made notes of remarkable local events; such is the case at Wylve and Imber, in Wiltshire, the former recording a terrific thunderstorm, the latter some murders that took place in the parish. The Rector of Stapleford in the seventeenth century had a horror of Nonconformists and Quakers, and he never fails to express his opinion. A former churchwarden of Dinton proclaims in the register that he is the best boxer in the parish, with the exception of the rector's son. This during the last century. Parsons nowadays carefully look after their registers; fifty years ago many rural parishes had no resident parson, and I think I may say that, as far as I have seen, registers suffered more between 1700 and 1820 than at any other time. I may add that three or four years ago I found the parish churchwarden's account book for the middle of the last century on the counter of the shop at Longbridge Deverill; some leaves had been used, but I rescued the remainder."

Prof. Hauser, of Vienna, who has been digging on the reputed site of the ancient Carnutum in the neighbourhood of that capital, has found large and well-preserved remains of an amphitheatre.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Banffshire Field Club.—June 30.—Excursion to Findochty.—Paper by Mr. Crامond, Cullen.—One of the earliest references to Findochty is in 1440, in which year the King granted Findachtifeild to John Dufe, son of John Dufe. An action was raised before the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints in 1493 by John Duff of Darbruche against Sir James Ogilvie of Deskford, as to the lands of Fyndachyfeilde. In that action evidence was given of a charter under the Great Seal of King Robert, the second year of his reign, in which mention is made that the lands of Fyndachyfeilde owe to the King yearly one merk. Sir James Ogilvie was then accused of the "wringwis occupationne and manuring of the lands of Fyndachyfeilde, and of vpbreking John Duffis compt burdis." The result of the action does not appear. In 1521, the King confirmed a charter by the Baillies of the Burgh of Cullen to Alexander Ogilvie of that ilk of thelands of Fyndachtie, Smythstoun, Wodfeilde, and Seifeilde. "Bryntoun alias Fynnachty" is the usual designation of these lands in the old deeds, but the term Brunton is now limited to a small portion thereof. In the Charter-room of Cullen House are several deeds relating to the early history of Findochty. One is of date 1547—a bond of reversion by Agnes Gordon and her husband to John Ogilvie alias Gordon, fiar of Ogilvie, of the lands of Bruntown, otherwise called Findochty, etc. There is also a gift of date 1556, under the Great Seal of Queen Mary of Scotland, to James Ogilvie of Cardell, of a tack of the lands of Findochty, which pertained to John Hay, set to him by the parson of Rathven, May 1, 1547, and which tack belonged to the Queen, by reason of forfeiture of the said John Hay for not attending her lieutenant, the Earl of Athole, against the rebels January 9, 1556. Next follows an original charter by Mr. George Hay, rector of Rathven, to James Ogilvie of Cardell, and Marion Livingstone, his wife, and their heirs, of the lands of Findochty, Scotstown, and Carnoch, in the barony of Rathven, to be holden of the Rector and his successors, parsons of Rathven in feu farm, February 13, 1558. The following is given on the authority of Rose's MS. notes: George Hay, rector of Rathven, with consent of his brother Andrew, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's and Bishop of Aberdeen, by their feu-charter disposed to John Ogilvie of Glassa, and Janet Gray his wife, the lands of Finachty and Farskyne, dated at Edinburgh August 10, 1560. The reddendo is a certain sum of money and victual with this condition that the vassal is at all times to receive the Rector hospitably in his house of Faskyn with his train, and to serve the Earl of Erroll and Lord Hay of Slains perpetually. Of subsequent date is a letter of reversion by Marion Ogilvie, relict of umquhill Robert Innes, for redeeming the lands of Findochtie, Scotstown, and Carnoch, wadset to her for 1,000 merks by James Ogilvie of that ilk. These lands, originally possessed by the Duffs, and thereafter by the Ogilvies of Findlater, subsequently passed to the Ords. The Ords entered into possession by

virtue of a charter by James Ogilvie of Findlater to Thomas Ord in Keithmill, of the lands of Findochty, with the manor place, port, and customs within the same, with the fishers' lands thereof, the lands of Greenhill, the lands of Scotstown, and Carnochan, in the barony of Rathven, erected into a Tennyndry October 4, 1586. It is popularly believed that the village was not founded till the year 1716, but from this charter we learn that fishing was carried on here nearly two centuries before that period, and this is only what might naturally be expected, for we know from contemporary records that there were fishermen stationed at Banff and Cullen even prior to that early period, and the haven of Findochty was, no doubt, as tempting a resort for fishermen in these days as it is still. The words occurring in the charter "the port and customs" of Findochty are, moreover, evidently not merely a formal legal phrase, but point to some little trade even at this early time, and "the manor place" informs us that such a building did then exist. In this connection it may be mentioned that the fortalice of Rannes, of which, however, no trace now exists, was founded in 1592, and Cullen House in 1600. The old Castle of Inaltrie, in Deskford, bears not a little resemblance in respect of situation to the old House of Findochty, but is plainly of far older date. The old house in the village of Fordyce bearing the date 1592, commonly called the Castle of Fordyce, may also be compared with the house of Findochty. The Rector of Rathven and the King confirmed the foregoing charter of 1568. The Thomas Ord named therein was probably related to the family of Ord of that ilk, in the neighbourhood of Banff, who so early as the times of Robert the Bruce received from that monarch a grant of the lands of Ord within the tenendry of Mewbray. This grant was made to Christian de Ord. The MS. of William Rose states that "Andrew de Ord had the lands of Ord in Banff by grant from Robert the Bruce, dated January 3, and 21st year of his reign. They continued in possession nearly 300 years, when about 1590 they exchanged Ord for Finachty with the family of Deskford." This statement can scarcely be accepted as correct. The family of Ord may have had their origin in the Borders. It has been suggested that the Norman "de" prefixed to the earliest form of Ord in the north would hardly have been used by any purely indigenous family, and the fact that "de Ord" was certainly used in Berwickshire as early as the eleventh or twelfth century, certainly gives colour to the possibility of one of the name going north. Mr. Gray, writer, Glasgow, states that the earliest Ord armorial bearing that he knows of is a salmon haurient *argent* on a *sable* field, and that all the existing Ord families in the south carry modifications of this. The leading coat is *sable*, three salmon haurient, *argent*. No Ord family in this district at least is known to have left trace of their armorial bearings in deed or carving. In 1532, we meet with Andrew Ord of that ilk, and in 1544 John Ord is witness to a deed signed at the place of the Carmelites of Banff. The numerous cautions in which the Ords were concerned, appearing in the register of the Privy Council, bear witness to the troublous times. They also serve to show connection between the Ords de eodem and the Findochty Family, e.g., under 1594 appears a caution by Alexander Ord of that ilk for

Walter Ord, burgess of Banff, and Thomas Ord, in Findochty, in 1,000 merks each, and for ten others mostly residing in the Ord, not to harm William Gordon of Craig. The aforesaid Thomas Ord granted two charters in 1586 in favour of his son, Alexander Ord, of the lands of Findochty, Scotstown, and Carnoch, and of date 1616 is a precept of Clare Constant by Sir Walter Ogilvie, Lord Deskford, in favour of Alexander Ord as heir to the said Thomas Ord, his father. There exists a procuratory of resignation by Alexander Ord of Findochty of the lands of Ord in favour of George Ogilvie of Dunlugus, May 1, 1617. The Newtown of Ord had previously been alienated to George Ogilvie of Dunlugus—in 1580—by Elizabeth Ord, portioner of Ord. About 1622, Alexander Ord appears to have been resident at Findochty, for a deed was synd by him there, from which it seems he borrowed 980 merks from his brother John. The families of Ord and Lawtie are well known to have been related, and in accordance therewith we find that a charter was granted in 1624 by William Ord to Jean Lawtie, his spouse, in liferent. In the records of the Presbytery of Fordyce, mention is made in 1630 of Alexander Ord of Findochty as an elder of the Church of Rathven. At about the same period, James Ord was a member of the Town Council of Cullen. In 1643, William Ord of Findochty granted a charter to James Hay of Muldavatt of his lands of Findochty, but three years afterwards he made a revocation of all deeds done in his minority, particularly in favour of James Hay of Muldavatt, his uncle, and in the following year (1647) is a precept of Clare Constat by James, Earl of Findochty, to William Ord of Findochty, as heir to his father, Alexander Ord, of the lands of Findochty. William Ord was a feuar of the hospital lands of Rathven, and paid the Bedemen £5 Scots yearly. The lands of Findochty still pay the bedemen 8s. 1½d. sterling yearly. In 1669, William Ord of Findochtie was an executor along with George Lawtie of Tochieneill to William Lawtie, who mortgaged lands, etc., for building an hospital to the poor of Cullen. In 1673 Alexander Ord was in possession of the lands of Findochty, and two years thereafter his son William succeeded. This William was married to Jean Keith of the Haddo family. The next laird was John Ord, eldest son of William Ord, who succeeded in 1710. He had shortly before this period married Elizabeth Innes, daughter of Sir Alexander Innes of Coxton. In 1720 he was present at a visitation of the Church of Rathven as one of the heritors of the parish. In 1723 he is about to sell his lands to the Earl of Findlater. It is recorded that he built houses and furnished them to the white fishers to fish for him, and furnished them with boats "as other heritors are in use to doe," and the fishers are willing to serve the earl at the Brodhyth of Findochtie. They numbered in all thirteen men and four boys, their names being Flett, Campbell, Smith, etc. About twenty years after that time the twenty-one white fishers in the three fishing boats of Findochty appeared before the Court of Regality of Ogilvie, and pledged not to engage in bad practices with the rebels. The whole twenty-one deponed that they could not write but the initial letters of their names, and as we look on the manner in which they formed these initial letters, we should be uncharitable to suppose they were

not deponing to the exact truth. In 1724, John Ord sold his lands of Findochty to James, Earl of Findlater. In 1728, Baillie William Ord was baillie of the Regality of Ogilvie, and we find him still acting as such in 1740. The Regality Courts were occasionally held at Findochty. By 1743, the Courts were held by John Ord of Findochty. He was a baillie of Cullen and a prominent citizen thereof. Although designated "of Findochty," he had then probably no connection with the place. The family appear to have been resident in Cullen even before the period when the lands were sold, for the accommodation in the House of Findochty was not likely suitable even for these times. From a tombstone in Cullen churchyard, it is probable that John Ord had his burying-place there. It is curious that, notwithstanding the long connection of the family of Ord with the parish of Rathven, the churchyard of that parish contains no memorial of the family. The future history of the family cannot be traced with certainty. It is only in recent years that the old house has got the title of castle, a title it can hardly aspire to. In old times, it was simply termed Findochty, and sometimes the House of Findochty. About 1580, reference is made in record to "the lands of Kirkton and Lonheid of Rothven with the town and fortalice thereof," but this fortalice cannot be held to be the building under consideration. The View of the Diocese of Aberdeen, written in 1732, does not mention Findochty among the family seats of the parish, although it gives Craighead, Rannes, Leitcheston, etc. The old Statistical Account of the parish (1794) states that "the ruins of the House of Findochtie exist." Having been put in repair a few years ago by the Earl of Seafield, they will probably continue for many a year as a link binding the present to the past, and as an attractive feature in an otherwise rather bare landscape. As serving to show the progress of Findochty, it may be interesting to note that a century ago there were here but four large and six small boats; there are now 78 and 38 respectively; the forty houses have increased to 181; and the population, which was then 162, has now become 936.

Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.—August 3.—Meeting at Derry.—It was decided that the museum of the association should be removed from Kilkenny to Dublin. The Rev. Canon Grainger presided. After congratulating the association upon their first meeting in Derry, the Rev. Canon congratulated them also on the fact that Derry was the very place where began the real scientific treatment of Irish antiquities. They were aware that about fifty years ago the Government of the country, in a fit of generosity which it seldom fell into, voted a sum of money to have Ireland properly examined in archæology and geology. Every parish in Ireland was at that time thoroughly and diligently surveyed by engineers of the very highest character, who were sent round the whole country. The records of their work still exist, the Ordnance Office, Phoenix Park, and the Royal Irish Academy sharing the custody of the manuscripts, the printing and publication of which was declined by the Government in a fit of parsimony, the only exception being that relating to the parish of Templemore, of which a splendid and altogether model survey is published. Perhaps their

association might do something towards urging on the Government to complete the work of publishing these valuable papers, which really formed the ground-work of most of the parish histories now extant, and altered the system by which, when extraordinary monuments were discovered, powerful imaginations invoked the Phœnicians or the Druids. Their society was a daughter of this survey, and had carried on the work of geological and antiquarian research unassisted by the public funds.—Rev. Narcissus G. Batt read a paper on "The Priory and Castle at Rathmullan." According to the annals of the Four Masters, "Rath Maolain—i.e., Mullan's Rath—is a town founded on the shore of Lough Swilly, in Donegal, by MacSweeney of Fanat, hereditary marshal to the Lords of Tírconnell." It is noted in Irish history as the place where Hugh Roe O'Donnell was captured in 1587, and as that whence, in 1607, the Earls O'Neil and O'Donnell departed at the termination of the long struggle of the Ulster Celts against Elizabeth and James I. Of ancient remains there are a large cromlech at Drummhallagh, "hill of the wild boar," called the "giant's grave," with two sepulchral chambers; some fragments of two other cromlechs in the same direction, and a singular artificial cavern at Laharden, which may have been a store-house or hiding-place. The ruin of the old parish church at Killygarvan—i.e., "rough land"—about a mile to the north-east of the village, may be of any date, as its rude architecture has no particular features. The Register states that it had been long deserted in 1706, when Bishop Pooley, of Raphoe, consecrated the chapel of Mr. Knox's residence to be used by his permission for parochial purposes. The picturesque ivy-clad ruin by the sea, so conspicuous in every view of Rathmullan, consists of two distinct buildings, erected at an interval of nearly two hundred years. The eastern portion is the more ancient, being the tower and chancel of a religious house founded in the fifteenth century. The western part is a castellated mansion, built by Bishop Knox in the seventeenth century as his family residence. The estate of Rathmullan is called in old documents Phearan Broches—i.e., "the land of the great house"—doubtless because it was the abode of one of the three chiefs of the MacSweeney clan. He was distinguished from the others as M'Swine, Fanat, from his Lordship of Fanat, or Fanet, the territory between Lough Swilly and the land-locked bay of Mulroy. The Four Masters mention the destruction, in 1516, of the castle of this M'Swine in a civil war between O'Neill and O'Donnell, for it must not be supposed that peace and order reigned in Ulster before the English began to interfere. The chief himself, who is highly commended for his valour and liberality, died in the following year. The chronicle next mentions that in 1529 Conal Oge, lord of Fanat for one year, died after having put on the habit of the Order of the Virgin Mary—that is, the White Friars,—at Rathmullan. Respecting the foundation of this Carmelite priory, we are only told by Archdall that it was established in the fifteenth century by one of the M'Swines. Kilmacrenan and Killydonnell, within a few miles of Rathmullan, were Franciscan convents, but this at Rathmullan was Carmelite, and therefore dedicated, like all their churches, to the Blessed

Virgin. The remains of the Carmelite priory are of plain but good Irish pointed architecture of the period, more like the French flamboyant than the English Perpendicular. The remainder of the ruins belong to the mansion built by Bishop Knox. This prelate was Bishop of Orkney, and translated to Raphoe by his countryman, James I. He purchased the estate from M'Swine, first the manor of the "great house," and then other lands to the north. Finding the deserted and dilapidated convent on his new property, he resolved to convert it into a dwelling-house. This was a very common process in those days, as in Italy now. We have examples in the Irish Tintern and the English Newstead. The Bishop preserved the tower and chancel of the priory for religious uses—as his domestic chapel—and it afterwards, as we have seen, became parochial, when the Knox family withdrew to Prehen, near Derry, purchased in the last century. It is a popular error at Rathmullan to call Bishop Knox's manor-house "M'Swine's castle." That, as we have seen, was destroyed in 1516. No traces of it exist. It may have stood on the hill west of the priory. Vaults and foundations have been found in that direction. The vault in the old castle is the burial-place of the Batt family.—The Rev. Canon Bennett read a paper entitled, "Notes on Raphoe." The name of Rathboth, "the rath or enclosure of the huts," or "of the hut," is picturesquely expressive of an ancient Celtic monastery. "We must not suppose," says Mr. Skene, "that the primitive Irish monastery at all resembled the elaborate stone structures which constituted the monastery of the Middle Ages. The primitive Celtic monastery was a very simple affair, and more resembled a rude village of wooden huts." The foundation of the monastery of Raphoe is ascribed to St. Columba by the old Irish Life, and an ancient Irish poem attributed to him, though considered later by Bishop Reeves:

Beloved are Durrow and Derry;
Beloved is Raphoe in purity;
Beloved Drumhorne of rich fruits;
Beloved are Swords and Kells.

But it is on St. Adamnan, ninth abbot of Hy, whose *Life of St. Columba* is famous in the celebrated edition of Bishop Reeves, and is described by him as "one of the most important pieces of hagiology in existence," that the first clear rays of historic light are shed in connection with Raphoe. An historic darkness long concealed the identity of this illustrious saint under the phonetic form, Eunan, of his actual name, Adamnan. St. Adamnan, patron of Raphoe, and first bishop of the see, was born in Ireland about the year 624. His father, Ronan, was sixth in descent from Conall Gulban, one of the heads of the Northern Hy Neill, and akin to St. Columba and to many of the sovereigns of Ireland. His mother was Ronnat, whose race, the civil Euna, held the tract lying between the Foyle and Swilly, now the barony of Raphoe. His paternal grandfather was named Tinne, whence the saint is named Ua Tinde. The name survives in Raphoe amongst the Church population, as well as in Beltany—adjoining a very perfect Druidical circle, on the summit of a hill, now called The Tops, distant about a mile from Raphoe. Here the name and the stone circle alike attest the ancient seat of Paganism, and hence, doubtless, Raphoe was

selected to confront Pagan idolatry with Christian worship, the monastery of Derry having been first established as a Christian centre. Thus St. Patrick attacked Paganism in its headquarters at Tara, having first made good his position in Down and Antrim, and thus, later on, St. Columba, having established himself at Iona, fearlessly penetrated to the source and centre of Pictish Druidism, in the fortress of the powerful King Brude, near Inverness. Raphoe was well chosen, situate on the slope of a lofty hill which forms the watershed between the Foyle and Swilly. It adjoined the ancient main road, which probably led from the ford of Lifford, through Ballindrait, over Mongorry hill, to Letterkenny, and thence by Kilmacrenan, through the grand gap of Muckish, to the coast opposite the Island of Tory, where a round tower records, or lately recorded, the existence of a most ancient monastery, whose first abbot was St. Ernan, and where the great gem, a great cross of Columcille, was preserved in 1532, when O'Donnell wrote. Hence Raphoe was a half-way house, welcome to the footsore pilgrim. Its hospitality is thus attested by the name of the steep lane which enters it from below, namely, Guest House, End Street, which, without doubt, marks the site of the guest-house of the monastery and cathedral. This stood at one angle of the triangular diamond, a market-place—the church at a second, and the volt-house at the third. What the volt-house might mean has long been an unsolved problem. Popular usage and tradition interpreted vault-house, and described vaults where ammunition was stored during the Rebellion; but there is reason to believe that the ancient name is volt-house, and it is hoped that the true solution has been attained through the kindness of Mr. Hennessy, of the Record Office. On this eminent authority we are assured that in the ancient characters the letters *t* and *c* are almost indistinguishable, and that the true name was volt-house or folk-house. Raphoe still possesses the attraction of abundant and unfailing springs of delicious and wholesome water, to which mysterious properties are ascribed by the ancient and lost book of Glen-de-Locha, amongst the wonders of Erin VI. The well of Rathboth in Tir Conaill: its property to everyone who seeks it is that, if his life is to be long, it rises up against him, and salutes him with a great murmur of waves. If his life is to be short, it sinks suddenly down to the bottom. To revert to St. Adamnan. He is described by Hyde as "a good and wise man, and remarkably learned in Holy Scripture." He adopted the Catholic usage of the tonsure and of the time of Easter, and he succeeded in persuading the Church in Ireland to do likewise, although he proved unsuccessful in his own monastery of Hy, where he died in 704. In the survey of Londonderry it is stated that the "Well of Adamnan" was included in St. Columba's Wells—from which a street of the present city is named. Colgan, a writer of the seventeenth century, thus introduces his remarks on the Church of Raphoe: "Concerning the Church of Raphoe, once a famous monastery, and afterwards the see of a bishop, situate in Tirconell, in the province of Ulster, very few particulars now present themselves for remark, because the records of the same and of the neighbouring churches have either been deplorably destroyed or have hitherto escaped observation." An ancient

manuscript in the British Museum, quoted by Cotton in the appendix to the *Fasti*, contains a catalogue of the Bishops of Raphoe to the year 1600. It commences thus: "The last abbot and Irish bishop that ever was in Raphoe was Sean O'Gaivedan, and Derry, together with Innisbogan and this side Lochfoile, was his without controversie." Sir James Ware thus describes the origin of the See of Derry: "I have taken notice of the monastery built at Derry by the Abbot St. Columb in the year 545. But the cathedral of that place was a work of a much later date. For the bishop of this diocese had his see first established at Ardsrath, on the river Derg, of which St. Eugene was the first bishop. The Episcopal see was translated from Ardsrath to Maghera, which was dedicated to St. Luroch, and from thence I am of opinion that the bishops of that see were styled bishops of Rathlure. But at last, upon the establishment of the see of Derry, this diocese of Rathlure was annexed to it. Our historians say that in the year 1158, by a decree of the Synod of Brighth Thaight, at which assisted the Christian Bishop of Lismore, the Pope's Legate and twenty-five bishops, an Episcopal see was established at Derry, and Flatbert O'Brolcan, Abbot of Derry, was promoted to it. In the year 1164 Flatbert, by the assistance of Maurice MacLoghlin, King of Ireland, built the cathedral there. The first mention of a Bishop of Raphoe in the annals of the Four Masters is under the year 813, Maelduin, son of Ceannfaeladh, Bishop of Rathboth, died." We have seen that it is alleged that in the time of Jean O'Gaeredan, Bishop of Raphoe, Derry, "with Innisbogan and this side Lochfoile, was his without controversie." How, then, did Derry and Innishowen come to be taken from Raphoe, both being included in the county Donegal? The paper after relating the history of the question, quoted the Four Masters as follows: "Kairbry O'Sguaba was the first that lost Derry and this side Lochfoile: for at the time O'Karealin (the name being given in this form also by Ware) was Bishop of Rathloura, commonly called Maehara; and the natives of Tyreconnell, contrary to all equitie and conscience, did maintaine him in the bishopric of Raphoe, because he was both their friend; and, withall, he did largely corrupt them by bribes for to assist him against the Bishop O'Scuaba, whereupon the Bishop O'Scuaba did both curse, excommunicate, and suspend the people of Tyreconnell, under which excommunication they lay for the space of forty years, until at last, the Bishop O'Scuaba being dead and the controversie undecided, the translation was corruptly and falsely made from Machera to Derry, soe that the Bishop of Raphoe hath lost Derry and this side Lochfoile ever since." We now approach the interesting topic of the celebrated cross of Raphoe. In O'Donovan's edition of the Four Masters, dated 1397, it is written: "Hugh MacMahon recovered the sight of his eyes by fasting in honour of the Holy Cross of Raphoe and of the image of the (B.V.) Mary at Ath, Trim." Two years later, in 1399, we read in the Four Masters: "Hugh MacMahon died after the loss of his eyes." The annals of Lough Kied, in the year 1411: "The Holy Crucifix of Rathboth shed blood through its wounds this year; a great many miracles were wrought by it, and many diseases and distempers were checked by it." The annals of the Four Masters,

likewise at the same date: "The Holy Crucifix of Raphoe poured out blood from its wounds. Many distempers and diseases were healed by that blood." On this O'Donovan appends the following note: "Literally the Holy Cross. This was probably a representation of the Crucifixion done in wood, for the allusion to its wounds clearly shows that it exhibited a figure of Christ crucified." This passage is also to be seen in the Dublin copy of the *Annals of Ulster*, as follows: "(A.D. 1411.) The Holy Cross of Raphoe showered out blood from its wounds this year, and many distempers and diseases were relieved by it." I am indebted to Mr. Thomas Drew, R.H.A., for the following extract from Ware: "A cross of great repute among the people stood in the church, which I do not believe to be very ancient." The first bishop of the Reformation was George Montgomery, who held Raphoe in conjunction with Clogher and Derry by letters patent, dated June 13, 1605, and resigned both this see and Derry in 1610. In 1608 Sir Cahir O'Doherty seized at Culmore 2,000 volumes of Bishop Montgomery, and burned them in the sight of all his army, though the Bishop offered him £100 in money to redeem them. The second Reformed Bishop was Andrew Knox, minister of Lochennoch, afterwards of Paisley, who was appointed in 1606 Bishop of the Isles, and Abbot of Hy Colmille. He succeeded to Raphoe in 1611, his son succeeding him as Bishop of Orkney Isles. Bishop Knox died in 1632, and was succeeded in 1633 by John Leslie, perhaps the most striking figure in the long line of the Bishops of Raphoe. The Royal visitation of the province of Armagh, held by Bishop Ussher in 1622, illustrates the condition of Raphoe: "The state of the cathedral sheweth that the cathedral church of St. Enan of Raphoe is sagnated and decayed, saving the walls, unto which had been, two years past, preparing a rooffe, which, God willing, this summer will be got up at the bishop's and parishioners' charge. To the cathedral church belongeth a deane and chapter. The deane is Mr. Archibald Adaire, Mr. of Arts, an elegant scholar and good preacher of God's Word, given to hospitalities and good conversation." Bishop Leslie was a scion of the house of Balquhair, in Aberdeenshire. He was consecrated to the bishopric of the Isles in 1628. It may here be noted that the present bells bear the names of Bishop Hawkins and Dean King, with the date 1788. While still unmarried, Bishop Leslie built the castle at Raphoe, the walls of which are still standing—a place of strength, in which he afterwards endured a siege, and was the last in that country who surrendered to the usurpers. He was an uniform supporter of the Protestant faith, and when expelled from his bishopric used the liturgy of the Church of England in his own family; he zealously persevered in the discharge of his episcopal duty, even in Dublin, and on the restoration used such expedition in paying his duty to the king that he rode from Chester to London in twenty-four hours. He was the only bishop who continued in Ireland during the usurpation of Cromwell. In 1661 the Houses of Parliament voted a sum of £2,000 as a recompense of his exertions and expenses in building the Castle of Raphoe. Indeed, his services in that respect had been acknowledged and rewarded under the Commonwealth; for in 1653 the Council of State ordered that he should

receive a stipend of £30, which had been settled on "the Dean of Raphoe, now deceased."—Mr. Gray communicated a paper on several finds of small rough flint celts, found around Mount Sandal, on the Bann, similar flint celts dredged from the Bann, or picked up from an ancient ford below the Leap. And he compared these very interesting forms with others found under the Sand Dunes at Portrush, the latter being beyond doubt an ancient settlement at which these rude implements were manufactured—the cores, the chips, and every refuse of manufacture—thus describing three separate localities where similar implements were found under entirely different conditions. Mr. Gray also described a locality on Rathlin Island, where basalt rough celts were no doubt manufactured, as there we have the chips and all the resultants of manufacture.—Mr. Seaton F. Milligan read a paper on "Cup-marked Stones in Cromlechs, in County Tyrone," particularly in the district about Castleberg and Plumbridge, a district which he found rich in these formations.—Mr. Knowles read an interesting paper on "Tracked Stones," believed to have been sharpening stones in the iron and stone periods.—The following papers were taken as read, and ordered to be published in the transactions of the association: "Smooth-leaved Holly," by G. H. Kinahan, F.G.S. "The Stone Circle at Beltinnee, near Raphoe," Charles Elcock. "Notes on Ogham Stone in County Cavan," Charles Elcock. "List of Rude Stone Monuments at Desertoghill, County Derry," Robert Johnston. "Mistaken Identity as to Birthplace of St. Patrick," Rev. Silvester Malone. "Ballintubber Castle, County Roscommon," The O'Connor Don. "Fairy Lore of the County Antrim," Rev. Arthur Brennan. "Notes on the Armada Ships lost on the Coast of Clare in 1588," Thomas Johnston Westropp, M.A. "Report of the County Londonderry," by John Browne.

Royal Archaeological Institute.—Meeting at Leamington.—August 7.—Address by Lord Leigh, President of the meeting.—Visit to Stratford-on-Avon in the afternoon.—Precentor Venables described the architectural features of the church. He dwelt on the unusually able way in which the Perpendicular work of the clearstory of the nave had been blended with and fitted into the ground story and arcades of Decorated date. Mr. Venables spoke with approval of the projected excellent plan of moving the organ out of the Early English north transept, which it completely blocks up, and rebuilding it over the great eastern arch of the nave.—The members then dispersed themselves over the town to the various points of Shakespearean interest.—The Rev. R. S. de C. Laffan, of the Grammar School, gave a valuable account of the school buildings, which used to pertain to the Guild of the Holy Cross, and which are interesting examples of fifteenth-century domestic work. Some little time, too, was spent by the party in the adjacent chapel of the guild, which was rebuilt in the time of Henry VII. About the year 1804 a series of paintings in fresco were discovered on the walls, which were copied in detail and colour by Nichols, and printed in a now rare folio. Three copies of this work were placed in the chapel by the kindness of Mr. Laffan, and were closely studied. The principal subjects were a big Doom over the arch into the

chancel (the usual subject there portrayed), the legend of the Invention of the Cross, and the martyrdom of Thomas à Becket. The chapel is now again white-washed, but some hopes are entertained that the frescoes still remain beneath the wash.—The Rev. Dr. Cox drew attention to the good carving in front of the present west gallery, pointing out that it was from the old Perpendicular rood-loft.—In the evening the Antiquarian Section was opened in the Council Chamber, an admirably fitted up and suitable room for the purpose, by the Rev. J. Hirst, Principal of Ratcliffe College. The aim of the address was to indicate the widened horizon and deeper interest of latter-day archaeology; and the immense fields awaiting research in the history of the nations of antiquity were illustrated by pointing out what has recently been accomplished by explorations in Egypt, Palestine, and Cyprus: "When the languages of Phrygia, Caria, Lycia, Carthage, Iberia, and Etruria, shall have become known to us, and their inscriptions and records read, how much information shall we not receive! During the present year Captain Conder has announced his discovery of the language that was common to the vast empire of the Hittites, and I have only just received news from Italy that Professor Polari is busy translating the old Etruscan inscriptions of Italy, having found a way to their interpretation in the little-studied Basque tongue."—The Rev. George Miller read a paper on "Surviving Specimens of Early Church Plate in Warwickshire."

August 8.—The members started by rail from Leamington about ten o'clock, alighting at Banbury. From here carriages took the party to Broughton Castle, where Mr. and Mrs. Fane Gladwin received the Institute. Mr. Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A., conducted the party over the castle, which is one of the most interesting examples of a fortified house existing in England. It is surrounded with water, but possessed no special architectural defences until 1407, when the proprietor obtained the royal licence for crunclating his mansion. Much of the eastern part of the house, including the chapel, dates back to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The small domestic chapel, with its numerous fenestral openings into several adjoining chambers, excited much interest. The altar, supported on stone brackets, is in its original position. The carriages then proceeded to Compton Wynyate, where, by the kind permission of the Marquis of Northampton, luncheon was served in the great hall. This fine instance of an early sixteenth-century mansion was built by Sir William Compton about the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. Its great charm is the abundance and beauty of the panelling and wood-carving of the interior.—Of the noble church of Adderbury, visited on the return journey, Mr. Venables gave an interesting but far too brief description. It seems to have been somewhat over-scraped and renovated at its restoration. The church of Bloxham, of which the members got a tantalizing view in passing, was to have been visited, but time forbade. The only fault of a charming excursion in the best of weathers was that rather too much was attempted.—At the meeting of the Historical Section in the evening, a very able and elaborate paper was read by Mr. Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A., on "The Monuments and Effigies in St.

Mary's Church, Warwick, and especially those in the Beauchamp Chapel." In the course of his remarks, he said that the reason why so long a series of great members of the illustrious house of Warwick was commemorated by so few monuments at Warwick is to be sought and found in several circumstances, foremost among which was the removal of the choir in the time of Edward III., the change of their burial-place from Warwick to Tewkesbury Abbey, and the great and destructive fire of 1694. The Beauchamps first figured in St. Mary's Church in right of the marriage of Isabel Maudit with William de Beauchamp, who died in 1269. Mr. Hartshorne then proceeded to describe the effigy of Thomas de Beauchamp, and made some remarks on the disfigurement and deterioration of monuments in old churches through the adoption of alabaster as a material. He next proceeded to show that the monumental effigies in St. Mary's were real attempts to portray the features of the person whom they commemorated. He then entered into considerable details respecting the knight's armour and the costume of his lady, and pointed out the gradual changes which had taken place in armour in the course of centuries, remarking on the leading features of the earlier and later forms. He also dealt with the other surroundings of the tomb, and gave an interesting account of the modes of interment practised in the Middle Ages. He next entered into a full and elaborate description of the effigy of Sir Thomas de Beauchamp, dated in 1406, and also spoke of the effigy and tomb of "Brass" Beauchamp in the choir, at the same time adding some interesting details relating to the cost of the construction of each part of the monument. He next proceeded to describe the effigies of the Elizabethan period, including that of Ambrose Dudley, and his brother Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and concluded by describing the tomb of Fulke Greville, "servant to Queen Elizabeth, councillor to King James, and friend of Sir Philip Sidney." Mr. Hartshorne had his paper illustrated by some drawings of these effigies made of the size of life, which were hung upon the walls of the Council Chamber, and his paper was rewarded by a vote of thanks.—The Rev. G. Miller, of Radway, followed with a short but valuable historical paper on the Battle of Edge Hill, which he described most graphically. Mr. Miller's paper elicited a strong and general expression of opinion that it formed an important addition to the history of our country, and that it certainly ought to be printed in the Institute's *Journal*, along with a small diagram, showing the relative positions of the two combatant parties. In the Antiquarian Section, on the same evening, over which the Rev. Father Hirst presided, two papers were read—the one by Mr. W. Andrews, on "Cup and Circle Markings on Church Walls in Warwickshire," and the other by Mr. T. W. Whitley, architect, of Coventry, on "Masons' Marks on Various Stone Buildings in the Warwickshire District."

August 9.—The Architectural Section opened with a paper by Chancellor Ferguson. The afternoon excursion was to Warwick. The members first gathered together at the great church of St. Mary, on which a paper by the vicar was read, and Precentor Venables spoke of the extravagant debasement of the architecture of the nave, and of the beauties of the fine Per-

pendicular chancel and Beauchamp Chapel.—Mr. Hartshorne, F.S.A., gave some most interesting and original particulars, partly from unpublished letters of Stothard, with regard to the splendid series of Beauchamp effigies. The unique wooden piscina drain in the small chantry chapel was much discussed, and the Rev. J. Hirst mentioned that the late Mr. Bloxham had once told him that there used to be a wooden altar-slab here, and that it had been utilized as a window-seat in some nobleman's mansion in the country. The Leicester Hospital, so well known to all lovers of half-timber architecture, was then visited, and a too brief adjournment to the Warwick Museum followed. Here it was found that the president of the Warwick Natural History Society was awaiting the arrival of the members to open an old vase unearthed during the excavations for the Suez Canal, and recently presented to the museum. The vase, about 18 inches high, was boldly ornamented with bands of foliage, apparently olive, and was of a light texture.—The Rev. J. Hirst, Professor Clark, Mr. Baylis, Q.C., and other *savants*, engaged in an animated short discussion on the probable date and nationality of the vase and its contents. There was an amusing difference of opinion as to its style, Greek, Etruscan, and Egyptian being all named, and a thousand or two years of discrepancy in its chronology. Some thought it would only contain Nile mud or Egyptian sand, surmising that it had slipped off the shoulders of some peasant woman, and had been forgotten in the intervals perchance of some episode in courtship; others believed it to be of a valuable character, and of cinerary intention. At last the cement was removed from the top, and it was found to contain calcined bones.—The story of Warwick Castle was pleasantly told to the members by Mr. Hartshorne, whose father had fulfilled a like duty when the Institute was last here in 1864.—The party inspected the Warwick Vase, which stands in a large conservatory, built by the grandfather of the present Earl of Warwick for its reception, and Professor Clark read a paper: "I can add but little to the accounts given by the official guide and the various guide-books. Some few particulars, however, I have gathered from other sources as to its history, its probable author, and its possible original destination. The guide-books tell us that it was purchased by a late Earl of Warwick from Sir William Hamilton towards the close of the last century. I suppose this was the second Earl Brooke and Warwick, who, according to West, writes thus of the work of art and its present locality—'I built a noble greenhouse and filled it with beautiful plants. I placed in it a vase, considered the finest "remain" of Grecian art for its size and beauty.' The inscription on the pedestal tells us that the vase was dug out of the ruins of Hadrian's 'lordly pleasure-house' at Tivoli; that it was repaired at the charge of Sir William Hamilton, then our ambassador to the King of Sicily; sent home by him, was dedicated by him to the 'ancestral, or national, genius of liberal arts,' in 1774. The inscription in question is not, as sometimes at Rome, a defacement of old work, the pedestal and part of the foot of the vase being modern. The repairs you can see. They are evidently the faithful replacement of the original in all cases but one—to be mentioned presently—as to which there is some ques-

tion. What Sir William Hamilton meant by 'the ancestral, or national, genius of liberal arts,' I do not exactly know. Sir William was a man of elegant taste in more directions than one. We owe to him the collection and preservation of many beautiful works of ancient art, the majority of which were purchased by Parliament for the British Museum after his death in 1803. It was splendidly engraved in his 'Vase e Candelabra,' by Piranesi, from whose brief notes to the engravings I learn the further particulars that it was found in the year 1770, during excavations carried on in the bed of a small lake called Pantanello, which was anciently included in the *enceinte* of Hadrian's Villa. Of course this is not the time to describe that wonderful town of halls and terraces which Hadrian built or finished on his return from his last progress round the world. I cannot trace this Lake Pantanello on the modern plans. Near the entrance are the remains of what is generally considered to be a Greek lake overlooking the so-called valley of Renpe, and the stream at the bottom of that valley. The 'lake' may have been there. How the vase came into it we do not know. The villa is said to have been occupied by the Gothic King, Totila, in 544 A.D., in his siege of Rome. This precious monument of art may have been flung in, to save it, on the invader's approach, like the wonderful mass of curiosities in the well of Coventina, near Hadrian's Roman wall from Newcastle to Carlisle. Hadrian's Villa was finished between 135 and 138 A.D., but the works of art brought to it from all parts of the world might have various and much earlier dates. This work is—I know not on what authority—generally attributed to Lysippus, celebrated for his portraits of Alexander—a Greek artist of what is called the third period, about the close of the fourth century before Christ—in which the beautiful or elegant style began to replace the noble severity of Pheidias and his school. The subject speaks for itself. The lower rim, so to speak, is covered by two tiger or panther skins, of which the heads and the fore paws decorate the sides of the vase, while the hind legs are interlocked and hang down between the handles of the vase. These last are formed of pairs of vine-trunks, the smaller branches and grapes of which twine round the tip of the vase. Heads, each with a thyrsus or a club belonging to the owner of the head, are arranged along the tiger-skins. With one exception, these heads are generally, and, I think, correctly, regarded as sileni, or male attendants of Bacchus, the god of wine. The exception is of a very beautiful female face. This has been held by some *savants* to be modern, and it has been suggested that it is, in fact, a portrait of Lady Hamilton; but I shall leave the question to interest your curiosity or thirst for knowledge as soon as I have done. There is a crack round the greater part of the head; the face is somewhat modern. The restorations of the eighteenth century were by no means free from insertions of this kind. On the other hand, the hair is, I think, continuous with the main substance on the vase. The face is attributed, you must remember, to a period of beauty and softness, rather than of Pheidian dignity, and it does not appear to me to be exactly that of Lady Hamilton. That she loved to be represented as a Bacchante we know—whether she would have acquiesced in the pointed Faun's ear, which this figure

bears, as cheerfully as Hawthorn's Donatello, I am not so sure. Piranesi gives the female head in his engraving, and says nothing of any change. Assuming this to be an original Bacchante or Faun, the somewhat masculine surroundings of the lady are not out of keeping with an account of the strange and rather mixed picnics in which the votaries of Bacchus indulged. Classical scholars will remember in that weird play, *The Baccha*, how the mother of Pentheus vaunts her prowess, and success in their wild hunting revel over the hills of Bœotia. Apropos of hunting, I may say a word on the club. This object is, I think, pastoral. The thyrsi bear the usual fir-cone, or the bunch of vine or ivy leaves, with the pyramid of grapes on the spear-point, inciting to madness, which peeps through. The tigers or panthers, the vine-trunks, tendrils, and grapes, the thyrsi, and the beautiful Bacchante, amidst the Sileni, all belong to the same god. This is a Bacchic representation, a subject which will suit very well with the time of Lysippus, as the beauty of this work suits the traditional characteristics of his school. Several suggestions have been made as to the original destination of this vase. The most favoured one appears to be that it was 'a vessel in which to mix wine with water, and was intended for the centre of such apartments as were devoted to festive entertainments,' or 'was probably dedicated in some temple of Bacchus.' With regard to this wine-mixing story, I may remind you that the vessel holds 163 gallons. It may have had that quantity of liquor put in it in Hadrian's time. Even in our degenerate days we read of conduits and fountains running wine. But I think you will agree that the original destination of this vase could scarcely have contemplated this as an ordinary proceeding. Moreover, I believe I am correct in saying that no aperture has been found in the bowl, which is, perhaps, a little against its having been used for holding any liquid. A fountain might have been intended to play in it, of which the water was to run over the edge; but even here we should expect a pipe to introduce the supply. I should question whether this particular specimen, and others like it, were ever meant for anything but purely decorative purposes. But as most decorative objects have had their origin in a use of some kind, I am inclined, in this case of very large vases, to suggest the bath as furnishing their first idea. The Greek bath was not on so vast a scale as those stupendous labyrinths of building which we see at Rome—club-house, public-house, people's palace, all in one. The great hot-air chamber and cold swimming-bath were by no means the invariable and conspicuous features which they became in the days of Diocletian and Caracalla. What we do see in the Greek painted representations of bathing is sometimes a basin or tub, wherein the bathers could stand or sit; but more often a round or oval vase, resting on a pedestal, round which they stood to wash themselves. That is the vessel which I imagine to have been enlarged into the great ornamental vases, such as the one before you. Athenæus, it is true, writing under the Roman Empire, speaks of the vase in use as holding sometimes as much as fifty gallons. This vase is much larger, and, if for use, would, I think, have been of metal. Of course, this is far too clear and sharp workmanship to be a copy from metal, though metal copies have been made of

it. I take the object, then, of this work of art to have been, from the first, purely decorative. From the Bacchic emblems which it bears, I think its original *locale* to have been, very probably, a temple of Bacchus, as was suggested by Piranesi; nor is it impossible that Hadrian may have placed it in some corresponding position within his town-like palace under Tivoli.

August 10.—Carriage tour. The first halt was at Baginton Church, explained by Mr. Fretton, F.S.A. It has most singular features—a triple archway into the chancel of early Decorated date surmounted by a diminutive tower and spirelet; a remarkably narrow north aisle flanked by another of much greater breadth; and a large wooden box-like erection at the east end of the wider north aisle, which is the mausoleum of the Bromley-Davenport family, and of the year 1677. The customs of the church were, until recently, as unique as the building; for the rector was in the habit of himself playing the organ in the little west gallery, and of conducting the whole of the service, the people facing westward, from that elevated position. Stoneleigh Church has some striking Norman details remaining, which were much admired, as well as a boldly designed circular font, brought here from Maxstoke Priory, and surrounded by figures of the Twelve Apostles. Judging from the costume, Prof. Clark argued in favour of its being of Saxon date. To Dr. Cox must be assigned the credit of discovering undoubted Saxon work at the base of the north jamb of the Norman chancel arch, which is built on the reversed abacus of a previous Saxon arch. Mr. Hartshorne described the remarkably fine seventeenth-century monument on the north side of the chancel to Duchess Dudley and her daughter. The sculptor was Stone, who was the first to introduce effigies with closed eyes into this country. Lord Leigh met the party in the beautiful park that surrounds Stoneleigh Abbey, and pointed out some of the magnificent oak trees. One that was measured proved to have a girth of 29 feet 9 inches. The remains of the old monastery, especially the gateway and the chapter-house (now the kitchen), were inspected and described by Precentor Venables. The whole party then sat down to a sumptuous lunch, provided by the president, who, in his speech in response to the toast of his health, said that at the visit of the Institute to Kenilworth in 1864 they were received by the local populace with shouts of "Here come the Archangels!" The visit to Kenilworth need not be described, save to mention that its honours were effectively done by Mr. Hartshorne, who had secured from Lord Clarendon the interesting privilege, hardly ever granted, of approaching the pile by the original entrance. In the evening Mr. Fretton read a paper on "The Monasteries and Conventual Buildings of Ancient Coventry." He mentioned in particular the great Benedictine convent founded at Coventry twenty years before the Conquest by Leofric, King of Mercia, parts of whose monastery are still to be seen *in situ*; its large and beautiful cathedral, the glory of the city in the Plantagenet era; St. Michael's and Trinity Churches, with their beautiful lofty spires; and St. Mary's Hall, or the old Guildhall, which was the centre of all the guild charities of the city; the Hospital in Grey Friar's Lane; and the many pageants, mysteries, etc.,

for which Coventry was so famous. He also enumerated several of its ancient charities which have lasted, in a form more or less unaltered, down to the present day.

August 11.—On this day the expedition was entirely confined to Coventry, and though old ground to many of the members, was thoroughly appreciated, owing to the excellent way in which Mr. Fretton had mapped out the time, and the lucid though wisely brief descriptions he gave of the chief points of interest. The grand dimensions of the great church of St. Michael are almost overpowering as a first impression, but to the experienced and educated eye it is far from unusual for feelings of disappointment to follow; several members expressed their preference for Trinity, or even for St. John's. The striking features of St. John's, or Bablake Church, suggested to one of the members the apparently accurate surmise that it was this fabric that supplied Mr. Bodley with the chief ideas that prevail in his masterpiece, the church of the Holy Angels at Hoar Cross. St. John's Hospital, till recently used as the Free Grammar School, surrounded with fine examples of old stall seats, brought here from various parts of the city, attracted much interest, as well as that perfect gem of fifteenth-century half-timbered work, Ford's Hospital. Others admired the later work of Wheatley's School, and the beautiful details, of 1650 date, of the lead pipe heads and guttering in the "Palace Yard." But the greatest interest seemed to centre in the Whitefriars Monastery (now the union workhouse), where some perfect parts of the cloisters and dormitory still remain. A walk round portions of the old walls and gateways, with a mid-day period spent at the Guildhall, with its wealth of tapestry, old glass, and invaluable collection of sealed charters, brought a most successful day to a close.—The papers read in the evening included one by Mr. Walter Rowley, on Shakespearean ballads and songs; Mr. Micklethwaite devoted a paper to a novel and interesting subject in establishing that dovescots were not unfrequently deliberately provided in the mediæval churches of England either in the tower or between the vaulted grooving and roof of chancels; and a charming survey, admirably expressed, of English homes in the times of Elizabeth and James I., by Mr. Gotch.

August 13.—The concluding day of the Warwickshire excursions was chiefly devoted to church-visiting. But first of all the interesting but seldom seen hall of Baddesley Clinton was inspected, under the guidance of the Rev. H. Norris, of Tamworth. It has been the residence of a branch of the Ferrers family uninterruptedly for thirteen generations in direct descent from father to son. The hall is still surrounded with a deep and wide moat filled with water, though now crossed by a permanent bridge instead of a drawbridge. Many of its details and work remain unaltered since the sixteenth century. A special feature is the great wealth of heraldic glass, the earliest dated specimen of which is 1560. The churches visited were Knole, Solihull, Meriden, and Berkswell. At Knowle the members noted the beautiful delicate tracery of the late wood screen, the singularly developed griffin wings of the gurgoyles of the nave, the two sets of sedilia in the chancel, but especially the unique circular brass, over four feet in

diameter, of which, alas ! the matrices only remain, said to be to Walter Cook, founder of the collegiate church here early in the fifteenth century. At Solihull, Mr. Micklethwaite drew special attention to the remains of the old rood-screen, now utilized as a reredos in the chancel. It has on the top of the cornice fourteen holes intended for the reception of the bases of shallow candlesticks for the illumination of the rood on great festivals.

August 14.—Leicester was inspected, under the direction of Colonel Bellairs. In the Castle Hall, originally a Norman nave with side-aisles, divided by wooden post-pillars, some of which remain (comparison was made with the Guildhall, York), the party were received and addressed by the local antiquaries. Evidences of the nature of the old structure were seen in the chevron beading round the window arches in the present mayor's parlour, and also outside. Some of the old fourteenth-century wooden roof remains. The dungeon, when examined, was found to have been built with a Tudor-arched entrance, so that the door opened inwards, more like a cellar than a prison. The castle-mound claims a Saxon origin, and was probably surmounted by a wooden fort, and girded by a wattled palisade. Part of the original outer wall was visible on the lower side towards the river. In St. Mary's Church much discussion arose, concluding with the opinion that no Saxon work was visible, except some of the plain walling. The exceedingly rare, rich, Norman sedilia were much admired, and were set down to about 1150, the round-arched arcade at the north-western end of the church being assigned to about 1120. In order to enlarge the church, pointed arches have been cut through the nave-walls, and the blind arcade destroyed. Still more interesting was St. Nicholas's, a pre-Norman church. The arches of the lower part of the nave are very early Norman inserted into still earlier walls, and the church has a wide round arch at the west end, which it was conjectured may have opened into an entrance chamber (as at Wearmouth) formed by the aid of the old Roman walls, consisting of three arches, now called the Jewry, which appears to have been an old gate of the town. The two openings above the arches of the nave are lined by double rings of Roman tiles; here again, as in St. Mary's, a Saxon church being enlarged by throwing out aisles and by the prolongation of the chancel. Saxon churches had very small windows high up in the wall, and such remains still appear in St. Nicholas's. The old Town Hall, a curious wooden building, in which Shakespeare is said to have acted, having first belonged to the Corpus Christi Guild, of which there are memorials in the stained glass, now serves the purpose of a school of cookery. A pulley still shows where the drop-curtain was. A mace-stand bears the date 1558. The city library, the Roman pavement, St. Martin's, with its unique wooden porch with wooden vaulting of the fifteenth century, All Saints', and St. Margaret's, brought the trip to an end. In the evening the town museum was lighted up for the occasion, and an agreeable conversazione was held.

August 15 : close of the congress.—Melton Mowbray was reached by rail, and after visiting the church the antiquaries proceeded in carriages to visit Burton Lazars Church, Burrow Hill, Ashby Folville, and

Gadsby Churches, and Ratcliffe College. The library at Ratcliffe, containing some 11,000 volumes, was much admired, and easy access was afforded to the early printed books, arranged in separate glass cases. There is a fine collection of coins, Greek, Roman, and English; and many Greek and Roman antiquities, including vase-paintings illustrating each period of Grecian art. In the Study Hall were exhibited several hundred of the finest brass rubbings, and some illustrations of St. Mark's, Venice, and the beautiful representations of the shields found in the Idæan cave in Crete. At Burrow Hill a discussion as to the date of the work elicited the conclusion that the works were British. At the curious unrestored church at Gaddesby, it was pointed out that the mediæval arrangement of the nave and aisles could be clearly made out, and that much of the old fittings remain.



Reviews.

William Wordsworth: The Story of his Life, with Critical Remarks on his Writings. By J. M. SUTHERLAND. (London: Elliot Stock, 1887.) 8vo., pp. xiv, 225.

This is a very readable condensation from biographical and critical works on Wordsworth which have now become somewhat scarce. The author has fulfilled his task lovingly, and in brief compass has managed to give his readers a good insight into that remarkable galaxy of genius which made the English lake district its home or its shrine in the beginning of this century. Gray seems to have been the pioneer into this home of the poets, and his description of Grasmere is given in the present work. Hazlitt's description of his visit to Wordsworth is happily not omitted: the record of the perception by his rare critical faculty that something new and epoch-making had been born into English poetry is of unfailing interest. In these pages we meet De Quincey, and Coleridge, of course, figures largely. With the intermittent appearances of Coleridge there is the constant presence of Dorothy, and the pathetic significance in the conjunction of these two gifted associates of Wordsworth; with the chronicle of events in the simple and beautiful life of the poet is interwoven the record of his work. From first to last we are impressed with the sympathy and sincerity of the writer of this story of William Wordsworth.

Debrett's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage, and Companionage. (London: Dean and Son, 1888.)

The present is the 175th edition of this work, which means that the present is the 175th year of publication. As the preface duly claims, *Debrett* is the oldest serial extant. The alterations and additions in the present volume are unusually large, and have increased the bulk of the already bulky work. On the occasion of her Jubilee, her Majesty bestowed upwards of 420 titles and companionships; and the creation of a new

Order of Knighthood likewise entailed addition and alteration. During the year since the previous issue, the Order of the Indian Empire was altered to "The Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire;" and two classes of Knights were added to the Order. When we are further told that in addition to many thousand corrections made from announcements of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in the press, upwards of 30,000 correspondents have supplied or revised information in the present issue, little more need be said for the necessity of consulting the most recent edition of *Debrett*. The alterations in the "Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage" are set forth very clearly, and are brought down to the latest point of time under the heading "Occurrences during Printing."

The Brontë Country: Its Topography, Antiquities, and History. By J. A. ERSKINE STUART. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1888.) 8vo., pp. xiii, 241.

The first thing that strikes one in taking this book in hand is its perfect taste—the entire aspect of the book, both external and internal, so harmonizes with the subject as to prepare the mind for its treatment. Surely it was a happy inspiration to traverse studiously the places, with their associations of legend and character, wherein the Brontës lived. This object is greatly assisted by the sketches of Mr. Alexander Shepherd, of which there are thirty-three. The point of novelty in this book is, that the biographical scenes are not confined to Haworth and its neighbourhood; the author takes us wherever the Brontës sojourned in Midland and Northern England, and even Patrick Brontë's Irish home is described. A biographical item of much interest concerning Emily Brontë is here published for the first time (p. 189). It is noteworthy that the people of Haworth, *more humano*, not only ignored the fame of the remarkable family which has made this neighbourhood interesting, but are incredulous and impatient still, and speak habitually of "the Brontë craze," which appears to be an annoyance to them. The author of this entertaining book—the result of sojourning in the places described—points out with some keenness that strangers are ever the most successful delineators of native humours. These Brontës, with their unique Celtic organizations, took wonderful instantaneous photographs of the scenes around them, which were foreign to their genius. Manners and ways of thought are slow to change, and perhaps it is not to be wondered at that the native mind regards the association of the Brontë family as a doubtful blessing. We do not think the author has laid too much stress on the dual Celtic—Irish and Cornish—parentage of the Brontës. The imaginative quality of the family—which has gained its foremost champion in Mr. Swinburne—does not belong to Yorkshire or the Midlands, although it transfigured

the scenes there. To read, as we do in this book, of the actualities amid which the Brontë genius came to its maturity—to witness them in admirable sketches—is a novel pleasure in Brontë literature. Mr. F. A. Leyland's book on the "Brontë Family," rescued the name of Patrick Branwell Brontë from oblivion; and here Mr. Erskine Stuart gives a brief and interesting sketch of the sad career of that possible poet, which he ends with the inscription "Pobre"—"an inscription carved on a rude cross in Spain, which is placed over the body of a murdered traveller, and means simply 'Poor fellow.'" Not even a mighty ruin, but a somewhat mean one, poor Branwell derives interest not alone from his brotherhood to his remarkable sisters, but because his poems gave evidence, amid the wreckage of his life, that he shared their genius. The poem on "Penmaenmawr" was a remarkable production, and will probably find an abiding-place in anthologies of English verse.

Historical notes on the various parish churches with which Patrick Brontë was associated are given, and generally speaking, the antiquities of the places described are dealt with sufficiently for the purpose in view.

The Catherines of History. By HENRY J. SWALLOW. (London: Elliot Stock, 1888.) 8vo., pp. xiii, 156.

The enthusiasm of the author for his favourite name is amusing and yet contagious. Near the end of his little book he says: "It seems to me that Catherine is chief among the Christian names of women. No other name can show such a goodly array of celebrated characters. It was the favourite name of William Shakespeare, the chief among men. Out of six wives, Henry VIII. chose three Catherines. But for that fact, I quite think he would have had sixteen wives instead of six. Perhaps if some of Solomon's entertainers had been called Catherine, less than seventy might have served." And so on—and involuntarily one credits the author with a quite personal interest in his glorification of the name; yet his last word is a hint that he will treat other names in the same way—to wit, Margaret, Mary, and Elizabeth. This sounds like a desertion at the last moment. But the author has bound himself to Kate—the whole drift of the book is to show there is no other name of woman for him—he is as good as married to the name, and he must undo all he has done in his book, disprove the peerlessness of Catherine, before he can bestow equal treatment upon other names. There is something entertaining in the process as in the result of this ransacking books of reference and of common sources of historic lore for Catherines of note; the author has produced a goodly array, and doubtless will communicate some of his enjoyment of the subject to his readers.



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The Antiquary.



DECEMBER, 1888.

Temples of Athena.

BY TALFOURD ELY, M.A., F.S.A.

THE foundations of a temple of the pre-Persian period have now been brought to light between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum, lying partly beneath the Caryatid portico of the latter. This was the original Temple of Athena, extended probably by Peisistratos, in which, according to Herodotus, the Athenians remaining in the citadel vainly sought refuge from the Persians. It appears, therefore, that the new Parthenon, planned by Kimon, and built on a smaller scale under the auspices of Perikles, does not stand on the site of the older building. This discovery has suggested a solution of the difficulty as to the placing of the public treasure. Not only the valuables belonging to Athena, but also those of other deities, were placed under the guardianship of the goddess, who is shown by inscriptions to have acted as a banker for the State. Till quite recently it was supposed that these treasures were deposited in the existing Parthenon, though it was difficult to assign any part of it to such purpose. On this subject much ink has been vainly shed. It may be a consolation to those who maintained the respective claims of the various subdivisions of the temple, to know that all were equally at fault if Dr. Dörpfeld has demonstrated that the treasury consisted of a portion of the older building. In the plan published in the first part of the *Denkmäler*, which now takes the place of the *Monumenti*, two chambers in the middle of the building are assigned to the treasury.

The orientation of Greek temples is not-
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riously erratic.* This older Temple of Athena, however, lies far more nearly east and west than the Parthenon, though less so than the Erechtheum.

The views of Dörpfeld as to this ancient Temple of Athena and the Parthenon, partly built under Kimon, may be condensed as follows from the *Mittheilungen* of the Institute at Athens (X., XI., and XII.):

The drums of columns of Pentelic marble built into the wall of the Acropolis do not belong to the same building as the entablature of *póros*, or peiraic, limestone also found in the wall; for the former are not finished, while the latter is not only completely worked but also painted.

The substructions of the Parthenon belong to the period of the south wall of the Acropolis, which, according to the universal testimony of the ancients, was built by Kimon.

Between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum is an area twenty-two metres broad and forty-five long, consisting of several strong walls with earth filling the spaces between them. In these walls may be recognised the remains of a large peripteral temple, adjoining the Temple of Erechtheus.

As to Kimon's temple, its building was interrupted by his own banishment and the troubles of his country. When the treasure of the allies was removed from Delos to Athens, Perikles undertook the work afresh, and carried it to a successful conclusion.

Hitherto we have had only one idea as to the Acropolis in pre-Persian times, viz., that the Parthenon of Peisistratos stood on the site of the present Parthenon. This one idea is false. The original form of the Acropolis was that of a long ridge of rock with many clefts, and easy access only on the south-western side.

The recent excavations have established the fact that Kimon actually executed a much larger portion of his plan than had hitherto been supposed. The ruins of buildings, statues, and votive offerings destroyed by the Persians were used by him for the foundations of the Parthenon and for the walls of the Acropolis. It was Kimon, apparently, who built the north-western part of the wall between the Erechtheum and the Propylæa. The old materials employed were often re-

* But see *Nissen Rhein. Mus.*, XL. (1885), p. 39.

worked. But the entablature built into this wall—epistyle, triglyph, metope, and cornice—all were arranged exactly as in the old temple, so as not only to serve as ornament, but to remind the Athenians for all time of the wars with Persia.

The eastern part of the wall was later, for *marble* drums of columns have been found in it, and a different style of building. Materials not fit for this purpose, as damaged statues, inscriptions, pedestals, etc., were used for filling up hollows and forming a level. When a course or two of the north wall had been built, the space behind was filled in with a heterogeneous mass of stones. Above this was spread a layer of earth to give the builders a better platform to work on. During the progress of the work, this earth-layer in its turn became covered with a thin coating of poros splinters. These successive strata are plainly marked. Beneath them and resting immediately on the rock is found in many spots the original soil of varying thickness, which must have been there before the Persian War. In this are found many fragments of early vases. Curiously enough, two graves of very young children were found in this deposit, to the north-west of the Erechtheum.*

In the deeper hollows of the rock some ancient house-walls have been discovered resembling those at Tiryns and Mykenæ.

On the Acropolis have been found no fewer than seven distinct marble cornices belonging to the pre-Persian buildings. Their ornament in some cases consisted merely of colour, in others low-relief was also employed. Since many pieces of the same cornice are found in totally different places, no hasty conclusion as to the original position of a monument on the Acropolis should be drawn from the place of its discovery.

The ancient Temple of Athena, destroyed by the Persians, was peripteral. The wall—some seven feet thick—on which the columns once stood, still remains, but no longer bears any trace of them. Within is a quadrangle divided into compartments. To the east is the Pronaos, then the Cella with its nave and two aisles, the special place of worship. On the west we find a Pronaos and the Opistho-

damos, with two adjacent chambers. This arrangement differs from that of the Parthenon, where these chambers do not exist, the Opisthodomos forming a single large hall.

The columns were of poros, six in the front and twelve on the sides. The entablature was also of poros, except the metopes, which were of marble. The stone was covered with stucco. As to the archaic Athena and the other pedimental sculptures in Parian marble, we may refer to Studniczka in the *Mittheilungen*, vol. xi.

The roof was of marble. The temple had only one step instead of the usual three.* The difference between the horizontal cornice of the sides and the sloping cornice of the pediment, shows that they are not of the same date, the sloping roof being later. As to internal construction we have not such certain data. The foundation of the external colonnade corresponds in material and construction to those of the Temple of the Olympian Zeus at Athens and the older Temple at Eleusis. It may, therefore, be ascribed to Peisistratos, though the central portion of the building is probably earlier.

Thus far we may safely follow the distinguished German architect. His further account of the history of the temple† has not passed unchallenged. It is to the following effect: A comparison of two Homeric passages (*Od.*, vii. 80, 81, and *Il.*, ii. 546-551), proves that besides a temple of Erechtheus, there existed on the Acropolis in early times a temple of Athena. To this temple an external colonnade was added by Peisistratos. This colonnade was never restored after its destruction by the Persians; but the body of the temple was rebuilt and used as a place of worship and a treasury. In B.C. 454 the treasure of the allies was deposited here in the Opisthodomos, in the southern chamber of which lay the treasures of Athena, while those of the other deities were subsequently placed in the northern.

In 406, according to Xenophon (*Hellenika* i. 6) "the old temple of Athena" (ὁ παλαιὸς ναὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς) was burnt. Dörpfeld considers that the expression "old" could not refer to the new Erechtheum, which was

* So at Hissarlik the remains of a six months' child.

* The Heraion at Olympia and the Temple of Athena at Assos had two.

† *Mith.*, xii. (1887).

certainly not finished before 408. He knows of no instance in which the Greeks failed to rebuild a temple that had been injured by fire. When inscriptions of the fourth century mention the "ancient temple" (ἀρχαῖος ναός) he considers them to refer to the temple, the foundations of which he has discovered, and not to the Erechtheum. He finds an allusion to the ancient temple as late as Pausanias. Ultimately he thinks either the Byzantines used its materials in converting the Parthenon and the Erechtheum into churches, or its destruction did not take place till the middle ages.

To this Petersen replies, in the same volume, that the two Homeric passages refer to the same building, at once a temple of Athena and the house (or temple) of Erechtheus. Near this, at a later time, was built a new temple for Athena, apart from Poseidon, who shared the older sanctuary. Compared with this new temple the Erechtheum got the name of "old," which was retained even after the rebuilding in 409-8. The argument then rests on various inscriptions, in one of which (C.I.A. ii. 464) the letter τ is followed by a lacuna, in which twenty-five letters have to be supplied by conjecture. The possibilities of such a case can be best appreciated by a mathematician with a turn for epigraphy.

Petersen proceeds to cite Strabo (396) as naming only two temples of Athena on the Acropolis, viz., "the ancient temple of the Polias, in which is the ever-burning lamp" (i.e., the Erechtheum), and the Parthenon of Iktinos.

Petersen argues that the superiority of the foundation of the colonnade does not show that the body of the building was earlier, but was due to necessity for better material and better construction, supposing the outer wall had to support earth within, while it stood free on the outside. Dörpfeld, however, declares this supposition unfounded. Again, in the question of space for storing the treasure, the unprofessional critic must give way to the architect.

The line of Aristophanes quoted by Petersen as to Plutus—

τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἀεὶ φυλάττων τῆς θεοῦ*

* *Plutus*, 1193.

proves nothing, as both temples equally possessed an Opisthodomos of the goddess.

In the same volume follows an examination of the question, so far as concerns Pausanias, by Konrad Wernicke, whose studies in this special direction entitle him to speak with authority. He objects to Dörpfeld's assumption of a great lacuna in the text and to his identification of Athena Polias and Athena Ergane. According to Wernicke, Pausanias affords no proof as to the continued existence of the temple in question in the time of the Roman Empire. It would seem, however, that he does not accept Petersen's criticism as definitely negating the survival of the temple alongside of the Parthenon. These views of Wernicke we may, perhaps, safely adopt.

In his rejoinder* Dörpfeld, by comparing Aristophanes, *Aves*, 826, with *Thesmophoriazusæ*, 1136, seeks to show that the Athena Parthenos was at the same time the Polias.

Such is the case as it now stands. Many may be inclined to give a verdict of "not proven," or to await the production of more definite evidence. It is indeed natural to suppose that the Athenians would temporarily restore some portions of their shrines to give shelter to the sacred objects that escaped the Persian iconoclasts. That they should have rebuilt a large temple either when hastily completing their outer defences, or when meditating the erection of a nobler structure, seems at least unlikely. That in the last years of the Peloponnesian war, with their treasury empty, they should again have restored this temple, beside the Parthenon and the newly completed Erechtheum, is almost incredible.

On the other hand, it is hardly likely that Kimon would have undertaken the vast task of piling up an artificial platform for the Parthenon if an unoccupied site had lain ready to his hand a few yards further north. The Parthenon might, then, have been rebuilt on a site to a great extent conterminous with that of the old temple, just as, at a later time, part of the ruined colonnade of that temple was absorbed by the building of the Erechtheum.

If we may venture to express an opinion,

* *Mith.*, xii., pp. 190-211.

we would suggest that the Athenians repaired the more solid portions that had best resisted barbarian violence, but did not wholly rebuild the temple. Otherwise it would be strange that the various parts of the original building should be forthcoming; but so little that could possibly be assigned to its successor, especially if that successor had been restored, and had continued down to Byzantine or mediæval times. Dr. Dörpfeld himself says* that the original entablature was built into a wall in such a way as to preserve the memory of the Persian wars; and the same principle may well have been applied to the parts of the temple remaining *in situ*. That down to the time of Herodotus walls were to be seen "scorched with fire by the Mede" is expressly stated by the historian.† The central chambers, however, marked D and E on Dörpfeld's plan in the *Denkmäler* may have been restored with the Opisthodomos, so far as to serve as bullion vaults. The language of C.I.A. i. 32 (τα[μεινέσθω τὰ μ] [ἐν τῇς Ἀθην]αίας χρήματα [ἐν τῷ] ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ τοῦ ὀπισ[θοδόμου, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θ]ῆων ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀρ[ιστερ]ᾷ) seems to point to such distinct chambers right and left of the Opisthodomos rather than to the large single hall forming the Opisthodomos of the Parthenon.



The Church Bells of Essex.

WHEN some few years since our lamented friend Mr. Thos. North, F.S.A., of Llanfairfechan, asked me to assist him in obtaining rubbings and squeezes of the marks and inscriptions which are to be found upon some of the bells contained in the towers and cots of the old churches in Essex, I little thought that the work would prove so interesting, or that the hand of death would so soon call away that competent authority who has done so much to render the subject of our church

bells interesting and familiar, and so graphically brought home to us the lessons that they teach. To the vast majority of people in this nineteenth century, it is more than probable that the bell is merely an instrument for producing sound; but if they read the works of Mr. North and Mr. Stahlsmidt, they will find that it is a very great deal more. Unfortunately the illness and death of Mr. North rendered the work futile, and what the bells of Essex may have to teach us is yet unknown, for they still await the advent of a historian. The mention of bells occurs in some of the oldest historical records which have been handed down to us; we are told that the mules employed at the funeral of Alexander the Great had every one of them a gold bell attached to each jaw. It does not, however, appear that bells were brought into use for the purpose of calling congregations together for Christian worship until the third or fourth century; although it is related that one was put up at the gate of the Temple of Jupiter in Rome to call the people to the dark rites of heathen worship. Whether it was from such a practice among the heathen that the Christians were led to adopt the use of bells for a similar purpose may be uncertain, but most probably it was so, and it would seem clear that they were used in England from the period of the first erection of our parish churches. And it is evident that they at once obtained a great deal of popularity, for as early as the ninth century there were already many bells cast of a large size and deep tone. It is possible that the honour of having had the first large peal of bells known in England belongs to Croyland Abbey, in Lincolnshire. According to Ingulphus, "the Abbot of Croyland gave to that church a peal of six bells," and he goes on to say that "there was not such a ring of bells in England." This statement clearly implies that there were then smaller peals of bells wherewith to compare it. Ever since bells have been made of any considerable weight, it has been customary to place inscriptions on them in letters cast with the bell, and so being part of itself. These inscriptions often give great interest and character to the bells which bear them, and make them something more to the intelligent observer than mere "instruments of sounding brass." Every bell, it is true, has a

* *Mith.*, xi., p. 166.

† v. 77. τεῖχος is usually a wall of *fortification* as opposed to τοῖχος, a *house-wall*. But public buildings differed from ordinary houses in having walls of stone.

tongue, and can speak for itself into the ears of the listeners; but it has also a tale reserved for those only who will pay a visit to it in its airy habitation. It was the custom in early times to dedicate bells to the service of God, with solemn rites, similar to those used in the consecration of a church; at which dedication they were often named after some saint, and the sole inscription on many ancient bells is the name of that saint. Thus the four bells at Margaretting are dedicated to the Evangelists; the smallest, probably cast about the end of the fourteenth century, bears the words "Sancte Johanne." Persons who gave or bequeathed bells often had the name of the saint after whom they themselves were baptized given to the bell. Sometimes we find a bell bearing the name of the saint to whom the church is dedicated; and when in one church there were several altars dedicated in honour of different saints, each would have its own bell named after its own saint, to be sounded for the mass at that particular altar. Sometimes the bell is represented as calling itself by, or referring to its own name, as at Ardleigh, where the sixth bell, cast about 1450, by one of the family of Brasyer, of Norwich, is thus inscribed:

Sum Rosa pulsata mundi Maria vocata.

One of the pious customs of our forefathers was to ring night and morning a bell, at the sound of which the people said the Angelic Salutation, repeating the words of the Angel Gabriel in thankful praise to God for sending His Son to be born for us. There was generally a bell for this purpose, called "Gabriel," and several of these remain. At Aythorpe Roothing there are three very ancient bells, and one is thus inscribed:

De celis missi nomen habeo Gabriellis.

The others bear the following inscription:

Virgini atqui matri resonat campana Marie,
and:

Huic fratris Simonis Andrei nomen habet.

At Upminster one of the three bells is inscribed:

Sancte Gabriell ora pro nobis.

Probably the most frequent inscription found upon ancient bells is an invocation addressed to the favourite saint of its donor. Thus, in the beautiful brick tower of the Bil-

lericay Chantry Chapel, erected during the reign of Edward IV. by a member of the Sulyard family, the sole remaining bell bears the following inscription:

Sancte Katerina ora pro nobis.

Thomas — de Hedenham me fecit,

although the chapel itself is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. In Great Burstead, four out of the five bells have been recast, but the fifth bears the date 1436, and the inscription:

Vox Augustine sonet in aure Dei.

At Good Easter is a bell inscribed:

✠ O ✠ Sancte ✠ Thoma ✠ ora ✠ pro ✠ nobis ;

at Mountnessing we find:

✠ Sancti ✠ Jacobi ✠ ora ✠ pro ✠ nobis,

and at Stambourne, once again:

✠ O ✠ Sancte ✠ Thoma ✠ ora ✠ pro ✠ nobis ✠.

It was commonly believed in ancient times that storms and tempests were the work of evil spirits, and that the ringing of church bells would put them to flight. This idea probably originated in some heathen practice, for similar customs and notions exist among the heathens of Africa, India, etc., who try to drive away devils by the sound of the tomtom or gong. However it may have first arisen in this country, it seems to have been fully recognised by the Church, one of the bells in Stoneleigh Church, Warwickshire, being inscribed:

Voce mea viva depello cuncta nociva;

while from one of our Essex churches I obtained:

Tu Petre pulsatus perversos mitiga flatus.

Like most work which has come down to us from pre-Reformation days, the inscriptions are generally executed with the greatest care and skill, in beautiful letters, and with various elegant ornaments. Each inscription has generally an ornamental cross prefixed to it; and we often find shields and other trade-marks, as used by the various founders, who but rarely inscribed their names in full. Now and then human figures are represented, such as the Blessed Virgin with the Holy Infant in her arms, and a lily in a pot standing beside her. Occasionally we find mistakes, which render the word difficult to decipher. Letters will be found put upside down, or a word

will be divided, as if into two; while other words will be run together, and so on. At Althorne is, I think, the following curious blunder:

An el chat cnas.

This read the right way is simply "Sancta Helena."

During the disturbances that attended the Reformation, church bells shared the general fate of other church furniture, and hundreds were sold and melted up, it being considered sufficient that there should be one bell in each church to call the people to service. Happily this plunder was not universal, although it was very general. Out of three hundred and ninety old churches in Essex, ninety-eight have but one bell now remaining. When times became more settled, under the long and prosperous rule of Queen Elizabeth, people began to long to hear the church bells as before; and towards the end of her reign a new period of bell-founding set in. So among the thirteen hundred and twenty bells (or thereabouts) contained in these three hundred and ninety Essex churches, we find that the greater portion of them have been cast between 1580 and 1780. Bells of this period are generally easy enough to recognise. In the first place, unlike the ancient bells, they almost always have dates upon them; they more frequently bear their founder's name. We very rarely find addresses or allusions to the saints, or anything which would have generally been considered superstitious. Indeed, we much fear that the "greedinesse of metal," when the bells were being so generally recast in the early part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, evoked a very loose interpretation of the injunction of 1547, and so consigned to the melting-pot many invaluable monumental brasses. Still, the inscriptions of this date are usually of a religious character, though the cross is more conspicuous by its absence. From the time of Elizabeth to the period of the great rebellion under Cromwell, there does not appear to be any very marked change in the style of inscription, unless it be that they become less and less frequently of a religious character, and more frequently in English than in Latin. Probably the oldest bells remaining now in Essex are those at Little Braxted, Little Wakering, Billericay, Great Burstead, Ardleigh, Ay-

thorpe Roothing, Margaretting, and, perhaps, the single bell hanging in the detached tower of the little church at Wix. In the present paper we have gained no certain footing, and await with somewhat of impatience the time when Mr. Stahlsmidt, or some other competent authority, will tell us the story of the Bells of Essex. To the accomplishment of so desirable an object, we can have little doubt but that Mr. W. H. King, the learned Honorary Secretary to the Essex Archaeological Society, would lend his most valuable assistance, bringing to bear upon the subject his vast knowledge of the contents of many hundreds of early Essex wills, in themselves a fruitful mine of reliable information. When this is done, perhaps some generous benefactors may come forward to increase the far too scanty number of peals of eight bells, which are generally and probably rightly regarded as being the most complete, musical, and pleasing to the ear, and of which the county possesses only sixteen sets in its ancient belfry towers; while no less than sixty have but two bells, thus showing that, with the ninety-eight churches containing only one bell, no less than one hundred and fifty-eight of our Essex parish churches have but two hundred and eighteen bells among them, a state of affairs anything but creditable to so rich and populous a county.

J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.



On Certain Points in Syrian Geography.

BY WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH, F.S.A.,
F.R.G.S.

THE Rev. C. J. Ball, in an erudite essay on "Iranian Names among the Hetta-Hattê," or Hittites, published in *The Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. x., part 8, remarks (p. 430) "that it is not impossible that Gargamis may be a foreign pronunciation of the word which appears in Greek as *pergamus*, with the meaning 'citadel' (e.g., of Troy), and as a proper name, like the German Burg and our Bury."

The same suggestion has been made in regard to the name Car'chemish, in an article under that heading in the *Bible Dictionary* (Cassell, Petter and Galpin), and recorded in my *Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i., p. 237, wherein it is suggested as an Aryan (Iranian) termination, and a dialectic variation of Pergamus "a fortress." "Others," it is added, "explain the word as 'the stronghold of Chemosh,' 'the sun or fire,' an epithet which would be repeated in the word 'Hieropolis.'"

"In that case," continues the Rev. C. J. Ball, "the Hebrew Car'chemish might be a Semitic adaptation, suggestive of a 'castle,' 'citadel,' the whole denoting, perhaps, 'castle of Mîsh,' or 'Mash.'"

"Stephen of Byzantium states that Oropus, the modern Gerâbis, was formerly called Telmëssus, or Telmissus; and G. Hoffmann has remarked upon this: 'Es liegt nahe Telmessus (auch Telmissus), zu setzen;' but his note, which mentions that towns in Lycia and Caria, and a river in Sicily, were also called Telmessus, destroys the plausibility of this suggestion. The name is probably Aryan, like Trymnessus, Lyrnessus, Termessus. Moreover, it still remains to be proven that Gerâbis is the site of Carchemish; and the Egyptian spellings Qarqamesha, Karkamasha (Professor Maspero gives Qarqamisha, *De Carchemis Oppidi Sitâ*, Paris, 1872), and Golenischeff, Karkamâsha, *Leitschr. Aeg. Spr.*, 1882, p. 146), rather suggest that the Semitized form of the name indicated 'town or fort of Chemosh.' Compare the Assyrian 'Kar-Dadda, Kar-Salmanussir.'

"Tiglath-Pileser I. actually writes Kargamis, not Gargamis. Professor Sayce has suggested a comparison of the ethnic name Gangumai with the second element in the term Gargami-s. This may be right, and if so, the name is certainly Aryan, for Gangumai (Gangumâ'a) may be traced to the R. gham, 'earth,' from which springs the primitive ghaman, 'man,' strictly *gegenés*, as seen in the Latin homo, homini-s, human-us; Gothic, guma, stem guman, 'man;' old Norse, gumi; old High German, gomo, como; new High German, gam in Brautigam. Like so many other ancient tribes, therefore, the Gangumâ'a called themselves, in proud self-consciousness, 'men.'

"If Kummukh-Commagene be not a growth from the same root, I would refer it to the root Kam, whence we have Zend Kâma, 'wish,' 'desire.' Huzu, Kamak, Armen, Kamim, 'to love,' Kamk, 'desire;' a root to which Lassen has referred the Cappadocian Komana (Z. D. M. G. x. 377). The final k is a common Persian and Armenian suffix; of Kamirk, the Armenian name of Cappadocia (= Gomer, Gamer of Gen. x.).

"The old Persian personal names Artakamas, Artakama, Abrokomas, which also involve the root kam, 'to love,' suggest the same connection for Karkamash; but cf. Armen. gargam gargami, 'bent,' 'curved.' The town may have lain on a bend in the river, or have been crescent-shaped.

"Now, the first is precisely what occurs in the case of Karkisha, looked upon as one of the Car'chemishes, whilst Mambej, looked upon as another, is not on the banks of a river, nor is it in any way crescent-shaped. I never heard the name of Gerâbis or Jerâbis given by the natives to Mambej, or to Kara-Mambej, its port on the Euphrates; but it is quite possible that such a name may have been found by recent travellers attached to the first-named site. If so, I should certainly look upon it as an Arabic rendering for Hieropolis, just as we find Yerabulus or Gerabulus used to designate the site of Europus, not far distant on the Euphrates, and which conversion of name led Lord Pollington from the apparent derivation of the name Yerabulus, or Gerabulus, from Hieropolis, to believe that this was the site of that renowned Syrian city; but, he justly added, that it is possible that the names of two ruined cities, so near each other, may have been confounded."—*Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, vol. x., p. 453.

But there seems scarcely any need for such a suggestion, for the Rev. C. J. Ball himself tells us that "Stephen of Byzance states that Oropus, the modern Gerâbis, was formerly called Telmëssus, or Telmissus." Now, Oropus was the name of a town in Macedonia, which was the home, if not the birthplace, of Seleucus Nicanor, and this Nicanor gave the same name to a town built by him near Amphipolis. This Oropus is also noticed in connection with Amphipolis by Appianus, in *Syriacis*, p. 201.

There can be no question as to the site of Amphipolis, for Pliny distinctly tells us that "Europum (Oropum?) Thapsacum quondam, nunc Amphipolis" (Lib. v. cap. xxiv.).

The same Nicanor gave the name of his early home to other towns, as Thesprotia and Nicopolis (Thucyd., Lib. 1), and the latter, according to Stephen, not of Byzance, but of Geneva, was also called Telmissus.

Now, there were several towns that received the name of Nicopolis, or "City of Victory," in olden times, as there were several towns with the names of Oropus and Telmissus.

There was a Nicopolis in Egypt, in Armenia, in Lydia, in Phrygia, in Palestine, and in Cilicia. The latter was also known as *sub Tauro Monte*, and Stephen of Byzance tells us, on the authority of Arrian, that Issus was so called in honour of the great victory obtained by Alexander over Darius. Strabo and Ptolemy, however, make the two to be distinct sites, and I have been led by other considerations, more especially from Nicopolis being situated at the point whence the road started, which led across the northern or Darius pass of the Amanus (see *Personal Narrative of Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 116), to prefer supposing that the stronghold of Epiphanæa received the name of Nicopolis rather than Yusler, or Issus, on the Pinarus. But whether this Nicopolis was the one alluded to by Stephanus, as previously called Telmissus, it is difficult to say. The towns of that name in Caria and Lycia may, however, be fairly dismissed from the discussion. The Telmissus of Pisidia was more commonly written Termissus (see *Not. Orbis Antig. Cellarius*, p. 169), where, however, the presence of a tel, tell, or tumulus is particularly alluded to. Cellarius also considers it by error that the Telmissus noticed by Arrian, in the first book of the *Expedition of Alexander*, has been identified with this Telmissus: "Quod malo in auctore hoc, ut insignem errorem," he indignantly remarks.

The question then remains whether the Oropus previously known as Telmissus was the Oropus or Europus near Amphipolis, or the Oropus, afterwards called Nicopolis, in Cilicia. There is no evidence that the first was ever called Nicopolis or Telmissus. There is the evidence of Thucydides that Nicanor built a town called Oropus at Ni-

copolis; but if this is identified with the Cilician Nicopolis, there is no evidence that this was ever called Telmissus, unless we suppose, as is most likely the case, that that is the place meant by Arrian in his account of the expedition of Alexander. It is curious that we have the ancient site of Mopsi-Hestia, "the abode of Mopsus," with a remarkable tell, or mound, close by Nicopolis of Cilicia. This place, called at various times Seleucia, Hadrianopolis, Decia, Cæsarea, Manistra or Mamistra, and various other appellations, but now Missis, may also have been known, and very appropriately, as Tel-missus. There was also a Telmissus in Mesopotamia, which is still known as Tel or Tell Mazin.

One thing certain remains established by the inquiry, and that is, that no evidence results from it establishing the identity of Oropus or Telmissus with the modern Gerābis, if by that name is meant any of the sites proposed for Car'chemish. The only explanation I can give of the suggestion having been made is, that Jerābūlus on the Euphrates has been called by some recent traveller Gerābis or Jerābis; and the Europus of Ptolemy, of the Theodosian Tables, and of Belisarius, has been converted into Oropus, just as the Oropus of Nicanor, near Amphipolis, is called Europus by Pliny. If Mambej is called Jerābis, it will not alter the case, save that Jerābis was never known as Oropus or Europus, as Nicopolis or as Telmissus.

I have alluded, in a previous paper on the site of Car'chemish in the *Antiquary*, to the comparative objection to the two different sites proposed—the one at Mambej, the other at Karkisha—for Car'chemish, by the fact that a large park of elephants was kept by the Assyrian monarchs at the latter place, whilst Mambej is on an elevated plain, especially destitute of water or marsh; when Karkisha, at the mouth of the Khabur, presents a most favourable spot for the maintenance of such animals, just as the Orontes did to the Seleucidæ, who maintained a park of elephants at Apamea.

Corroborative evidence of a similar description has since that been tendered by Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, in an article on certain cuneiform despatches from Tûsratta, King of Mitāni, to Amenophis III., King of Egypt, and published in the *Proceedings of*

the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. x., part 8:

"Of the numerous correspondents," says Mr. Budge, "whom Amenophis III. had, is one whose letters are of the utmost importance for the study of Egyptian and Assyrian history: I allude to Tûsratta, the King of Mitâni, who styles himself the 'father-in-law' of the Egyptian King. The land of Mitâni we have some notice of in the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., King of Assyria, about B.C. 1120, who states that he slew four mighty buffaloes in the 'desert of the land of Mitâni.'

"The same inscription," the writer goes on to tell us, "states that Mitâni was situated in front of Hâtî, that is to say, somewhere near Car'chemish, or in the district called by the Egyptians Neherna, that is Mesopotamia. This district seems to have been the 'happy hunting-ground' of the Egyptian monarch, who found it, as Tiglath-Pileser I. found it nearly four hundred years later, well stocked with game.

"Amenophis III. was a skilled hunter, and we have an express statement on his memorial scarabæi that from the first to the tenth year of his reign he slew 100 lions with his own hand (*Brit. Mus. Scarabæus*, No. 4,095). It is more than probable that this 'mighty hunter' became acquainted with Tûsratta during his lion hunts in Mesopotamia, and that he there saw and loved the lady who afterwards became his wife. Dr. Brugsch (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, i., p. 440) suggests this; but that it was the case now seems to be quite certain."

I am aware that it is related of the motley host who made up the army of Belisarius, when at Hierapolis, that, unable to attack the enemy on the other side of Euphrates, they whiled away their time by hunting on the plains of the northern Hittites; but from what I know of the country it is now almost bare of game, and it never could have been, from its physical characters, "a happy hunting-ground" for large game; nor is the valley of the Euphrates adapted in this part of its course, where it is hemmed in by what I have termed "the Iron Gates," to be the home of large game.

The valley of the Bilecha, Strabo's Royal River, beyond, and more within Mesopotamia, may in ancient times have presented a

favourable site; but I would humbly suggest that the valley of the Khabur would at all times have presented the most likely home for elephants, "mighty buffaloes," and lions.

This, then, would identify the Car'chemish of Amenophis III., and of Tiglath-Pileser, with Karkisha; the land around would unquestionably correspond to "the desert of the land of Mitâni," the same, in fact, as that described by Xenophon as abounding in wild animals; and if it was situated in front of Hâtî, that would only show that the land of the Hittites extended further south than Mambej.

If any one point can be deduced more than another from the land of Mitâni being in front of the land of the Hittites, and therefore near Car'chemish, it would be that Car'chemish was in the land of the former, and not in that of the latter, in Mesopotamia and not in Syria.



Accounts of Edward V. and Richard III.

BY SIR J. H. RAMSAY, BART.



UT for the sake of continuity and completeness, the revenue for the period from the death of Edward IV. to the accession of Henry VII. need hardly have been noticed. Materials are very deficient; we have no Pell Issue Rolls, no Tellers' Rolls, and only three Pell Receipt Rolls, one of them defective. The Customs accounts are almost the only special accounts that are forthcoming, and these are far from perfect; but I have taken them out, and they disclose some points of constitutional interest. The readers of the *Antiquary* are probably aware that the Customs at that time were collected under four distinct heads—*Antiqua Custuma*, *Parva Custuma*, Tonnage and Poundage, and the surtax on wool. The two latter imposts were known as "subsidies," being dependent on Parliamentary grants; the two former were hereditary customs, independent of Parliament. Tonnage and Poundage and the subsidy on wool had been granted to Edward

IV. for his life, and so they lapsed at his death. His son during his short reign was not entitled to levy them, nor was Richard III. till January 22, 1484, when they were renewed by Parliament. Till then the only duties legally exigible were the *Antiqua Custuma* and the *Parva Custuma*. The former was a duty of 6s. 8d. on the sack of wool, and 13s. 4d. on the last of leather, taken from natives and foreigners alike. The *Parva Custuma* or "*Petite Custume*," imposed a further duty of 3s. 4d. the sack of wool on foreigners, besides small duties on all articles of import or export, of which the most important was a tax on cloth, graduated according to quality; foreigners, other than Hanse men, paying on a higher scale throughout. The impost on general merchandise was an *ad valorem* duty of 2d. on the £1 from natives and 3d. on the £1 from foreigners. The Hanse men were liable to this duty. Tonnage and Poundage laid a further duty of 12d. on the £1 value of most goods, except wool and leather, and 3s. on the tun of wine. Thus under ordinary circumstances, when Tonnage and Poundage were current, general merchandise paid an aggregate poundage of 15d. on the £1 value.

At the death of Edward IV. the subsidy on wool from natives was 33s. 4d., making, with the *Antiqua Custuma*, 40s. the sack. The subsidy from foreigners was nominally 66s. 8d., making, with the *Antiqua Custuma* and the *Parva Custuma*, to which aliens were liable, a grand total of 76s. 8d. the sack. But these were impossible rates, never levied in practice. I believe that 53s. 4d. is as much as I have ever found actually paid. Thus, then, if we take the proceeds from wool exported by natives, the chief item, the Customs revenue, at Edward's death ought to have fallen to one-sixth of what it was before, and the poundage on general merchandise ought to have fallen to one-fifth.

To see what did happen, I took out the totals of the Customs revenue for the last six months of Edward's life, namely, from Michaelmas, 1482, to April 9th, 1483: the total of the accounts which are forthcoming, as given below, comes to £11,454 13s. 10d. Three accounts, however, are wanting, namely, those for Chichester, Exeter, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. As the Newcastle accounts are

equally wanting in the next six months,* their absence does not affect the comparison; but for the missing Chichester account I have allowed £45, and for that from Exeter £260, on estimates based on preceding years. With these allowances the total for the half-year comes to £11,759 13s. 10d., say, in round numbers, something under £12,000. The total for the half-year, April 9 to Michaelmas, 1483, comes to £5,124 3s. From this it would seem to follow that the merchants had been able to resist paying illegal duties to a certain extent, but not at all to the proper extent. Tonnage and Poundage is entered as levied from the beginning of the period at the full rate of 12d. on the £1. The duty had gone on for so long at the same rate that the officials might easily claim it as hereditary, or practically hereditary. In the London accounts we have £375 under this head, collected, as we are expressly told, "by order of the treasurer;" but it must be admitted that this amount was trifling, for the corresponding portion of the next year, when the tax had been renewed, the amount was certainly over £1,000. In some cases the Government had a hold upon men to force them to account for duty. The largest exporters of wool in the kingdom were the Company of the Calais Merchants, a firm carrying on business in London and Calais. The Government owed these men money for advances made to the garrison. Accordingly I find these men charged in account with the full subsidy on wool, as a set-off against the money due to them. On the other hand, as these advances had been made to Edward IV., I think the recognition of them as binding on his successor implies a certain advance in political morality.

For the financial year, Michaelmas, 1483-1484, the reader will see that the Customs came to £18,629 7s. 3d; for the next year the amount was £20,743 4s. I call it a year, though the receipts practically ended on August 22, 1485, the day of Richard's death at Bosworth; the payments to the Exchequer between that day and the end of September being trifling, and in many cases simply *nil*.

* The accounts from Newcastle appear to be wanting from the seventeenth year of Edward IV. (1477) to October 3, Henry VII. (1487).

I suppose that the collectors thought that with a new reign it would be more shipshape to start fresh accounts at Michaelmas, and so ignored all intermediate returns.

As in the matter of these Customs accounts we are plunging into an entirely unexplored field of research, where all conclusions for some time must be looked upon as provisional, it may be well to compare these latest facts that we have acquired with the results of our earlier investigations.

Richard III. clearly had in the last eleven months of his reign a Customs revenue of nearly £21,000; had he lived and reigned till Michaelmas, he would presumably have had something like £23,000. The estimate which I gave for the last year of Henry VI., a troubled period with defective accounts, was £20,000. For the earlier years of Edward IV. I took £22,500 as a probable average.* The receipts for this last year of Richard III. seem to me to fall in very well with both these estimates. On the other hand, our total for the last six months of Edward IV.'s reign, being under £12,000, suggests that the average of £29,000, which I estimated for the latter years of the reign, was perhaps too high.

To proceed to the other branches of the revenue. Richard III. received no direct subsidy from Parliament: no fifteenth was voted by his one Parliament; and the subsidy which had been granted to Edward IV. shortly before his death was apparently not collected.† Nor did the northern province grant anything; but the Convocation of Canterbury granted three-tenths in the period under review: one in 1483, one in 1484, and one in 1485.

As I do not intend to attempt to form any estimate for the broken year from Michaelmas, 1482, to Michaelmas, 1483, nothing need be said about the proceeds of the first of these tenths, except that, if we may judge by the payments on account of the tenth of the next year, very little of it was paid. The tenth of 1484 was granted by a convocation that met on February 23; the grant was given as usual in moieties,‡ one to be raised

in the spring, the other in the autumn. The Pell Receipt Rolls for the three following terms are extant, the last one being to some extent defective. The total payments entered to the account of the tenth of 1484 come to £3,632 19s. 6d. This result was to me rather startling, because it suggested that the return of £6,104 8s. 4d., given on the Enrolled Foreign Accounts of the last year of Edward IV. as the proceeds of an entire Canterbury tenth, was correct; and not, as I contended, to be taken as the proceeds of a half-tenth only.* But on taking out the entries of payments to account of the tenth of 1485, my view was entirely justified, as the yield of the first half of that tenth alone came to £6,151 5s. 9d., besides large payments on account of the second half, and arrears of the tenth of 1484.† The punctuality with which the tenth of 1485 was paid up, as compared with that of the previous year, shows that, in spite of the expectations of the Earl of Richmond's coming, Richard really had a firmer hold of the country in 1485 than in 1484. Altogether we will assume that Richard received not far short of a full tenth between Michaelmas, 1484, and his death, say £12,000, though I believe that sum to be in excess of the real amount. In the Easter term of 1484 he only received about £2,800, on account of the tenth voted that spring. The Roll for the preceding Michaelmas term is wanting, but I don't see how we can allow more than that sum again for the balance of the tenth granted in 1483; allowing that sum at a bold guess, we get £5,600 as the contribution of the clergy for our first year, namely, from Michaelmas, 1483, to Michaelmas, 1484.

The old Crown revenues for that year and the next we will put at £17,900, as we put them in the latter years of Edward IV.; the Clarence estates we will put at £3,000, as the receipts had begun to fall before Edward's death. The Customs for the first year we have found to be £18,629 7s. 3d.; and those for the second year, £20,743 4s.

The small account of the Chief Butler disappears from the Enrolled Foreign Accounts, not to reappear till the sixth year of Henry VII.; but, as I noticed some payments under

* See *Antiquary*, xvi. 238.

† *Rot. Parli.*, vi. 401.

‡ See 3 Deputy-Keeper's Report, Append. ii. 45. Wilkins' *Concilia*, iii. 616.

* *Antiquary*, xvi. 187.

† Receipt Roll, Easter 2-3, Richard III.

this head on the Pell Receipt Roll, we will allow £167 as before.

The proceeds of the Hanaper were always large in the first years of a reign, owing to the numerous patents that had to be re-sealed; thus the Patent Roll for the first year of Richard III. runs into five parts, two or three being a usual number, and on the Enrolled Foreign Accounts we find that the net proceeds for our first year were £2,930, just £130 more than they were in the first year of Edward IV.; for our second year, where the accounts are wanting, we will allow £1,200, being a trifle more than the yield of the second year of Edward IV. The proceeds of the Tower Mint and Exchange for our first year are missing; but I will take those of the preceding year, which are returned on the Enrolled Foreign Accounts as £130 net; those for our second year appear as £112 net. The aulnage of cloth at a guess may be left at £1,000, as it was before; but the proceeds of the vacant Sees must be placed at a higher figure, inasmuch as the Sees of Ely and Exeter were in hand all the time. We will allow another £1,000 under this head. Thus, then, for the first year we get a total income of £50,356 7s. 3d., and for the second year one of £57,122 4s. 10d. Without laying claim to undue accuracy, I think we may say that the legitimate royal revenues for these two years were not far from these sums. The word "legitimate" seems to imply some possible further resources. In the earlier part of his reign Richard appears to have had the spending of his brother's hoard. We have it on the authority of the second Croyland continuator, a writer of the highest authority, that Edward left considerable treasures. But not a particle of record evidence on the subject has come under my eye. The treasure may have amounted to £10,000, or £20,000, or £30,000: whatever it was, Richard spent it.

Of Loans in our first year there is not much to be said. The Michaelmas Receipt Roll, as already stated, is wanting; on the Easter Roll the loans not marked as "repaid" only amount to £206, the loans "repaid" amounting to £1,540 13s. 4d. In the second year the royal borrowings assumed much more serious proportions. In the first place on the

Rolls for the two terms, the aggregate borrowings come to nearly £8,460, of which £1,625 are not marked as "repaid." That does not sound a great deal, but the reader must be warned that an entry of repayment on the margin of a Pell Receipt Roll did not necessarily imply that the lender had got his money back. Payment might be made in cash, which, of course, would be satisfactory; but it might be made by way of "assignment," that is to say, by a draft, which might be honoured or might not. The chances are that at Richard's death, of the £8,460, a good deal more than £1,625 remained unpaid.

But we must also take into account the Benevolences which Richard, in violation of the solemn pledge given in Parliament, extorted in the spring of 1485. These borrowings are recorded in terms of strong condemnation by the Croyland writer; and that fact alone implies a distinction between them and the borrowings entered on the Receipt Rolls, which, with considerable fluctuations as to the amounts, were nevertheless matters of constant—in fact, of ordinary—treasury practice, and, as such, could hardly excite the soreness recorded by the chronicler.

Moreover, the reader may be reminded that the Benevolences of Edward IV. were scarcely noticed on the Receipt Rolls, the money having been apparently paid directly into the King's Chamber, like the French subsidy. Again, the letters of Privy Seal, under which the Benevolences of Richard III. were raised, were issued in batches between February 21st and April 5th, 1485, in the interval between the close of the Michaelmas, and the opening of the Easter, terms. This seems to suggest that the proceeds were not intended to appear among the receipts of either term; at any rate, they could not come under the borrowings of the Michaelmas term. As to the Benevolences, it is interesting to remark that the King carefully avoided using that term, as if to avoid a literal breach of his word. The money was raised on bonds under the Privy Seal, drawn in strict legal form, and pledging the King to prompt repayment. The bonds were accompanied by letters of request, asking for the money as a favour, for the defence of the realm and "the keeping of the sea." The bonds and letters of request were committed

to agents, with commissions authorizing them to issue them in the different counties. The total amount asked for came to £29,125 10s. 8d., besides twenty letters for the city of London, on which the sums asked for were left in blank. Taking these at a high estimate at £100 apiece, the total would come to something over £31,000, or just an ordinary parliamentary fifteenth and tenth, a coincidence which was probably not accidental. But of this total it must be stated that £5,120 were to be drawn for the clergy, who could repay themselves out of the tenth they had to pay shortly afterwards, and that sum I would put out of consideration at once. Then we may point out that of the residue only £5,000 or £6,000 were addressed to named individuals, the blank bonds to be placed by the King's agents as best they could, amounting to £18,600.* These were the most objectionable requisitions, because they came down to men of smaller means—non-mercantile men, who had no ordinary dealings with the Exchequer.

The reader will see the difficulty of offering any kind of estimate of the amount got in. I would only venture to suggest that nothing like the whole amount was raised.

To sum up so far as we can the allowances to be made for the extraordinary receipts of our two years:

For the first year, Michaelmas, 1483-1484. If we were to double the recorded borrowings of the Easter term, to make up for the missing Michaelmas Roll, the amount would be £3,493 6s. 8d. If not one penny of this was repaid, the revenue would still be under £55,000. If by an absolute guess we should estimate Edward's hoard at £20,000, the grand total would still be under £75,000.

For the second year, Michaelmas, 1484-1485. If we were to add the whole of the recorded borrowings to the legitimate income, with an allowance of £20,000 as the possible yield of the Benevolences, we should have a grand total under £86,000. Personally I should be inclined to regard each estimate as too—perhaps a good deal too high; and it would be distinctly unjust to Richard to

assume in the face of the entries on the Rolls that no part of the borrowed money was repaid.

If we have found it hard to form substantial estimates of the revenues of the Kings of England, it may be comforting to know that Richard III. felt ignorant on this point, and that he wished to be better informed as to what his income really was. We gather this from a memorandum or "remembrance," drawn up apparently under his eye for the institution of certain reforms in the revenue departments. One proposal is that the "auditors" of the Exchequer should "yerely make a boke of alle the revenues, issues, and proffuytes growing of alle shireffes, eschetors, collectors of custumes and subsidies, tresourer of Calais and Guynes, collectors of dismes, baillieffes of cities, burghes, and portes, and of alle other maner officers accomptable of the said eschequier, with the reprises and deduccions therof, and the same boke to declare afore suche persones as the Kinge's good grace shalle like to assigne to here and to see it; whereupon his grace may yerely se the prouffites of the said court. Also that the tresourer of England for the tyme being yerely shuld make a declaration of alle suche money as is recieved or assigned within his office, be it in the receipt or be it otherwise, for that yere afore the said yeres."*

Here we must remark that what the King wanted done was very much what the Pell Issue and Receipt Rolls professed to do; only no doubt the Receipt Rolls only showed the net sums paid into the Exchequer, "reprises" and direct payments being ignored. The King's suggestions implied an alteration in this respect. Another alteration would be the audit of the treasurer's accounts here contemplated. The subordinate accounts both of the receiving and spending departments were regularly audited by the Barons of the Exchequer: we have constant references to these audits; but I have never found any reference to any audit of the treasurer's accounts as a whole. To this may be ascribed the fact that no attempt is ever made to balance the Issue and Receipt Rolls.

* For the bonds, letters of request, commissions, and instructions to the agents, see MS. Harl. 433 ff. 275-277.

* Letters Richard III. etc., i. 81 (Rolls Series) from MS. Harl. 433 f. 271.

TABLE I.—CUSTOMS RECEIPTS, MICHAELMAS, 1482-1485.

Ports.	Mich., 22 Ed. IV., to April 9, 23 Ed. IV.	April 9, to Mich., 1 Richard III.	Mich., 1-2 Richard III.	Mich., 2 Rich. III., to Mich., 1 Hy. VII.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Boston.. .. .	25 0 0 (to Dec. 4 only)	43 8 8		
Bridgewater	136 0 0	24 3 6	85 15 7	90 8 5
Bristol	607 17 1	234 18 3		
Chichester		11 15 8	24 0 4	26 18 6 (to Aug. 22 only)
Exeter and Dartmouth.....		(say) 100 0 0a	(say) 464 13 7a	
Hull	186 16 11	55 6 3	1,222 8 0	833 14 10 (to October 18)
Ipswich	32 2 9	22 3 8 (to July 24 only)	548 13 3	118 5 3 (to Aug. 22 only)
London, Parva Custuma	1,144 15 3	1,084 3 1 (to July 24 only)	1,937 12 3 (from July 24)	2,602 9 11
„ Antiqua and Wool Subsidy	5,610 8 6	1,409 8 7 (May 18 to July 5)	9,327 2 7	7,480 0 9
„ Tonnage and Poundage...	2,449 0 0	375 0 0	2,504 11 8	2,892 0 10 (to Aug. 22 only)
Lynn	29 13 4	15 7 3	43 8 8	41 12 0 (to Aug. 22 only)
Newcastle		No	accounts.	
Plymouth	70 8 7	193 13 5		219 8 10 (to Aug. 22 only)
Pole.....	280 2 6	165 0 0b	165 0 0b	165 0 0b
Sandwich	534 14 6	664 17 0	417 3 3	724 0 4 (to Aug. 22 only)
Southampton	280 0 0	714 9 6 (to July 24 only)	1,839 10 2 (to November 19)	5,478 16 6 (from Nov. 19)
Yarmouth	67 14 5	10 8 2	49 7 11	70 7 10
Totals	11,454 13 10	5,124 3 0	18,629 7 3	20,743 4 0

(a) One account, from April 9, 23 Edward IV., to Michaelmas, 2 Richard III., £564 13s. 7d. I have apportioned the amount conjecturally.

(b) One account, divided equally between the three periods.

TABLE II.—ESTIMATED INCOME OF RICHARD III., FROM MICHAELMAS, 1483, TO MICHAELMAS, 1484.

(1) Old Crown Revenues, including Lancaster, Cornwall, Wales, County Farms, etc. (as under Edward IV.)	£17,900 0 0
Ditto Clarence Estates	3,000 0 0
(2) Canterbury Tenths	5,600 0 0
(3) Customs	18,629 7 3
Ditto Chief Butler	167 0 0
(4) Hanaper in Chancery	2,930 0 0
(5) Tower Mint and Exchange ...	130 0 0
(6) Aulnage of Cloth	1,000 0 0
(7) Vacant Sees and Sundry	1,000 0 0
	£50,356 7 3

NOTE.—On the Pell Receipt Roll, Easter, 1-2 Richard III., entries to the following effect are found:

Loans "repaid"	£1,540 13 4
Ditto not repaid	206 0 0

Total Loans

The Michaelmas Receipt Roll is wanting.

TABLE III.—ESTIMATED INCOME OF RICHARD III., FROM MICHAELMAS, 1484, TO AUGUST 22 (SAY MICHAELMAS), 1485.

(1) Old Crown Revenues, including Lancaster, Cornwall, Wales, County Farms, etc. (as under Edward IV.)	£17,900 0 0
Ditto Clarence Estates	3,000 0 0
(2) Canterbury Tenths	12,000 0 0
(3) Customs	20,743 4 10
Ditto Chief Butler	167 0 0
(4) Hanaper in Chancery	1,200 0 0
(5) Tower Mint and Exchange ...	112 0 0
(6) Aulnage of Cloth	1,000 0 0
(7) Vacant Sees, etc.	1,000 0 0
	£57,122 4 10

NOTE.—On the Pell Receipt Rolls, Michaelmas, 2 Richard III., and Easter, 2-3 Richard III., entries to the following effect are found:

Loans "repaid"	£6,833 0 0
Ditto not repaid	1,625 0 0

Total Loans

The Dormer Monuments at Wing.

SCATTERED over nearly every part of the county of Buckinghamshire are the tombs of the Dormer family. This noble house, it is to be presumed, had its origin in Oxfordshire, inasmuch as we find from the records at Thame, in that county, dating as far back as 1529, from memorial tablets and from lands called after their names, very early recognition of their importance. In or about the year 1546 Sir Robert Dormer bought Hogston near unto Winslow. At that period he had become the possessor of large estates from the favour of Henry VIII. In 1552 he died seized of the manor of Ilmer in the hundred of Ashendon. In Henry's reign, he was three times High Sheriff of the counties of Bedfordshire and Bucks. At the dissolution of the monasteries he obtained a grant of the manor of Wenge or Wing, that being a part of the property of the Abbey of St. Albans. It has been averred that the manors of Wing, Ivinghoe, and Tring belonged at one time to the Hampdens, and that one of that family having had an altercation with the Black Prince, lost these manors, having to pay a fine or composition.* Gough in his additions to Camden thus gives the lines which embody the tradition:

Hamden of Hamden did forego
The manors of King, Wing, and Ivinghoe,
For striking the Black Prince a blow.†

Maybe Wing is confounded with Wingrave, for it is certain that William Hampden purchased, in 1531, the estate of Wingrave, distant only a few miles from Wing, the then property of the Latimer family. Griffith Hampden, grandson of William, held it in 1591. About the year 1607 the Hampdens sold it to Sir Robert Dormer, afterwards Baron Dormer.

In Wing parish, was situate Ascott House, the mansion belonging to the Dormers. This adjoined the village. In 1720 the house was suffered to go to ruin,‡ and later on, in 1727,

* Lysons declares that these manors were never in the Hampden family.

† Other versions of these verses are extant.

‡ In Sheahan's *History of Buckinghamshire* it is

Sir William Stanhope cut down the timber, disparked the demesne, and thus changed the character of the entire estate. It was at Ascott that Dudley Carleton writing to John Chamberlain at Knebworth on March 6th, 1598, declares "the entertainment to be very royal according to the custom of the place." He says "that his cousin Dormer would have sent books to the University of Oxford, but his wife dissuaded him and told him it would be ascribed to some planet which possesses all men with a sudden humour." The same John Chamberlain in a letter to Carleton dated May 31st, 1596, had previously signified his intention of going to Ascott on the following day, whilst on June 6th, 1598, Carleton, in a communication addressed to Chamberlain, dated Ostend, says: "If this finds you at Ascot, remember me to my Cousin Dormer and my sister Alice. I wish what is brewing for her may come to tapping." And another member of the family, Michael, expresses his pleasure with his entertainment at Ascott, this, too, in a letter to Carleton, who was then at Ostend.* But though Ascott House has become a thing of the past, yet Wing can boast of having in its area one of the most interesting churches in the county, while the memorials of the Dormer family in its interior are remarkable for their grandeur and for the extreme dignity with which they have been invested by the art of their designers. The church, dedicated to All Saints, has a chancel which forms an apse, underneath which is a crypt. There is a nave, north and south aisles. There is a handsome tower and two porches full of well preserved details. The principal entrance is by the spacious south porch, which has two bays with good mullioned windows, and a groined niche over the square-headed doorway. Animals in repose and two human heads are sculptured on either side of the niche. In the interior, the staircase which led to the roof loft remains. An eminent architect † some time since gave his opinion "that Wing Church contains remains apparently of the Saxon era, though not so

stated that Sir William Stanhope had become possessor of this property.

* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1595, 1597, 1598.*

† The late Sir Gilbert Scott.

decidedly as to be capable of proof. The chancel arch is also semicircular; but the arch is relieved by a projecting archivault, a feature I do not recollect seeing in any Norman building, though very usual in work of supposed Saxon date.* Much more might be said concerning the architecture of Wing Church; but it is to the excellence of the monuments contained in the chancel and in one of the aisles that this paper desires to deal. On entering the church the attention is at once directed to a large altar or table-tomb situated at the east end of the north aisle. The tomb is formed of Italian marble. Eight Corinthian pillars support a slab or cornice, which covers the tomb, on which there is no effigy. The fore part is decorated with a ram's head filleted for sacrifice, while festoons of flowers join on to other rams' heads at each angle. The under surface of the cornice has a pattern, which somewhat resembles the ornamentation on the tomb of Bernard Gilpin in the church of St. Michael at Houghton-le-Spring, in the county of Durham, and also on a mural monument at Ryton, in the same county.* Over against the wall and under the cornice are four small shields of arms, and inscriptions in brass to Sir Robert Dormer and other members of his family. A small helmet and some armorial bearings are placed on the apex of the monument. At the base is sculptured *Ano Dni 1552*. As Sir Robert Dormer died in that year, there is presumptive evidence that this noble pile was erected as a lasting tribute to his memory.† The tomb is unique and is certain to have the fullest appreciation at the hands of every lover of art who makes a pilgrimage to view it. It is certainly one of the most, if not the most, remarkable monument in the county of Bucks.‡

In the chancel, separated from the nave by a screen, are two fine monuments opposite to each other. That by the north wall is dedicated to Sir William Dormer, Knight of the Bath, M.P. for the county of Bucks, in the

sixth year of Henry VIII. He was Lord of the Manor of Wing, and in the third year of Philip and Mary he had licence to retain thirty men besides his menial servants, those so retained wearing only his livery and attending on special occasions. Sir William was twice married, first to Mary, daughter of Sir Philip Sidney, and secondly to Dorothy, daughter of Anthony Catesby, Esq. The latter lady married again and became the wife of Sir William Temple, the eminent statesman and military commander. She survived him and lived to a very great age, dying in 1613, and was buried near her first husband. She founded a hospital or almshouse for eight poor men and women. It had this inscription on a stone slab: *Dormer's Hospital of the foundation of Dame Dorothy Pelham, sometime wife to Sir William Dormer, Knight, Lord of the Manor of Wing, 1562*. His full-length marble effigy clad in complete armour lies on a mattress of free stone, the head uncovered, the hands uplifted and joined palm to palm. On a slab underneath is written, *Finished Anno 1590, the 20 October*. About a foot lower is the effigy of the Lady Dorothy, who is dressed in a close habit with quilted ruffles, coif, large ruff, hood and bands of gold about the head. A fine pediment, frieze and cornice having five shields of arms, surmounts the two effigies. This pediment is supported by two lofty and elegant pillars of Sicilian marble. At the foot of the tomb are the figures of one son and three daughters, and at one of the angles three chrysom children are sculptured.

On the wall immediately opposite is the third of the Dormer memorials. This was erected in memory of Robert, grandson of the first Sir Robert. This gentleman was knighted in 1591, created a baronet in 1615, and elevated to the peerage as Baron Dormer in the same year. In right of his possession of the Manor of Ilmer, Lord Dormer was Master Falconer to the King. He married the Hon. Elizabeth Browne, daughter of Anthony Viscount Montague. The monument is of similar design to that of Sir William, the figures, however, are smaller, and instead of lying prostrate are kneeling. The male statue is clad in armour with stiff collar of great size. There is a sword-belt, but neither sword nor spurs. The lady is on the

* This ornamentation has been described as a kind of chain-work, but the tomb at Wing hardly answers that designation.

† This Sir Robert had married Jane, daughter of John Newdigate, Serjeant-at-Law.

‡ This tomb has been admirably figured in a costly volume entitled *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments*, by William Brindley and W. Samuel Weatherley.

same elevation, and is dressed in a close gown with long sleeves. Both kneel before a separate desk or small altar. At the base are the effigies of three sons and three daughters, and all these, as in the monument opposite, follow each other in the apparent succession of their birth, instead of the boys being with boys only, and the girls with girls, as is the custom generally on brasses and other memorial records. The tomb is partly gilt, and is composed of various marbles, and has a very noble arch, which is decorated with roses and lilies, and supported by two pillars of black marble with Corinthian capitals of white marble. Shields of arms are to be seen on the wall. These three magnificent examples of the sculptor's art, of themselves form a motive for an inspection of the church at Wing.

A licence of alienation was granted to Sir Robert Dormer from Thomas Wilmer on the 15th of February, 1592, and on the 30th of March in the same year a curious commission was issued to him and to others to take up *muttons, lambs, stirks*, etc., for the household from all such in the county of Bucks as refuse to contribute to the composition made in the county.* So too in the course of the following year, on July 2, 1593, we learn that Sir Robert Dormer and six other justices of the peace for the county of Bucks addressed my Lord Burghley to the effect that they "have endeavoured to perform the composition of the county for provision of Her Majesty's household, they send as directed by their Lordships the names of three persons who refuse to pay their contributions of £3 15s., 5s. 8d., and 4s. respectively set against them that a pursuivant man be sent for them. Ask that order may be taken for remedy." There were brave doings at Wing in the October of 1593; when Lord and Lady Montague came on a visit to their daughter, the young Lady Dormer, who in the previous September had been drinking the waters at Buxton with her husband.† Robert, the second Lord Dormer, succeeded his grandfather, and was created Viscount Ascott and Earl of Carnarvon. He was so true a Loyalist that he forwarded all his plate and jewels to Charles I. at Oxford, but they

were seized on the road thither, and the silver coined for the use of the Parliament. He commanded a troop of horse at Gloucester, and was killed later on at Newbury. The King soon discovered a palpable weakness in the army after his death. The latter titles became extinct when Charles, the next heir, died without issue.

There are other monuments to the Dormers,* notably one at the end of the south transept of Long Crendon Church, which is situate over a vault of the family. This was erected in the early part of the seventeenth century to the memory of Sir John Dormer, of Dorton, and Dame Jane his wife. The Manor of Dorton was sold about 1689, with certain other lands to the family of Grenville. In the chancel of Quainton Church there is an affecting memorial in honour of Judge Dormer in 1720, who died of grief for the untimely loss of his son Fleetwood, whose death-bed is here represented. Dorton House, built early in the seventeenth century by Sir John Dormer, is stated to contain a souvenir of the Dormers in the shape of the armorial bearings. These are somewhat singular, as for instance: ARMS—Az. ten billets, four, three, two, and one, or, on a chief of the second, a demi-lion rampant, issuant, sa. THE CREST—a falconer's right-hand glove fesswise, arg. belled and beaked, or, supporters two falcons, wings inverted, arg. legged and beaked or belled, gu. The motto is in very choice Italian, "Cio che Dio vuole." In the Calendars of State Papers we find Dudley Carleton frequently speaking of his cousin, and in one despatch, writing to John Chamberlain from Witham, he makes the odd allusion to "his lady cousin being well; but she was at Oxford on Friday to take physic." This was the time when recusants went to church in order to avoid the payment of fines. They took good care, nevertheless, to stop their ears with wool. It was hard on the husbands in those days, for let them be as orthodox as they could be, should their wives go astray, they had to pay for their recusancy.

* A picture from the collection of the Rev. George Musgrave was exhibited in 1866 among the national portraits exhibited at South Kensington. This was entitled "The Family of Robert Dormer, First Earl of Carnarvon," and represented the earl and countess and Lord and Lady Pembroke at dessert.

* *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1591, 1594.

† *Ibid.*, 1593.

The Manor of Eythorpe, a hamlet in the township of Waddesdon, belonged to Lord Dormer. The family had other properties, especially Peterley and Lee Grange.

There is one other memorial connected with the Dormers in the church at Wing which ought not to be lost sight of in any account of its monuments. On the floor of the south aisle is a square brass plate, having engraved the figure of a man kneeling with his hands uplifted and his face raised heavenward. Beside the figure is a hat and a key. On a brass plate beneath are the following lines :

Honest old Thomas Cotes that sometime was	
Porter at Ascott Hall hath now alas	
Left his key, lodg, fyre, friends, and all to have	
A roome in Heaven, this is that good man's grave.	
Reader prepare for thine, for none can tell,	
But that you, too, may meet to-night. Farewell.	
He dyed the	Set up at the Apoyntment
20 of November, }	and Charges of his Frend
1648.	Geo. Houghton.

This record of the Porter at Ascott seems to show that the mansion had all its lordly appurtenances in full order in the middle of the seventeenth century. An old mill was standing in the neighbourhood not long since which was stated to have been built at the cost of Lord Dormer.

WILLIAM BRAILSFORD.



Clubs and Club Men.

BY T. W. TEMPANY, F.S.S., ETC.

R. JOHNSON tells us that a club is an "assembly of good fellows, who meet under certain conditions;" but with the best will in the world it is impossible to regard as "good fellows," or companions, the disagreeable "Surlies," the mean "Split Farthings," or the members of many other clubs of the reign of Queen Anne. Neither is the definition applicable to political clubs, such as the "Rota," "The Treason," and the "Secret Knot."

Todd, one of Johnson's annotators, varies the latter's definition by defining a club as an "association of people who submit to particular rules;" but this is quite as defective as

the first, as it does not distinguish clubs from any ordinary gatherings.

It is impossible to give an exact idea of a club in a simple sentence, because clubs are from their very nature complex things; besides this, they have undergone many changes, and the Pall Mall palaces of to-day resemble so little the small taverns where clubs were held in olden times, that it is difficult to embrace in a single formula associations of so very different a nature. We think that the original idea of a club lies in the fact that every meeting of the kind is inseparable from some particular place, where its members can at the same time enjoy the pleasures of the table and the delights of agreeable conversation. Nevertheless, it is certain that in the beginning club frequenters did not seek for material pleasure with the same care as they do now; for the purpose, above all things, for which they met was to talk.

Clubs, without doubt, are the outcome of man's sociability, for man is born to live with his fellow-men. But while sociability is no less an inherent part of his nature than the power of reason, he is at the same time capable of feeling attachment and aversion; that is to say, he is at once both sociable and exclusive. If on the one hand he likes to live with others, yet on the other hand he does not like to live indiscriminately with all. He chooses his friends, and is more difficult to please the higher up he is in the social scale.

Man is, then, governed by two natural forces: the first, sociability, which urges him to seek for companionship among his fellow-creatures; and the other exclusiveness, which is really only a corrective to the first, and tends to isolate him from the multitude.

Persons endowed with the same tastes, moving in the same social circle, are inevitably drawn towards each other, and meet to mutually exchange ideas. The more refined society becomes the more its wants increase, the more apparent are its differences, and the more men seek to form themselves into particular groups. Each of these wants, each of these differences, gives birth to a club or coterie, of which the members contribute each a certain foundation of ideas common to the entire body, and which ideas are in opposition more or less direct with the ideas of the outside world. Clubs therefore, though

born of man's sociability, exist by the diversity of his opinions and tastes—or, to employ general terms, of the sympathy and antipathy which men feel for each other.

Beyond the conformity of tastes and pleasure which has given rise to clubs, we must not forget the community of political ideas. Athens and Rome had their clubs, and at different times it was found necessary to stifle these hotbeds of conspiracy.

The first political societies of England date from the Revolution of 1648, and at one part of this epoch they multiplied with great rapidity. But it is not our intention to follow, step by step, the different phases through which clubs have passed up to the present time. Numerous changes have been necessary to transform the modest club or gathering of the Spartans into the splendid club of the West-End of London. It has taken twenty-two centuries to complete this work, and we must confess that during part of this time circumstances have been far from favourable to its development.

As far back as the reign of Henry IV. we hear of a club called "Court de Bonne Compagnie," of which Occleve and Chaucer appear to have been members. The former, however, is the only writer who mentions this club; and if it were not for a few poor verses published for the first time in the year 1696, we should not even know that it had existed. It was still in existence in 1413, the time of Boccaccio and the Troubadours, a period when poets had but one subject of which to sing—Woman! England followed the prevailing fashion, and Chaucer was reputed to have written *The Court of Love*; while Gower, the melodious poet, composed his *Confessio Amantis*.

The author of the *Canterbury Tales* counted amongst his friends John Gower and Thomas Occleve, and it is probable that these three poets formed part of the Court de Bonne Compagnie, although we have no positive proof on this point.

Occleve addressed an epistle of sixty-six verses to Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the following dedication written in Old French: "The following Ballad, made by the Court de Bonne Compagnie, is dedicated to the Honourable Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer,

and a member of the said Court."* This document, which has no literary value, contains some important details concerning this ancient coterie. It appears to have comprised several members of the Middle Temple, and Occleve himself lived in Chester Inn, formerly an Inn of Chancery appendant to the Middle Temple, and pulled down by the Protector Somerset to make room for Somerset House, which was erected upon its site. The club seems to have held its meetings in the Temple, for Occleve mentions, in his epistle to Henry Somer, that he would remember how in that honourable sanctuary, called the Temple, they used to meet for enjoyment and amusement, where they never ran into the error of waste or excess, and where they freely spent their money.

By degrees, however, the meetings seem to have degenerated, and the club, departing little by little from its early simplicity, fell into regrettable excesses. Somer, who appears to have been one of the most influential members of the club, disapproved of this relaxation in the observance of its rules, and we find him writing a severe letter to Occleve, in which he declares himself desirous of putting an end to these excesses, and of inducing the club to turn over a new leaf. This letter produced a deep impression, if we may judge from Occleve's deferential tone and his reiterated promises made in the name of the club to found a precedent upon the example which Somer was desirous of setting.

Such is the information we are able to glean from Occleve's poetry, and it is to be regretted that it throws so little light upon the true character and importance of the Court de Bonne Compagnie. When the club was founded, and when it ceased to exist, are questions which it is impossible to answer. Apart from the information given by Occleve, all is conjecture.

It is to be noticed that after the Court de Bonne Compagnie, which was of very short duration, two centuries passed before a new club was founded in Great Britain; for it was not until the commencement of the seventeenth century that Sir Walter Raleigh and

* "Cestes Balade Ensuyante Fust Par la Court de Bone Compagnie Envoïee a Lonure Sire Henri Somer Chancellor De Leschequer et un De la Dite Court."

Ben Jonson gave the creative impulse to the celebrated Mermaid and Apollo Clubs. Writing of the former of these, Gifford tells us that Sir Walter Raleigh opened at the Mermaid Tavern in Bread Street, Cheapside, a literary club, to which he invited the celebrities of the day. There he met Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, the latter a good fellow and a good talker, but with rather an overweening disposition for the bottle; but temperance was not a virtue of his time. Besides Shakespeare and Jonson, there might have been seen at the Mermaid those two inseparables, Beaumont and Fletcher, who wrote jointly more than fifty pieces for the stage, and enjoyed at that time a higher reputation than the author of *Hamlet*. The other members of the club were Selden, one of the finest characters of the English Revolution; Cotton, the celebrated antiquary; Carew and Donne, poets, and a number of others.

Shakespeare and Jonson were, we are told, the soul of the Mermaid Club, and Fuller's description of the combats of wit which took place between them will be in the recollection of all.

Of the brilliant meetings, to which Fuller refers, we have no details; and were it not for a few lines left us by Beaumont, the existence of the Mermaid Club might still be for us a mystery.

The Mermaid was not the only tavern which Jonson frequented; among others, Herrick tells us, were "The Dog," "The Sun," and the "Triple Tun"; but the most celebrated of all was the old "Devil," which stood in Fleet Street between the Temple Gateway and the Bar, on the site now occupied by Child's Bank.

Mine host of the "Devil" was Simon Wadloe, whom Jonson has immortalized in his verse under the name of "Duke Wadloe" and "King Simon." This man was also the original of "Old Sir Simon the King," the favourite song of Squire Western, in Fielding's "Tom Jones." But it was to the Apollo Club that the old "Devil" owed its celebrity. There in the Apollo Room, on the first floor of the tavern, met those "sealed of the Tribe of Ben," and for whom the poet wrote his convivial laws, as the rules by which the club should be governed.

It will be remembered that it is at the Apollo that Killigrew, the dramatist, lays one of the scenes in his *Parson's Wedding*, and there also took place the repetition of the *Court Odes* of the Poet Laureate. Ben Jonson was the king and oracle of the Apollo, and he shone more at the "Devil" Tavern than Dryden at "Wills's," or Addison at "Button's." To acquire a reputation as a man of wit, it was necessary in those days to be admitted to his friendship, an honour not easily obtained. Dryden was very much amused by those persons who supposed themselves to be clever by hiding under the cloak of a man of wit. These men, said he, were capable of giving suppers at the Apollo, in order to pass themselves off as Ben's adopted sons.

If we may judge, there seems to have been quite as much drinking as talking at the Apollo. Jonson himself loved to excess the pleasures of the bottle. He tells us that the first speech in his *Catiline*, spoken by Sylla's Ghost, was written after he had parted from his boys at the "Devil." He says: "I had drank well that night, and had brave notions. There is one scene in the play which I think flat. *I resolve to mix no more water with my wine.*"

Jonson's devotion to Bacchus was shared by his adopted sons, and after his death they ran into all kinds of excess at the table, under the pretext of imitating the author of *Volpone*. Thence issued hundreds of songs in honour of wine and of Ben Jonson, who knew so well how to drink it.

As he grew older, Jonson appeared less and less frequently at the club; to the last he was the same man, overbearing and irritable; but once installed between two bottles at the Apollo, he cherished malice against no one.

Among the men of letters, emulous of the reputation of being "sealed of the Tribe of Ben," were Marmion, Cartwright, Brome, Randolph, Lord Falkland, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Suckling, Herrick, Rutter, and others; but after Jonson, the most remarkable of them was Thomas Randolph, a Bohemian and a poet, who by his indulgence killed himself at the early age of twenty-nine. He was the author of *The Muses' Looking-Glass*, and the *Jealous Lovers*, productions which rendered his name famous.

Randolph shone above all in conversation; his repartee was quick and brilliant, and beyond doubt he was one of the most witty talkers of which the Apollo could boast.

But to come to the really golden age of clubs—the eighteenth century, the period when Addison in his fancy shadowed forth that *beau idéal* of a perfect club, the “Spectator.”

In those days, however, there were real clubs almost equal to the one he portrayed, where no surly cognizance was taken of the embellishments which one's own good nature will occasionally give to one's own especial stories; where no covert sneer was indulged in at those semi-fictions into which that frail jade, Fancy, will at times involuntarily entangle us in relating our own reminiscences. The whole club worked in harmony, as on those occasions, when the kindly Sir Roger, with his whims and prejudices, would be diffusive o'er the freaks of his youth, and who in turn would listen calmly and with respect to the sententiousness of Sir Andrew Freepport, to the modest narratives of Captain Sentry, and to the self-complacent gallantries of that battered beau, Will Honeycombe.

It is in one of his papers in the *Spectator* that Addison tells us that all celebrated clubs were founded on eating and drinking, “points wherein most men agree, and in which the learned and the illiterate, the dull and the airy, the philosopher and the buffoon, can all of them bear a part.”

However true the proposition may be in fact, it is not every club that openly acknowledges it in the name, although some have done so, as Addison instances in the case of the “Kit-Kat,” the “Beefsteak,” and the “October” clubs. But whether the Kit-Kat derived its title from a “mutton-pye,” as Addison suggests, or from Kit or Christopher Cat, “the pudding-pye” man who made the savoury article, and at whose house in Shire Lane, by Temple Bar, the club assembled, is doubtful. The club had for its secretary, if not for its founder, Jacob Tonson, the great bookseller, whose name is familiar to every reader of Pope or Horace Walpole, and whom, it will be remembered, Dryden described as

“With two left legs and Judas-colored hair.”

But we must confess that in Dryden's biting sarcasm on the grasping bookseller we fail to identify the genial Tonson, secretary of the Kit-Kat, and boon companion of Steele, Addison, and Dorset.

The Kit-Kat was really a political club, the members originally being limited to thirty-nine distinguished noblemen and gentlemen zealously attached to the Protestant succession. Among the most notable of them were the great Duke of Marlborough, Sir Robert Walpole, Somers, Lord Chancellor of England; the proud and somewhat extraordinary Duke of Somerset, who never allowed his children to be seated in his presence, and who gave his directions to his servants by signs, a somewhat awkward, if not inconvenient, mode of intimating one's commands; the Earl of Dorset, patron of Dryden and Prior; Duke of Kingston, father of Lady Mary Wortley Montague; Congreve, the dramatist; the good, jovial, and poetical physician, Garth, whom George I. knighted with the sword of Marlborough; the greatest of our English essayists, Addison; and that improvident, but kindest of humorists, Dick Steele. Pope as a Catholic was inadmissible, whilst Prior was precluded as a renegade. Dryden is stated to have been a member, but this is scarcely probable, as he died in 1701, within a year of the foundation of the club. Dryden, moreover, can scarcely be fancied as a member of a Whig club; his portrait, however, appeared among the other portraits of the members of the club, which were painted for his friend Tonson by Sir Godfrey Kneller, the Court painter of William and Anne's reigns, “a man who bragged more, spelt worse, and painted better than any man of his day.” And it was these three-quarter-length portraits painted by Kneller of one uniform size to suit the walls of Tonson's villa at Barn Elms, Barnes, that originated the name Kit-Kat, by which portraits of that particular size are still known.

In the summer months the Kit-Kats migrated to Hampstead, a place much frequented in those days. There at an inn then known as the Upper Flask, and still existing as a private house, the members assembled, and there in fine weather, beneath the shade of the famous mulberry-tree, which stood in its garden until as late as the year 1876,

we can picture Steele sipping his ale, and Addison lingering in talk with Garth and Congreve.

It was one of the rules of the club to elect each year some reigning beauty as a toast, and the member who proposed the lady as his toast composed in her honour a couplet or quatrain, which was engraved on the club glasses. Many of these verses were written by Halifax and Garth, while several were from the pen of Addison and Steele. Walpole tells us that one of the first toasts was Lady Molyneux. Among the most celebrated were the four daughters of the Duke of Marlborough, Lady Godolphin, Lady Sunderland (known as the little Whig), Lady Bridgewater, and Lady Monthermer. Lady Carlisle was another, and so was the pretty niece of Sir Isaac Newton.

Lady Mary Wortley Montague was also a toast of the Kit-Kat. We are told that at a meeting to choose toasts for the year the whim seized the Duke of Kingston, Lady Mary's father, to nominate his daughter, then a child about eight years old, and he did so upon the ground "that she was prettier than any lady upon the list." The other members demurred because the rules of the club forbade them to elect a beauty whom they had never seen. "Then you shall see her," he said, and a chair was at once despatched for her. When she appeared, dressed in her best, she was received with acclamation, her claim allowed, her health drunk by all, and her name engraved in due form upon the club glasses. She was feasted with sweetmeats and overwhelmed with caresses, and what, perhaps, even then pleased her most was to hear her wit and beauty extolled on every side. Pleasure she said was too poor a word to express her sensations; they amounted to ecstasy. Never again through her whole future life did she pass so happy a day.*

Tonson seems to have been the life and soul of the club, for we find the Duke of Somerset writing to him in the year 1703, when business took Tonson to Holland, that the club remained closed until his return to revive it, an event which all were impatiently looking forward to.

Ultimately objectionable men pushed their way into the club as members, and it appears

* *Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montague*, 1861, vol. i., p. 53.

to have been finally broken up about the year 1720. In 1725 we find Vanbrugh writing Tonson, that he remembered with pleasure the dear old Kit-Kat, and that Lord Carlisle, Lord Cobham and himself would be glad to see him in the winter, "as old friends who belonged to the most remarkable club that had ever existed."

Coming nearer to our own days than the period when the Kit-Kat flourished, there is a club which on many accounts may be said to be almost the most famous of the eighteenth century. This was the Literary Club, founded by Dr. Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds, and which originally met at the Turk's Head Tavern, Gerard Street, Soho. This club, Macaulay tells us, gradually became a formidable power in the commonwealth of letters. "The verdicts pronounced by this conclave on new books were speedily known over all London, and were sufficient to sell off a whole edition in the day, or to condemn the sheets to the service of the trunk-maker and the pastrycook. Nor shall we think this strange when we consider what great and various talents and acquirements met in the little fraternity. Goldsmith was the representative of poetry and light literature, Reynolds of the arts, Burke of political eloquence and political philosophy. There, too, were Gibbon the greatest historian, and Jones the greatest linguist, of the age. Garrick brought to the meetings his inexhaustible pleasantry, his incomparable mimicry, and his consummate knowledge of stage effect. Among the most constant attendants were two high-born and high-bred gentlemen, closely bound together by friendship, but of widely different character and habits—Bennet Langton, distinguished by his skill in Greek literature, by the orthodoxy of his opinions, and by the sanctity of his life, and Topham Beauclerk, renowned for his amours, his knowledge of the gay world, his fastidious tastes, and his sarcastic wit. To predominate over such a society was not easy. Yet over such a society Johnson predominated. Burke might indeed have disputed the supremacy to which others were under necessity of submitting." But he did not! Johnson there apparently softened his growl, and conversation seemed to have run smoothly and naturally along, touching upon every topic that occurred.

It is said that there was rarely any set

discussion amongst them; Burke's copious and discursive range of conversation brought together so many hints and allusions as to create a perpetual variety and alternation of discourse. This was Burke's theory of conversation, "the perfection of which," he once said, "was not to play a regular sonata, but, like the Æolian harp, to await the inspiration of the passing breeze."

The name of the "Literary" Club was not long retained after Johnson's death, it being subsequently changed to the more emphatic one of "The Club." The omission of the word "Literary" was perhaps justifiable, as after Johnson's death the club lost to a great extent its literary character, and we find included among its members more men of title than those following literature strictly as a profession. The brilliancy of its members, however, in no way degenerated in consequence, and the genius of the later members of the club would fully bear comparison with that of the members by whom Johnson was surrounded, for among them were included men of such world-wide fame and varying ability as Lords Lansdowne, Macaulay, Aberdeen, Clarendon, Holland, Bishop Blomfield, Dean Milman, Hallam, Sydney Smith, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Whewell, Grote, Eastlake, Dr. Hawtrey, and others of not less distinction. At one period the Club included among its members such a remarkable group of Homeric scholars as Grote, Gladstone, Macaulay, Milman, Cornewall Lewis, Mure and Hawtrey, and the result of this conjunction was, we are told, discussions of the highest interest; it could not be otherwise. "No subject could be more prolific of material for learned dispute than the Homeric poems; none better fitted to adorn and reward the controversy."

Sydney Smith and Macaulay were both regular attendants at the club; the latter was most devoted to it. The peculiar faculties of these two remarkable men were, it is said, "never more strikingly displayed than at the dinners of the club. The provocation to put forth wit, wisdom and learning was felt and fully answered, and every dinner vivified by them; the joyous humour of Sydney Smith playing over and lightening the more solid and copious learning of Macaulay." The latter might perhaps at

times be redundant in speech and argument, but "this could hardly be deemed an usurpation, seeing how they were employed; and if he seemed to trample upon an opponent it was not from ill-will that he did so, but simply from the overwhelming knowledge he brought to the combat."



Walkeringham Cross, Notts.



At the conclusion of my notes on "The Crosses of Nottinghamshire" which appeared in the *Antiquary* during 1887-88, I announced my intention of adding to them on acquiring a sufficiency of additional matter. Though much of this matter, by correspondence and otherwise, has now come to hand, obviously it is of too fragmentary a character to interest other than specialists in this particular branch of study. The present paper, therefore, will not include them, being solely a collection of notes on the village cross at Walkeringham. Of this, a short account was printed with my previous notes in the November, 1887, issue; in which, however, nothing new will be found with the exception of the following passage relating to a crisis in its history: "Five years since it was in such a neglected and ruinous condition that by someone's order it was taken down, and the stones carted away to be used for agricultural purposes. But the late vicar, hearing opportunely of this barbarism, at his own cost caused the stones to be brought back and re-erected, but not on the same site."

This particular passage I gave on the authority of a gentleman residing in the neighbourhood, who probably received it as a noteworthy fragment of local folk-lore, without feeling sufficient interest to inquire into its truth. It embodies, however, a fair example of the unreliability of verbal statements and traditions in general, likewise a good illustration of the old proverb anent mountains and molehills; for, as a result of recent investigations, I find every statement comprised in that passage to be incorrect. A duty due to posterity—as well as to the present genera-

tion—in erasing a passage which might easily become an accepted item of local history, though one reason, is not the only excuse for the present paper. By way of compensation, so to speak, I intend to substitute a series of original yet reliable notes and observations on the subject, from sources which, it must be acknowledged, will not always be available. I refer to the best living authorities whom I have to thank for the unvarying courtesy I have always received at their hands—namely, the present Vicar of Walkeringham, Rev. W. A. Rouse; the late vicar, Rev. G. M. Gorham, now Vicar of Masham, Yorks; some members of the family of Mr. Gorham's predecessor, during whose incumbency the circumstance which formed the foundation of a preposterous tradition took place; and last, but not least, Mr. Joseph Taylor, churchwarden and oldest inhabitant, "quite the most trustworthy authority on bygone history of the place," as one correspondent informs me. The latter being 89 years of age and in full possession of his faculties, his evidence is valuable.

I now purpose to append some extracts from the letters in my possession; and if notes are sometimes included not strictly relevant to the subject, they will, no doubt, be welcomed by the gleaner of the future; and, I hope, not objected to by the present readers of "a magazine devoted to the study of the past." The first letter, from Mr. Gorham, dated February 28, 1888, enclosed also, for my inspection, a photograph of Walkeringham Church and Cross, taken by himself. The church, however, being evidently the object of the photograph, the Cross, unfortunately, was not included entire, and I have since vainly endeavoured to obtain a good sketch suitable for engraving. My correspondent (Vicar of Walkeringham, 1855-73) says:

"The partial demolition, etc., was a matter of history when I came there, and I never heard the particulars with accuracy or investigated them with care. As I understood the story, it was to the effect that *some* of the stones had been removed and already built into an oven (!) in a cottage just over the road, when 'Master Miller,' my most worthy and pious predecessor, pastor of that uncouth parish for thirty-nine years, intervened, recovered what he could, and re-edified the

decaying remains into the form shown in the photo. Portions of the steps were wanting, so that the ground-plan is incomplete. If I remember rightly, it was rudely circular or octagonal, with a segment chopped away horseshoe-like. It is not impressed on my memory that there was any tradition of removal, but it may well have been so; and in that case the removal was *probably* from a little green ten or twelve yards away, where now stands an object of far greater value in the eyes of modern enlightenment—the way-post!—three ways meeting and the Cross, *if ever there*, being deemed an obstruction. In my own vicariate a tree was planted by Dr. Jackson (then Bishop of Lincoln) on this triangle of green, and was shortly afterwards wantonly pulled up. But the general aspect suggested the steps having been cut away to accommodate a hedge and ditch which stood in 1855 where the brick wall is now indicated [in the photo]. . . . If I had been still parish priest of Walkeringham, it should have been my endeavour to get this relic restored aright as a Jubilee memorial of 1887."

Mr. G. Miller, of Dartford (son of the former incumbent of that name), through whose hands this letter was sent to me, is a native of Walkeringham, but as he left the place in 1846 he was unable to add any information, but promised to communicate with an elder sister. A day or two afterwards I received a final letter, informing me of their inability to add any notes concerning the Cross, "unless it be its use in connection with the stocks*—to be seen, though not used in their time, *i.e.*, before 1855" (the last year of their father's incumbency).

In an additional communication from Mr. Gorham, dated April 9, he says the photo, previously mentioned, took in very nearly all that remained of the Cross, "as the steps of it were truncated and ended abruptly as though chopped away." Shortly afterwards,

* In a letter received while the proof is in my hands, Mr. Rouse says, "The unfortunates who had to sit in the stocks had their backs against the flat side of the Cross, facing the hedge, a foot or so away. It is on this side that the bricks are inserted. Of course, before the enclosure they would face the open country, certainly a more pleasing prospect than the hedge, which would be likely to cause sadder reflections for those in later times whose visions were limited to it."

in reply to a letter of mine, I received the following epistle from Mr. Rouse, the present vicar, bearing date April 26 :

"With reference to the remains of old Cross here, so far as I can find, sometime after the inclosure (which was in 1806) in Mr. Miller's incumbency (1820-55*), the Cross was rebuilt—being then in a very tumble-down condition—in a position a *little* distance from the original situation (I suppose, because by the Award, land nearly up to the site of the Cross had been assigned to the neighbouring landowner). That, at least, appears to me to be the reason, for *now* a wall (which replaced a hedge, say, twenty-four years ago) is but 5 feet from flat side of pediment. I do not hear of any stones removed, though I have inquired of a son of Mr. Miller. As to measurements, the base is a segment of a circle, larger than a semicircle with a radius of 60 inches. I can but put it very roughly. There are three steps, 14½, 11 and 8 inches high respectively, supporting a square block 20 inches high with a fragment of shaft 5 inches high."

Accompanying this letter was a vertical plan of the Cross, on which the following dimensions were marked: Width of bottom step, 15 inches; second step, ditto; top step, from middle of one side of square block to edge of step, 16 inches; diameter of top step, 48 inches; diameter of flat side of base from corner to corner, 8 feet. This latter measurement, not being through the centre, does not represent the diameter proper, which would be 10 feet.

The final letter with which I conclude, dated May 14, I received from Mr. Rouse in reply to a letter addressed to the churchwarden. I give it in full, as it sums up the whole matter in a nutshell: "In reply to your letter, Mr. Taylor has asked me to inform you that, so far as he knows, the Cross has never been rebuilt in another spot, but always existed where it is, though it had become considerably dilapidated. I *had* gathered that its situation had been *slightly* altered, but I believe this resolves itself into the fact that the remains were built up *firmly*, iron clamps being used here and there for the better securing of the steps. Some stones

are non-existent, and bricks make up the deficiency. A man living in a small house just opposite, wanting a stone whereon to set his oven, fetched *one* of the loose stones of the Cross-steps, which Mr. Miller, hearing of, had brought back again. No *carting* would be required. Mountains are made out of molehills occasionally."

A. STAPLETON.



National Portraits.



IN their report for 1888, the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery deplore the loss of the late Mr. Beresford - Hope, who was for twenty-one years a member of the trust, and whose acquaintance with ecclesiastical history was always relied upon in deciding the eligibility of divines for admittance to the collection. Twenty-two pictures had been added by donation during the year, viz.: (1) Michael Drayton, the poet (1563-1631), thus described: "Seen to the waist, in a black dress, and a large plain muslin ruff. His head is crowned with a green wreath of bay leaves and green berries, and the face turned in three-quarters to the left. His pale, clear blue eyes are looking at the spectator. The cheeks are close shaven; hair, moustaches, and the hair growing on the chin dark-brown. Light is admitted from the left-hand side, and the side of his nose is in shadow. Background a plain yellow-gray. Inscribed, *Æt. Sue* 36, A.D. 1599. There are faint traces of an earlier inscription, apparently contemporary with the painting. Painted on panel. Painter unknown. Presented, 1888, by Thos. H. Woods, Esq." (2) General Stringer Lawrence (1697-1775), famous for his military services in India. A monument was erected by the East India Company in Westminster Abbey, and his statue was placed in the Court-room of the East India House, London. The present portrait, formerly in the possession of Sir Lawrence Palk, was painted by Gainsborough, and presented to the Gallery in the present year by Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., R.E.

* This does not coincide with the statement of Mr. Gorham, *supra*.

(Bengal). (3) Warren Hastings (1733-1818), described as "life-size, full-length, seated at a table, turned to the left with legs crossed; bald-headed, and the face seen in three-quarters to the left, the side of the nose being in shadow; eyes looking at the spectator. He wears a plain brown coat, white sprigged waistcoat, black knee breeches, gray stockings, and black shoes, with square gold buckles. A marble bust of Lord Clive in a circular niche is on the wall to the left above; Hastings' hand rests on a table, and an Oriental book lies open beside it. This picture was formerly preserved in Government House, Calcutta. It has been engraved in mezzotinto by H. Hudson, and also recently by C. J. Tomkins. Painted by Arthur W. Devis. Deposited, February, 1888, by the Secretary of State for India." (4) George Chinnery, R.H.A. (*d.* 1857), the portrait and landscape painter. Painted by himself, and presented by his friend, Mr. John Dent. (5) Thomas Cheesman, the engraver (1760-1835), one of the ablest of Bartolozzi's pupils. Described as "a square canvas, with oval spandril to the frame. On the crosspiece of the modern strainer is written, 'Portrait of Thomas Cheesman, engraver, at 17, by his master, Francesco Bartolozzi, R.A. Bought by me from Mr. Rayner, of Francis Street. He had it of Messrs. Rawlins, who had it (many years ago) of Madame Vestris, who was Bartolozzi's niece. T. H. Ward.'" The picture was exhibited at Burlington House in 1887, and presented to the Gallery this year by Mr. T. Humphry Ward. (6) Thomas Gray, the poet. A bust, size of life, close shaven; eyeballs not marked, and without any drapery. Probably modelled by John Bacon, R.A. The picture was sold in a collection of MSS. and relics of Thomas Gray at Messrs. Sotheby's, in 1851. Presented by Mr. J. W. Butterworth, F.S.A. (7) George Henry Harlow, the portrait-painter. A lead-pencil drawing (vignette); small size; on a paper pasted at back is written: "George Henry Harlow. The painting by himself is in Gallery of Fine Art, Florence. This sketch was drawn by John Jackson, R.A., and given by him to my mother, 1819. George Harlow White." (8) Sir Thomas Malet (1582-1665), Judge, who suffered imprisonment and sequestration

as a Loyalist, and at the Restoration took part in the trial of the regicides. The portrait is thus described in the report: "Life-size, seen to the waist, in judge's robes, wearing black cap or cowl, edged and lined with white. The brown-complexioned face, with white hair at the sides, hiding the ears, is turned in three-quarters to the right; the very dark slaty-gray eyeballs fixed on the spectator, eyebrows broad, yellow-brown, elevated and angular; furrows on forehead and between the eyebrows, lips pale red; moustache and lip-tuft white. He wears a large square falling band next to the face and under the chin, and two tassels composed of white balls; the broad white fur cape of his judicial robes lies under this. The undercape is scarlet lined with white fur. Dark plain brown background." The painter is unknown; this portrait was bequeathed to the Gallery by Miss Gerard. (9) Horatio Viscount Nelson (1758-1805). "A full-length figure, on a small scale, seen standing to the right, on the deck of a vessel, in naval uniform; wearing a black cocked hat with the diamond aigrette, presented to him by the Sultan, on the front of it, pointing with his left hand to the right. His face is seen in three-quarters to the right, and the small eyes looking at the spectator. His blue coat, with golden epaulettes and facings, is decorated with medals and crossed by the red ribbon of the Order of the Bath; on his left breast is the Turkish Order of the Crescent. Behind him to the left is a large green-gray curtain, and below it a mounted piece of ordnance. A circular shield, with pointed boss, lies in the left-hand lower corner. On the distant sea to the right is a naval engagement, and in front is spread out over a wooden chair a magnificent robe of honour, or scarlet pelisse, lined with sable fur. His complexion is ruddy, the face smooth shaven, and the eyes dark gray; the wound over his right eye is clearly marked. The empty sleeve of his right arm is attached to the front of his waistcoat. His waistcoat, breeches, and stockings are plain white, and his feet, with black shoes and buckles, are planted in a dancing master's attitude. The name of the copyist is inscribed on the back of the chair supporting the scarlet robe. Pettigrew in his *Life of Nelson* (vol. i., p. 145), gives the following account of the Grand

Signior's presents: 'The pelisse was of the finest scarlet cloth, lined with most beautiful sable fur, and was magnificent. The aigrette consisted of an artificial plume formed of 13 fingers covered with diamonds. They were intended to represent the 13 ships taken and destroyed at the battle. The centre diamond and the four surrounding it were estimated at the value of £5,000, and there were at least 300 other diamonds of smaller size. These splendid presents were accompanied with a letter, in the handwriting of the Grand Signior, in which it was stated that the plume of 'Triumph or Chelongk was such as had never before been presented to any but victorious Mussulmans.' The life-size original picture which was painted at Palermo, and is now in the Admiralty, at Whitehall, is signed round the rim of the shield '*Leonard Guzzardi, 1799.*' The replica, from which this was copied, was presented to the Sultan by Lord Nelson after the battle of Aboukir, 1798. Copy by L. Acquareone from a picture by Leonard Guzzardi in the Imperial Treasury at Constantinople. Presented by H.I.M. the Sultan of Turkey." (10) Charles Robert Darwin, LL.D., F.R.S. (1809-1882), naturalist and scientific investigator. A terra-cotta bust. (11) Lord Lawrence, Governor-General of India. A terra-cotta bust. (12) B. W. Procter, lawyer, better known under his *nom de guerre*, "Barry Cornwall." A marble bust. (13) Adelaide Anne Procter, his daughter, famous for her verse. (14) John Keats (1795-1821). "The face only, no neck, seen in profile to the right. Light admitted from the right hand and somewhat further back, so as to show the side of the nose in shadow. The eyes are closed. Taken, it is said, in the studio of B. R. Haydon, his great friend. Copy in oil of a plaster mask. Presented by the Earl of Derby." (15) The Right Hon. Henry Grattan, M.P. (1750-1820), orator and statesman. "A small-sized portrait painted in oil on a square oak panel bevelled at the back. The figure, seen to the waist, wears the uniform of a captain of the famous Irish Volunteers, a scarlet coat with green facings, and plain gilt buttons down the latter. One golden epaulette is on his right shoulder. A plain black stock encircles his neck, and his white shirt-front and the lappets of his white waistcoat, thrown open, project in the centre.

The close-shaven face is turned in three-quarters to the left, and slightly drooping, his large slaty-gray eyes looking away in the same direction. The face is young and fresh-looking, with pink cheeks and clear red thin lips. The natural hair is full and flowing, but white with powder. The background is a plain dark yellow-brown tint. On the back of the oaken panel is written 'Henry Grattan, Esq., a real representative of the people.' Painted by Francis Wheatley, R.A. Presented by the executors of the late Doyne Courtenay Bell, Esq., F.S.A." (16) Stratford Canning, Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe. A terra-cotta bust by Boehm. (17) A set of four canvases exhibiting Groups of Patrons and Lovers of Art, who flourished in the first quarter of the present century. This valuable addition to the Gallery was presented by Mr. Edward Joseph. The portraits are small-sized full-length figures sketchily painted in oil colours; they were preparatory sketches by P. C. Wonder, of Utrecht, for a large picture of an imaginary assemblage of the finest paintings by celebrated masters arranged on the walls of a stately apartment, with various art lovers discussing them. The picture was commissioned by General Sir John Murray, about the year 1826, to match one of a similar subject by Gonzales Coques, already in his possession. The first group comprises portraits of General Sir John Murray, the Rev. William Holwell-Carr, Mr. G. Watson Taylor, M.P., and the artist, P. C. Wonder. The second group comprises Sir Abraham Hume, Bart., F.R.S., the Earl of Aberdeen, and Lord Farnborough. The third group comprises the Right Hon. George James Wellbore Agar-Ellis, M.P., afterwards Baron Dover—to whose initiative we owe the National Gallery—and Robert, Earl Grosvenor, whose father founded the magnificent collection of pictures at Grosvenor House. This picture contains a further portrait: "resting on the ground, in a gilt frame, is a portrait of George Granville, Marquis of Stafford, afterwards Duke of Sutherland." The fourth group consists of the seated figure of George O'Brien Wyndham, Earl of Egremont, owner of the noble collection of pictures at Petworth, which includes not only Holbeins and some of the finest Van Dycks in England, but very choice specimens by

Hogarth, Reynolds, Leslie, and Turner, with Flaxman's celebrated group of St. Michael. Before the Earl stands Sir Robert Peel, and on the other side Sir David Wilkie. (18) Francis Godolphin-Osborne, Marquis of Caermarthen, who became afterwards fifth Duke of Leeds (1751-1799); he was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Pitt from 1783 to 1791.

Three purchases were made by the Trustees during the year, and include portraits of Sir James Hope Grant (painted by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A.); Mrs. Sarah Trimmer (1741-1810), educational writer (painted by Henry Howard, R.A.); and Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel (1650-1707). Various pictures had been cleaned and lined since the date of the previous report, and some portraits had been placed under glass for better preservation.

It is no disparagement to the East-End of London to say that the collection is to a large extent lost in the Bethnal Green Museum. Surely there cannot be two opinions as to its proper locality. It should be among the nation's shrines—not far from Westminster Abbey, near the National Gallery. We venture to extract the concluding passages of the Trustees' report, in the hope that they may be further noticed elsewhere, for the public have every right to know that the responsibility for the present state of things rests with the Treasury:

"All the portraits that have been acquired either by donation or purchase since the autumn of 1885 have, with one exception, No. 758 of the Registration List, been deposited in the temporary official apartments at Westminster in the hope that they may shortly be exhibited to the public in a central locality.

"No steps have been taken since their last annual report towards procuring a suitable building for housing the national portraits. The Trustees have waited on the First Lord of the Treasury, and presented a memorial urging upon him the desirability of providing a permanent home for the pictures now located on loan in the Bethnal Green Museum. To this he was pleased to reply that he would report to his colleagues what had passed, and that he would give the matter his earnest and serious consideration.

"The Trustees would now conclude their report by expressing an earnest hope, as they did in their last, that as little delay as possible may take place in providing a suitable gallery for the collection of national portraits, the number and historical importance of which increases every year."



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Old Prejudices against Coal.—The history of coal reads like a romance, and presents facts of a curious and interesting character. It is generally believed that the ancient Britons burned coal before the arrival of the Romans in this country. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors consumed it to a limited extent, but, remarkable to relate, it is not named in the annals of the Danish usurpation nor under the Norman monarchs.

Perhaps the earliest document in which coal is mentioned is in *Bishop Pudsey's Boldon Book*, and it is in the year 1180. It is generally asserted that in the year 1234 Henry III. granted a charter to the freemen of Newcastle-on-Tyne "to dig stones and coal" in the common soil without the walls of the town. But it is proved beyond doubt, after recent and careful investigation, that this statement must be regarded as an historical fiction. It was not until the reign of Edward III., and in the year 1350, that the townsmen of Newcastle received such a privilege. Between 1260-63 Walter de Clifford obtained permission from the King "to dig coals within the forests of Le Clie, to sell or give away." This was the earliest notice of coal in Shropshire. Coal-pits are named at Wednesbury in 1315. Much of the coal at this early period was most probably quarried, and not mined. The Earl of Winchester, some time between the years 1210 and 1219, granted to the monks of Newbattle, Midlothian, a coalfield situated between the burn of Whytrig and the lands of Pontekyn, Inveresk. This is understood to be the first coal worked in Scotland. The monks of Dunfermline soon followed the example of their brethren at Newbattle, and obtained coal from their lands

at Pinkie and Inveresk. For nearly a century after the discovery of the "blackstone," as it was called, the peasantry were its chief consumers.

In the reign of Edward I., the aversion to this fuel was most pronounced, and a proclamation was issued prohibiting its use in London. Even dyers, brewers, etc., were forbidden to burn coal on pain of a fine, loss of furnace, etc. This stringent law was not merely confined to the City; it extended to the suburbs. The proclamation was brought about by the prelates, nobles, and gentry, who complained that they could not stay in town on account of "the noisome smell and thick air" caused by burning coal. Stow, referring to this period, says: "The nice dames of London would not come into any house or room where sea-coals were burned, nor willingly eat of the meat that was even sod or roasted with sea-coal." It was in the reign of Edward I. that a man was tried, convicted, and executed for the crime of burning sea-coal in London. The students of Oxford and Cambridge were not permitted to have fires until the days of Henry VIII., and to warm themselves they ran for some distance—certainly a cheap mode of obtaining warmth.

Towards the reign of Elizabeth coal was becoming a popular kind of fuel, chiefly owing to the difficulty of obtaining a cheap and plentiful supply of wood. A strong prejudice, however, lingered against it, and the Queen prohibited the burning of coal in London during the sitting of Parliament, for it was feared that "the health of the knights of the shires might suffer during their abode in the metropolis." In the days of Charles I. the use of coal became very general, and as the demand increased the price went up to such an extent as to preclude the poor from obtaining it. Not a few died from cold for want of fires. In 1643 was published a pamphlet, stating on the imprint:

Printed in the year
That sea-coal was exceeding dear.

Duties were laid on coal after the Great Fire of London to raise money to rebuild St. Paul's and fifty other churches. Charles II., in the year 1677, granted to one of his natural children and his heirs a duty on coal of one shilling per chaldron. This tax was known

as the "Richmond Shilling," and was continued down to 1800, when it was purchased by the Government. Charles also, in 1662, imposed a tax known as the "hearth-tax," on every fireplace or hearth in England, and he raised by it about £20,000 per annum. It was abolished by William and Mary after the revolution in 1689, imposed again, and subsequently abolished. A quaint epitaph at Folkestone to the memory of Rebecca Rodgers, who died on August 22nd, 1688, aged forty-four years, refers to the tax as follows:

A home she hath; it's made of such good fashion
The tenant ne'er shall pay for reparation;
Nor will her landlord ever raise the rent,
Or turn her out of doors for non-payment;
From chimney money, too, this cell is free;
To such a house who would not tenant be?

WM. ANDREWS.

Art in Ireland.—The following account of deceased artists resident in Belfast, was contributed by Mr. Robert M. Young to the catalogue of the recent Art Exhibition, held in the Free Library, at Belfast: "The first Belfast artist of which there is any record seems to have been J. Wilson, who painted several good portraits in the latter half of the last century. The portraits exhibited prior to this date were probably executed by Dublin and English artists. In 1801 Thomas Robinson, a pupil of Romney, and married to his daughter, settled in Belfast, where he lived till 1808. He was patronised by Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, and painted several of the portraits exhibited. His finest work, the 'Review of the Volunteers,' or, as it is called in Redgrave's Dictionary, 'Military Procession in Belfast in honour of Lord Nelson,' is hung in the central portion of Room B, and is the most valuable local painting extant, giving portraits of all the prominent citizens at the time, 1804. Thomas Robinson was president of the Society of Artists, Dublin, and died there, 1810. His son, George Romney, became Astronomer Royal at Armagh. Only the name of one artist—Charles Poole—is given in the earliest Belfast Directory, 1819. J. Atkins was a young Belfast artist of great promise. He began his career as an heraldic coach-painter, was sent to Rome by the late Narcissus Batt, and exhibited portraits in the Royal Academy in 1831 and 1833. After some years spent in

Italy, he went to Constantinople to paint the portrait of the Sultan, and died at Malta on his return, in 1834. Richard Rothwell, R.H.A., who married the daughter of Dr. Andrew Marshall, a well-known Belfast physician, exhibited at the Royal Academy for the first time in 1830, numbering among his sitters the Duchess of Kent, and died in Rome, 1868. In 1836 the Association of Artists, Belfast, was instituted. The members were—Hugh Fraser, A.R.H.A.; Samuel Hawksett, N. J. Crowley, A.R.H.A.; Andrew Nicholl, A.R.H.A.; Robert Warrington, J. W. Millar, William Nicholl, Henry M'Manus. Associates—Henry Maguire, W. C. Nixon, and John F. Jackson. Of these artists there are examples of the following shown—Hugh Fraser, R.H.A., born at Dromore, practised as a landscape artist in oil for many years. Samuel Hawksett painted most of the best portraits at this period of local history. N. J. Crowley, R.H.A., was living in Belfast in 1835, exhibited in the Royal Academy in the same year, died in 1857. Andrew Nicholl, R.H.A., so well known for his watercolours, including a series of views painted in Ceylon, for Sir J. E. Tennent, died recently in London at an advanced age. Robert Warrington was both a portrait and a landscape artist, but left few examples. Being an accomplished painter in other departments than portraiture, he was commissioned by the late John Cunningham, of Macedon, to make copies of some of the gems in the Dulwich Gallery, several of which are exhibited in the present collection. Miss Lamont had much ability as a miniaturist for a long period, commencing about 1840. Dr. James Moore, A.R.H.A., was an artist of great talent; recently deceased. Unfortunately only a few of his pictures have been available for this occasion, but it is hoped that they will be fully shown at some future time."

Some Old Law Cases (*concluded*).—

Much curious information turns up in glancing through the pages of our old reporters with regard to customs, and the unwillingness of the inhabitants of a parish to pay what may be deemed lawful dues, and we find this disinclination brought into the Court of King's Bench in the Michaelmas of 7 Will. III. in the case of *Harman v. Renew*.

This was a motion for a prohibition in the Consistory Court of London on the statute 22 Chas. II., cap. 11, which unites the parish of St. Mary Bothaw to the parish of St. Swithin. The first-named church, having been consumed in the Fire of London in 1666 and never rebuilt, was to all intents and purposes not in existence. The writer saw many years ago all that remained of it before the erection of the new buildings now standing upon its site, the sole remnant being that of a crypt. The inhabitants of St. Mary Bothaw declined to pay money levied for the repair of St. Swithin. Holt said that at common law, by concurrence of the parson, patron, and ordinary, churches might be united to each other, but not parishes. Powell (Justice) in a similar case in the Common Bench, laid down the law that union was of spiritual causance till 37 Hen. VIII., cap. 21, and that the incumbent of the united churches is extinct, but tithes and modus continue afterwards. Treby (C. J.) remarks that the ancient church or rectory remains not, but this is a new creature, a new church, and a new patronage. In Skinner's dictum it is reported that both parishes shall repair a church made a parish church.

In the case of *Ball v. Cross* (4 Jac. II.), an action was brought in consequence of the refusal of the inhabitants of a certain chapelry to repair the parish church, which they had always used till the time of Henry VIII., when the bishop was prevailed upon to consecrate a burial-ground for them. Upon this they argued that they had no right to repair an edifice to which they resorted not; but Holt, laying down the law, gave judgment that the inhabitants were bound to repair both the chancel and the church, although the freehold was in the parson, for it was a portion of his glebe, and he might bring an action of ejectment. In this case it could only be that the chapelry, not being coeval, was only a chapel-of-ease to the mother-church, for they buried in it till the days of Henry VIII., and they then agreed to repair the church.

In a case tried 4 James II., the action was against one Makepeace, who lived in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, but who occupied lands in the diocese of Peterborough,

in the parish of D., and was there taxed, as an inhabitant, by reason of land, to pay a rate levied for the new casting of bells for the church. He refused, and was therefore sued in the Court of the Bishop of Peterborough. The Court laid it down "(1) that it was not a citing out of the diocese within the stat. 32 Hen. VIII., cap. 9, for he was an inhabitant where he occupied land as well as where he personally resided; (2) though he does not personally live in the parish, yet by holding lands there he was taxable, and whereas it was pretended that bells were an ornament, it was held that they were more than mere ornaments, for they were as necessary as a steeple, which is no use without bells." Holt said it was confessed he was an inhabitant, so how could he not be an inhabitant as to the ornaments of the church?

3 Will. III., the case of *Payne v. Partridge* and others, set forth that the vill of Littleport (county Cambridge) is an ancient vill, and that there has been time out of mind a ferry over the river there, and that it was a common passage for all the King's people paying toll, and that the inhabitants of Littleport living in the ancient messuages or cottages there had passage toll free, and that the defendant was the owner of the ferry there, and let it decay, and that the plaintiff sought to cross by means of the ferry, but the defendant refused to allow him. The defendant pleaded that he had built a bridge in the place of the ferry. Upon demurrer the Court held that he could not let down the ferry and put up a bridge without license; that custom was good in the nature of an easement, but that the custom consisted not in the right to pass, for that was common to all the King's subjects, but in the right to pass toll free; that therefore plaintiff could not maintain action for not passing, for so any subject might bring actions which would be endless. *Aliter*, if toll had been exacted and paid by him, that had been a special damage, but without special damage he can only indict or bring information.

The next two cases are as to what is ancient demesne. The first was taken in the King's Bench in the Michaelmas Term, 3 Will. and Mary, and was an action of ejectment (*Baker v. Wich*), and the defendant pleaded that the lands were parcel of the Manor of Bray, also

that the manor was ancient demesne, and held of the Crown. On the one hand, it was held as naught, as it was understood the lands in question were part of the demesne, and supposing they were ancient demesne, yet the manor and the demesnes of the manor were impleadable at common law, and not in the lord's court, for then the lord would be judge in his own case. On the other side, ancient demesne lands of the manor are impleadable in the Court of ancient demesne, and there only. And therefore, because he does not plead that these were lands held of the Manor of Bray, judgment *quod respondeat ouster*.

Holt was also the judge who tried the case of *Hunt v. Burn*, 12 Will. III., and the question arose as to whether tenants in ancient demesne were free as to their persons, but not as to their estates. In his judgment he says that "Bracton calls them *villani privilegiata*, and it seems are free as to their persons, not as to estates. The question to be tried is whether ancient demesne or frank free. If you plead that the manor of D. is ancient demesne, you ought to aver it by the record of Domesday, for that is the trial of it; but if you plead that such a place is parcel of a manor which is ancient demesne, then you are to conclude the contrary, for parcel or not parcel is triable *per pais* 2 E. III., 15 b., *Thos. de Grenham's case*. . . . But it seems to me the other side may traverse its being ancient demesne, and so it was between *Saunders v. Welch*, C. B. Pasch. 9 Jac. Issue was whether the manor of Otterbury was ancient demesne, and the Court awarded *quod querens habeat recordum libri de Domesday hic in octabis Hillarii*. At that day the plaintiff had the book brought in by a porter. It appeared by the book that Edward Confessor anno regni sui domino octavo had given this manor *Abbati Rotonensis*, and the said manor was not in the title *de terra regis*; for all lands held in ancient demesne which the Confessor had were by William the Conqueror anno regno sui vicessimo written in the book called Domesday under the title *de terra regis*; but those which were given away by Edward the Confessor, and which are not written in the book called Domesday under the title *de terra regis*, are not ancient demesne, and a

respondeat ouster was awarded. By a recovery of the land at common law it becomes frank free for ever; but a recovery against the tenant is reversible by the lord by writ of deceit, and such a recovery makes it only *feri facias*, *quamdiu* it continues unreversed; but when it is reversed it becomes ancient demesne again."—W. H. BROWN.



Antiquarian News.

MR. W. P. JERVIS, the author of the well-known work in three volumes, on the mineral resources of Italy (*I Tesori sotteranei dell' Italia*), is about to publish an additional volume, which will be devoted to a description of the building stones of the country. For many years he has been engaged in studying the ancient buildings of Italy, with the view of determining the source of the stones employed in their construction; and the forthcoming volume will embody the results of his investigations.

The *Builder* has been informed by Mr. A. Oliver that the carved red lion, which was to be seen a few years ago at the corner of an old timber house in Holywell Street, Strand (the house has been demolished), has been placed in the Guildhall Museum.

The British Museum has just acquired a collection of books which has had a curious history. They belonged to Prince Jerome Bonaparte, and were in the Palais Royal at the time of its destruction. Although they were saved they bear marks of the fire, being singed and otherwise disfigured in various places. They were subsequently sent to the prince's residence in Switzerland, and found their way into the hands of a bookseller of Geneva, who issued a catalogue of them, and the British Museum purchased a selection of the most interesting which were not already in the library. It is intended that the books shall not be distributed throughout the library under their respective headings, but that they shall remain together as a memento of the Commune. Some of them belonged to the prince's father, King Jerome of Westphalia. Some of these are marked with the initial "J" and a crown, others with a "J" and "C" interlaced, the latter initial representing King Jerome's queen, Catherine. Those acquired by Prince Jerome before the Empire are stamped as belonging to the library of the citizen Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, but after the establishment of the Second Empire this stamp is replaced by a large "N" with an eagle's head at the

top, and in some cases the later stamp of the Imperial Prince is placed over the earlier one of the simple citizen.

An English archæological and scientific weekly paper called *The Owl* has just been brought out at Nicosia, in Cyprus.

On the site of the Roman forum of ancient Camptodunum in Bavaria (the modern Kempten) some excavations have taken place, and the remains of a villa discovered with part of the hypocausts still preserved, the *præfurnium* being entire, and, moreover, the substructions of a large columned hall, which may have been a temple or palace.—*Athenæum*.

The work on *Corporation Plate*, upon which the late Llewellyn Jewitt was engaged for many years, has been taken up and finished by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, assistant secretary to the Society of Antiquaries; and it will be published this winter, in two royal quarto volumes, illustrated, by Messrs. Bemrose and Sons. It embraces every borough in England and Wales, giving detailed notices of the maces, swords of state, seals, chains, arms, plate, and other treasure belonging to each.

The subject of old wineglasses and goblets is about to receive the treatment which its interest should have procured sooner. Mr. Albert Hartshorne, of Bradbourne Hall, Wirksworth, has in preparation a work on *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Wineglasses and Goblets*, which he hopes to illustrate with about 400 full-sized drawings by his own hand. He will be glad of any notes of dated examples with descriptions and dimensions, their shapes, and the fashion of the stems, and references to collections of such objects.

The following are some of the prices realized by topographical works at a recent sale at Messrs. Hodgson's rooms: Howitt's *Northern Heights of London*, 8vo., inlaid to royal 4to. size, and extended to three portly volumes by the insertion of portraits, views, cuttings, autograph letters, and the like, £13; similarly Grangerised and companion copies of Lewis's *History of St. Mary, Islington* (1842), two volumes, £8; Park's *Topography and Natural History of Hampstead* (1814), £6; Tomlin's *Perambulation of Islington* (1858), £4 12s. 6d.; Nelson's *History, Topography, and Antiquities of St. Mary, Islington* (1811), £3 7s. 6d.; and Palmer's *History of St. Pancras* (1870), many of the views on India paper, £3 3s.; a set of Lysons' *Environs*, and *Middlesex Parishes*, was bought for three guineas. Owen Jones and Jules Goury's *Alhambra*, having many of the lithographs in gold and colours, two volumes, elephant folio size, on large paper, somewhat foxed, £4 17s. 6d.; and J. W. Clark's *Cambridge*, with etchings on India

paper, and vignettes, all artists' proofs, by A. Brunet-Debaines, H. Toussaint, and G. Greux, folio, of which only fifty copies were printed (1881), £2 10s.; Godwin's *Churches of London* (1838), an excellent copy, on large paper, obtained 13s.; Britton and Pugin's *Public Buildings of London*, with all the plates, large paper (1825), 7s.; Cox's *Annals of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate* (1876), 10s. The works of Camden, Strutt, Dugdale, Leland, and Stukeley, as well as those of Sheraton, Parker, Neale, Britton, Pugin, Isabelle, Brayley, and others, were represented in the sale.

An interesting discovery has been made on Mr. H. Jones's estate in Maldon Road, Essex. While using the plough and hod for cutting the new Beaconsfield Road through the estate, the workmen came upon a large deposit of animal remains, consisting of bones, etc., in small fragments. A close examination revealed the fact that some of these fragments had been worked, and further search brought to light remains of small bone implements in all stages of manufacture. Mr. Hy. Laver, F.S.A., was communicated with, and he pronounced the discovery a most interesting one, the remains probably being the *débris* resulting from the manufacture of bone implements of the Romano-British period. The deposit, which was about ten feet square, is now broken up, but specimens of the implements will no doubt be placed in the museum.

The third of this year's course of Rhind lectures in archaeology, in connection with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, on the "Lake Dwellings of Europe," was delivered on October 24, in the Freemasons' Hall, George Street, Edinburgh, by Dr. Robert Munro, in presence of a large audience. The lecture was devoted to the consideration of the lake dwellings of Italy in the valley of the Po. He began by making reference to the visits of Desor and Montillet to Lombardy, and the result of their discoveries. The surface of the Lake of Varese was 770 feet above the level of the sea, and the district round about was rich and well cultivated. Two lake dwellings were first come upon, and at the end of the same year the total number found was six, but since then another has been discovered. Bits of charcoal and broken piles were come upon, and other articles which were found gave evidence of the existence in past times of lake dwellings. Monate, Garda, and other lakes were also explored, with the result that unquestionable evidence of lake dwellings was found. The remarkable station of Lagozza was next touched upon, and Dr. Munro mentioned that pottery was the chief kind of remains of the lake dwellings found. There was no sign of fishing or hunting gear come upon, but there were found spindles and bits of thread. It was the opinion of one celebrated gentleman that

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the inhabitants of the village were vegetarians. At Polada numerous interesting and peculiar articles were discovered which established emphatically the existence of lake dwellings. The lecturer then spoke of the history, description, and significance of the Terramara deposits.

An old and beautiful brass seal, in a state of perfect preservation, has been lately found at Bodmin. Some fine impressions have already been taken by the Rev. W. Iago, B.A.

Egypt is yielding up treasures in the shape of Cuneiform tablets, from which skilled experts enable us to fill up gaps in our historical records. The British Museum has lately received 81 tablets found in the grave of a royal scribe of Amenophis III. and IV., of the 18th dynasty, which are now in process of translation by Mr. Budge. Amenophis was a mighty hunter, who during the first ten years of his reign killed 102 lions with his own hand in the plains of Mesopotamia. On one of these expeditions he fell in love with Ti, the daughter of Tushratta, king of the country, who, on her marriage with Amenophis, took to Egypt 317 of her principal ladies. Under her favour a large number of Semites settled there, and acquired great possessions. With the advent to power of the 19th dynasty a change came over their fortunes. They were set to the uncongenial tasks of making bricks and of building walls and pyramids; and, finally, the oppression they endured ended in the outbreak which led to their triumphing gloriously over their task-masters in the waters of the Red Sea.

The parish church of Seend (Wiltshire) has been overhauled, and all kinds of alterations made. A published account of what has taken place—written in that tone of modest complacency proper to the theme—informs us that "a large monument has been removed to the west wall of the nave from the south angle of the chancel arch." But against this should fairly be set the discovery of a very interesting wall-painting, apparently dating from the fifteenth century, and the opening to view of the staircase and doorway to the rood-loft.

An archaeological discovery of great interest has been made in the tidal river Hamble, near Botley, Hants. A boathouse is being built at the point of the junction of the Curdrige Creek with the river, some little distance above the spot where there is a still existing wreck of a Danish man-of-war. In removing the mud and alluvial soil to make sufficient waterway, something hard was encountered, which on being carefully uncovered proved to be a portion of a possibly pre-historic canoe—certainly pre-Roman. It is a few feet higher up the river than the old Roman

hardway or landing-place, and was evidently sunk close to the shore. It is about 12 feet long by 2½ feet wide, beautifully carved, and in a fairly good state of preservation. Some question of ownership is likely to arise, as it was discovered below high-water mark. The adjacent land teems with fragmentary specimens of Roman pottery, bricks, etc., and it is anticipated that the explorations will lead to further discoveries.

The village church at Upper Helmsley, near Stamford Bridge, has been rebuilt upon its old foundations of the tenth century.

The Manesse manuscript presented to the Bibliotheca Palatina, at Heidelberg, by the late Emperor Frederick, is said to be very precious. It consists of love songs of the fourteenth century, and there are 429 pages of parchment, richly ornamented, and containing 7,000 verses by 140 poets. It was placed in the Bibliotheca Palatina, at Heidelberg, in 1607, having been purchased from a Swiss baron of Hohn-Sax, and was taken away by the French during the Thirty Years' War, and now, after the lapse of two centuries and a half, it has been recovered.

On October 16, a "Goethefeier" was held at Stafa, on the Lake of Zurich, the chief feature of which was the unveiling of the tablet affixed to the house in which Goethe resided in the autumn of 1797 with his friend Meyer.

The Earl of Winchilsea contemplates restoring Kirby Hall. He recently entertained, in the ruined Hall, a party of friends and professional gentlemen to discuss his project. A representative of a local newspaper was invited, and the following is taken from his account: "The ruins of Kirby Hall are a short distance from Weldon Station, on the Midland Line, standing amidst a fertile and well-wooded country, whose belts of trees now display in their foliage the beautiful autumn tints that give the country an attraction of its own at the season of falling leaves. Fifty years have passed since the old gray walls of Kirby Hall, nestling in the shadow of surrounding trees, were inhabited, and the building is in greater part roofless. Its exterior architecture, however, still remains in enduring stone, to be admired as one of the finest examples of Elizabethan design to be found, and though the main roof is gone, and the grass grows where once were floors, the walls, with the old-fashioned oriel windows and broken panes of glass, are still in an admirable state of preservation for so ancient a building. It cannot be said, as Sir Walter Scott remarked of Melrose, that the sun gilds but to flout these gray ruins, whatever enhancing effect moonlight might have, from a romantic point of view. As appears from the crest of a boar's-head out of a ducal coronet on several parts of the building; the hall was

originally built for the Stafford family, and in 1577 it became the property of Sir Christopher Hatton, who here entertained Queen Elizabeth with great splendour. For a long period Kirby Hall was the principal seat of the Hattons—the family name of the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham—and like most buildings of that time, it is constructed round a quadrangle. Above the entrance on the north side was a chapel, and on the south side is a great hall, and also what were the chief living rooms of the family; while on the western side there was a picture gallery 150 feet long, and on the east of the quadrangle the offices and bedrooms. The best preserved portions of the buildings are the rooms on the south side, where the principal entrance was, and in one of these rooms there was shown for the inspection of the visitors, some quaint MSS. pertaining to the family. Most interesting was an illuminated MS. by Sir William Dugdale containing exact drawings made in 1640 of many arms and monuments then existing in Peterborough, Lincoln, and other cathedrals, but soon afterwards destroyed. In the fast decaying great hall, which often in the olden days echoed with the sounds of festivity, luncheon was served to the visitors, under the presidency of the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, and among those present were Mr. Lucas, A.R.A.; Mr. Blomfield, A.R.A.; Mr. Scott, Mr. Christian, Mr. Barry, Colonel Gourand, Colonel North, Mr. T. Catling, Mr. A. M. Broadley, and the Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton and the Hon. Stormont Finch-Hatton. Hung in the Hall for the occasion were portraits of Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Hatton the Comptroller, and a view of Kirby as in Lord Chancellor Hatton's time. It was stated in a speech by the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, now the representative of the family, that it was his desire to preserve, if not to restore these ruins. This led to the explanation by his lordship that a primary object of the gathering that day was to introduce to notice the qualities of the Weldon stone raised in adjacent quarries on this estate. Of this stone Kirby Hall was built, and of the endurance of such material, therefore, all were able to judge. The Weldon stone, indeed, was much used at one time. Old St. Paul's Cathedral, which was destroyed by fire, was, according to report, built with this material, as also St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street, and many of the colleges at Cambridge. Latterly, however, the quarries have been little worked, but it is now the intention of the Earl of Winchilsea to fully develop them, and he jocularly remarked in his speech at the luncheon that if Kirby Hall is ever to have a roof put on it again it will be from the Weldon stone. Quitting the ancient hall the party were then driven to the quarries, and inspected the new workings that have been opened. The stone is of a creamy colour, and is represented as hardening to

exposure to the weather. Of its durability proof was further yielded by some old structures of this material which were subsequently visited. One was the triangular cross at Gedding, built by Edward I. in honour of his consort Queen Eleanor. This is a specimen of the three triangular monuments of ancient date known to exist in England, and another is the triangular tower built by Sir Thomas Gresham about 1590, in the same neighbourhood, which was likewise examined. A visit was also paid to Rushden Hall, which, built in 1595, is a fine example of an English house of that period, still in perfect repair, being now the residence of Mr. W. Clarke Thornhill. From the triangular tower mentioned, which is at Rushden, a view is obtained of the famous battlefield of Naseby, and, indeed, at Rothwell Church, not far off, there is a chancel house that contained vast quantities of human bones, supposed to be those of the victims of that celebrated battle."

We gladly reproduce from a Peterborough newspaper the following account of a crypt to be built in Peterborough Cathedral, in which will be preserved the ancient remains that have been found in course of the work of restoration: "A work is now proceeding in the Cathedral for which the promoters, the Cathedral Restoration Committee, will earn the gratitude of posterity. It is the formation of a substantial crypt beneath the south transept of the Cathedral, so as to keep open for inspection in perpetuity the valuable historical find in the shape of the foundation plan of the early Saxon church. In previous articles devoted to the purpose we have described from time to time the excavation of the great walls, broken off, as it were, just above the ground, with plentiful evidences of fire around, by which element the sacred edifice was destroyed. The eyes of a world of antiquarians have viewed these remains with interest, and even superlative value is locally placed upon their discovery, owing to the fact that they supply a missing link in the history of the structural records of the Christian Church at Peterborough, inasmuch as not a tittle of evidence of the size, substance, shape, or position of this early church existing before the Thousand commenced was to be found in any writings whatever. It has been found that the church was cruciform, that its floor was plastered, that it had nave, transepts, choir and bell tower, that it was substantially in part built of stone, and occupied a position east and west as the present building. The choir was discovered under the south transept of the Cathedral, together with the altar space and elevated east end, the east walls of the north and south transept, and in the nave of the Cathedral approaching the lantern the west and north walls of the north transept. It has been shown to be a roomy church, a church with plaster seats; a primitive church in every way. It therefore went

hard with the spirit of the antiquarian when it was learned that the dimensions having been taken the excavations would be filled up. This is believed to have caused an undercurrent of dissatisfaction, and to have led to the very happy conclusion which we now report. An apartment will now be built underground over and around the whole of the foundation, and this crypt will be entered by two gangways, through which visitors will be conducted on payment of a small charge."

On November 1, two human thigh-bones were found by some workmen employed in repairing the pavement of Nun Street, Newcastle. There was also discovered a small headstone, but nothing on it to indicate when the remains were interred. On the previous day the remains of a skeleton were found at the same place. The skull was in a fairly good state of preservation, and contained a number of teeth in excellent condition. The discovery was made at a depth of only two feet. The old convent, from which Nun Street takes its name, once stood on the spot where the remains were found.

We have received from Mr. Robert M. Young a copy of *The Northern Whig*, containing an account of the recent exhibition of paintings in the Free Library at Belfast. In the "Antiquary's Note-Book" will be found an excerpt from Mr. Young's account of deceased Belfast artists; and we are glad to hear from him that Belfast has abandoned its neglect of art, and that works of art are now being studied in relation to the history of the province.

In a recent issue of the *Western Morning News* appeared an account of the restoration of St. Merryn Church, in the main road between Padstow and Bedruthan Steps. We are told that the church had been re-opened, after having undergone "a thorough restoration." At the end of the account we are informed very complacently that "the only part of the church which has not been touched is the tower;" and we are assured that the only reason the tower escaped was that there was no more money. At last we know what will stay the hand of the restorer. All that is needed is an enactment that henceforth all restoration work must be gratuitous and honorary. We reproduce here a portion of this account, but spare our readers the enumeration of the worst restoration offences: "The plan of the church consists of nave, chancel and western tower, south aisle, north transept, and north and south porches. The fabric is principally of fifteenth century date, but the north transept and portions of the chancel walls are of early fourteenth century date. Originally the chancel had a transept on the south side corresponding to that now existing on the north side, but in the thirteenth century the south transept was swept away, and the

present south aisle built. Unfortunately the early windows were destroyed, with the exception of a narrow light with cusped oggee head on the east of the north transept; and the end window of the transept was a squared sashed one. There existed, however, old windows of late fourteenth century date, one west of the south porch, and one on the north of the chancel, which indicate that certain alterations were made subsequent to the original plan of the church. These windows have square labels. In the north wall of the chancel there is a break which marks the line of the original chancel arch. The eastern portion of the south chancel wall is a part of the original, and here there is also a break in the thickness of the wall, which is provided for in the roof by a corbelled wall plate on this side. The fifteenth century arcade consists of seven bays. These are all of catacluse stone, which comes from the parish, and are noteworthy for the variety of their carved capitals. It would have been very difficult, however, for strangers to say of what kind of stone they were carved, because all the pillars and arcades were painted black. It is difficult to assign a satisfactory reason, except, perhaps, that the churchwardens' tastes were gratified by the great contrast between the whitewashed walls and the blackened pillars, why this beautiful blue-coloured stone, now made clean by potash, should have been hidden by paint. Certain alterations had also been made in the south aisle, which have now been removed. In order to accommodate a mural tablet the easternmost of the side windows was blocked up, and a private door formed to a pew. This doorway has now been built up, and the window restored. The east window of this aisle was destroyed, but the architect has been able to restore it with portions of the original tracery which were found in the vicarage garden. The window at the east end of the chancel was a wretched three-light one, placed there about twenty-five years ago. This has been put at the north end of the north transept, and a beautiful five-light window substituted. The roofs of the nave, the chancel, and the south aisle are of fifteenth-century date, with moulded principals and purlins, and there were some old finely-carved bosses. Several moulded purlins have been removed, and a number of new oak bosses put to match the old. The north transept has been quite rebuilt, as the stone of which the walls was built was of such a worthless description that nothing short of rebuilding was bound to suffice. The roof, too, was in a most insecure condition, and had to be entirely replaced by a new one. Many other parts of the walls have been rebuilt, and several windows have been restored from fragments found in different parts of the parish. The font is a very handsome one of catacluse stone. On it are beautifully carved figures of the Twelve Apostles, and it stands on four pillars.

It was discovered about fifty years ago on the site of the ruins of Constantine Church, an ancient chapelry of this parish, and was erected in its present position. The ancient granite font belonging to the church was given by the vicar to Mr. Stephens, who held the livings of Little Petheric and Maker, and he transferred it to the church of the latter parish, where at present it remains."

The Rev. H. J. Simpson is preparing for publication, by subscription—demy quarto—*Illustrations of Bromholm Priory*, with plan, description, and ten views, including the cross for which the Priory was so famous.

Although so termed in a local newspaper, what has been done to the church porch of Castor (Northampton) does not merit the reproach of "restoration." It is rather intelligent reparation. The roof has been thoroughly repaired. The old principal ridge and purlin are retained and strengthened. New oak moulded plates, of same design as the old, were found to be necessary, and all new oak span 6 by 4 English, and the same covered with best red $1\frac{1}{2}$ deal boards, and covered on top with new lead 6 lb. to the foot, and the gutters with 7 lb. lead and proper down pipes conveying the water clear from the building. The outer walls have been thoroughly repaired and the plaster cleared off the inside (the porch was last repaired in 1733), thereby showing the old rude masonry. Parts of the remains of the old Norman porch were discovered by several heads belonging to the Corbel course of same style as in the south transept. These have been brought prominently forward, and will be found interesting to lovers of antiquity.

At the November meeting of "The Sette of Odd Volumes" held at Willis's Rooms, "his Oddship, Brother Venables," presiding, supported by Brother Welsh, the "Chapman to the Sette," Dr. Todhunter was installed a brother of the "Sette." Brother Brodie-Innes read a paper on "The Inter-Relation of Supernatural Phenomena," in which he held up the light of the ancient mystic philosophers to indicate the limitations of modern materialism.

It appears that owing to "restoration," Landaff Cathedral is now in a "dangerous state." We reproduce without further comment, the following from a local paper: "When this cathedral was restored, about fifteen years ago, the diocesan architect, the late Mr. John Pritchard, surmounted the south-west tower with a spire, the base of which is surrounded with large statues of Bishop Ollivant, St. Dubricius, and others connected with the cathedral. At that time Mr. Freeman, a great authority upon ecclesiastical architecture, not only denounced the spire as a

work not in keeping with the remainder of the structure, but also doubted, as the old tower was only surmounted with a pinnacle, whether the foundation would carry the spire. Ten years ago a rather alarming crack appeared in the tower and recently a second one, still more alarming. Mr. Seddon, architect, came down from London, and on examining the base of the tower, found that a settlement had taken place, and the apex of the tower, when tested, was found to be considerably out of the perpendicular. The work was placed in the hands of Mr. Clarke, builder, who has been two months at work trying to secure the tower from further depression, but several architects are of the opinion that the spire will have to be moved. It appears that a spring was left under the piers without a course being provided to carry off the water, and this has spread and destroyed the masonry. In the excavations recently made by Mr. Clarke, he has discovered, not only the foundation of an ancient British church, but has brought out six stone coffins or cists, the bodies in which were in a perfect state of preservation, and were removed from the stone coffins and interred in the cemetery. One stone coffin is perfect, and is undoubtedly the best specimen of the kind yet found in the Principality. There are others in the ground there, which will be unearthed as the work proceeds. The rebuilding of some of the piers at the western part of the cathedral Mr. Clarke considers absolutely necessary. The western end is now barricaded, and the congregation enter and leave by the north and south doors."

The first part of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's catalogue of the additions made to the collection of Arabic coins since the publication of the eight volumes of his *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, will probably be issued before Christmas. It contains descriptions of about 2,000 additions to the 3,000 coins catalogued in the original volumes, i.e., as well as a number of rare specimens, including those from the India Office Collection, now in the British Museum.

Surely our ecclesiastical and historical fabrics (which would be tenderly cherished in America) are often recklessly treated. It appears that the parish church of Millbrook—a beautiful edifice in the Perpendicular style, and one of the oldest in Bedfordshire—is in a state of wreck. A portion of the walls and the roof fell in a few days ago. The workmen were engaged in making the necessary excavations in the nave, for the purpose of introducing a new heating apparatus, when one of the massive octagon-shaped pillars separating the nave from the aisles gave way at the foundation, which simply consisted of sand. Four men were in the pit, but they observed the stones begin to move, and made a rush for the door. They

had, however, a very narrow escape, for they had only reached the porch when the pillar collapsed and fell into the hole where they had been working, bringing with it two of the arches and a large piece of the roof. A number of the old oaken pews were smashed, and the font, which was a very ancient relic, was broken into fragments; but three marble busts on pedestals close by were untouched.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society.—August 29.—Excursion to Thorpe, for the examination of Knavey Hole, a cave situated near the summit of a hill near that village. Descent was made by means of a ladder into a chamber 30 feet long, and here were gathered from among the *débris* numerous bones, from a human jawbone to a caudal vertebra of some small beast. The *débris* has been worked before, and found to contain remains of man, horse, wild boar, red deer, three species of birds, and numerous other animals. Professor Miall, of the Yorkshire College, has kindly assisted in the identification of several specimens previously collected. The chamber above-mentioned is from 7 feet to 10 feet in width, and nearly 40 feet high. Then follows an ascent of 18 feet (accomplished by a ladder), after which comes a narrow passage to a distance of 36 feet farther. In this passage is a perpendicular hole 12 feet deep; and this the more intrepid of the party descended. Another chamber is open to the explorer who penetrates this depth. The collection of curiosities from this cave was shown to the party at the Skipton Town Hall. The Rev. T. Jones, of Embsay, gave an account of the history and finds of the cave, whilst papers by Mr. G. R. Vane on "The Classification of the Palæozoic Polyzoa," and by Mr. R. M. Binnie, on "The Mesozoic Rocks of the North-East Coast of Ireland," were laid before the society, and will be duly published in its proceedings.

Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association.—September 12. Visit to Fountains Abbey.—Address by Mr. Micklethwait, F.R.S., on "The Cistercian Rule." There were two great periods in the history of monasticism. The first was at the breaking up of the Roman Empire, when Benedict first put in order Western monachism; and the second was when monasteries were set up all over Western Europe. These abbeys were not, like similar institutions of a later time, conducted under any fixed rule. Though generally the rule of St. Benedict was recognised, yet each abbot had full power and discretion in his own house, which was regulated and conducted on his own plan. Consequently, as time went on and the idea of monastic life slackened, the rules by which the houses were individually governed also slackened, and to such an extent that in England they found that institutions which were begun as

monasteries were, in the eleventh century, practically secular colleges, served by clergy who were often married. And so it happened that the title "minster," which in itself implied monastic life, had in our time come to be applied to churches which were generally secular. In the eleventh century a fresh impetus was given to monastic life by the beginning of the new civilization. At a time when many men were drawn to a monastic life as the only example of civilization, many new orders were founded, amongst these being the Cistercian, which, in a sense, was peculiarly English, because it was put into order by the third Abbot of Cîteaux, Stephen Harding, an Englishman. The order was introduced into England in the year 1129, and very quickly a large number of houses were founded; amongst these was Fountains Abbey. The Cistercians were in their way Puritans. Their services were of the plainest and simplest character; their buildings were bare and without elaborate ornamentation; and the fare of the members of the order was as plain as could be. No meat was allowed, and perfect silence was maintained in the house. As time went on, relaxation came to the new monastic life as to the old, and they found that the buildings which were prepared for the first rule of extreme asceticism were gradually modified to suit an easier, although still a rigorous life. By the aid of a large plan, Mr. Micklethwait went on to describe the various changes which had taken place in the buildings—both in the church and the domestic buildings—including the dividing of the infirmary and other sections into private rooms, the formation of separate houses for the abbots, and so on, concluding by tracing the system of drainage and water-supply.—Mr. St. John Hope conducted the company over the abbey, which he described in detail, advancing many new and interesting points with regard to received theories connected with various features of the buildings. In the course of his observations Mr. Hope sketched at some length the results of excavations already made under his superintendence at Fountains, and gave a brief outline of work of the same kind shortly to be resumed. Starting his explanatory tour in the church, Mr. Hope prefaced his remarks by sketching the foundation and early history of the abbey, after which, in the course of his general observations, he said it was not easy to discover the original disposition of the church. The popular notion was that when, in mediæval times, people built a church like that, they intended to have a grand view from end to end. That was an erroneous opinion. They built in that manner because it was the easiest way of building, and having got their erection, they proceeded to cut it up by screens. There was no documentary evidence to tell them how the house at Fountains was divided, but the original limits of the church were different to what they were now. He could not say whether the nave and the aisles showed their original setting out. The limits of the early choir were marked out by thin lines in the grass upon the platform near where he was standing. The Cistercians seemed to have generally completed the plan of a church before going on with the other portions of their structure. The choir originally, like most Cistercian choirs, was flanked on either side by three chapels projecting eastward from the transept. The old choir must have been very dark, because

there was just room for a narrow window on either side. There was very good and clear proof of walls dividing the church from end to end, and in some of the Cistercian abbeys they were marked even more strongly than at Fountains. The evidence as to the *conversi* stalls he was not quite sure about, but three of the pillars on either side had the plinths chopped down, and his theory was, that that had been done to fit the ranges of stalls. Another feature was that the aisles and the nave were cut by screens at intervals into a number of chapels. There was a chapel in almost every bay. The roofing of the aisles was peculiar. The ordinary way was to have a regular vaulting right along, but here an arch was thrown from the pillar to the wall, and then a pointed barrel vault from arch to arch. It was rather a weak form of building, and not at all English in feature. There were strong indications of an organ having been erected at the west end, because against the pier there were cuts for two very strong beams and other marks. Against the west end of the choir there was a solid stone screen, with a sort of music gallery on the top. Between two screens there was a space in which sick brethren used to sit on a bench. There was a great rood screen, with images of Our Lady and St. John. In the last few days he had excavated the pits underneath the upper rank of stalls, and the total number of earthenware pots found embedded in the walls had now reached the number of twenty-four. One authority advanced the theory that they were put there to augment the sound of the music; but on the south side there were no traces of pots, and it might be that the singing was better on that side than on the north. That the central tower collapsed at an early date was clear by the buttresses. The community must have first under-pinned the Norman work, and then, finding that to be of no use, had built the great buttress, which looked uglier now than when the stalls ran past it. The central tower had fallen certainly just before the suppression of the house. The great tower was one of the most imposing in the North of England. Near it was an altar to St. Michael the Archangel, with a bracket for the image of the Archangel. The Norman part of the choir was utterly gone, and even of the later work there were no remains whatever. What was commonly known as the altar platform, and was supposed to have been the high-altar, was nothing of the kind. The high-altar was a solid piece of masonry rising through the ground, and that was not it at all. Behind this platform, and underneath the perpendicular window, were the nine altars against the east wall. Each altar was divided by a solid stone wall, and subsequently the number was reduced from nine to one. The whole of these altars were screened off from one another and from the church, so as to leave a passage from end to end. Mr. Hope concluded by describing the formation and uses of the cloister, the chapter-house, the auditoria, the dormitories, the infirmary, and the cemetery, his explanations being followed with keen interest.

Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.—September 1. Excursion to Thornhill; visit to Lees Hall.—Lees Hall is a fair specimen of the timber-built house of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and bears evidence of having been the abode of a family

of some standing in times past. The exterior is partly of wood and plaster, cased for some distance by stone, except in the front of the house, which shows the ancient timbers to the ground level. Internally there are further evidences of luxuriance, denoting the substantial condition of its former occupants. Erected during the peaceful era, when the moat and other kinds of fortification had fallen into disuse, Lees Hall formerly contained a house-place on the ground floor, where the kitchen arrangements were provided for, and where, doubtless, the domestics lived and slept. As in most houses of substantial burghers, there was also the solar or great parlour used by the master and his family, and where they lived and slept. This apartment is upon the first floor, and remains almost intact. It is approached by a curious staircase. The ceiling is of ornate design in plaster work, wrought in panels and adorned with *fleurs-de-lis* and other devices, the cornices showing lions and other animals. The ceiling is, however, of a more recent period than the original structure. The walls of this room are of oak wainscoting, and the breast of the chimney-piece is most elaborately carved. Lees Hall (which is but an abbreviation of Thornhill-lees or leys) was the ancient abode of the Nettleton family, who were connected with several good Yorkshire families by marriage, and whose insignia are very significantly introduced into the design of the oak carving on the chimney front, namely, sprays of the common nettle springing from a tun or barrel.—Assembled in this roomy apartment, a few particulars of the hall and its former owners were given by Mr. T. T. Empsall, the president of the society, who stated that he believed Lees Hall was erected by Edward Nettleton, a native of Honley, about 1570. He was a "woollener," who, like many others engaged in a similar trade at that period, gathered gear copiously, and founded a family, branches of which, with the pleasant houses they occupied, survive to the present day. Religiously, he was of Puritan tendencies, judging by the language of his will, made in 1612. Thomas Nettleton, his eldest son and heir-apparent, was then married, and "estimated to the best of his means," and his other children were mostly settled. Thomas Nettleton, the son, continued to reside at Lees Hall until his decease. He married Mary, the daughter of Mrs. Bailey, of Honley, who married Nicholas Radcliffe, and he died at Lees Hall in 1645. By his will he desired to be buried in the "parson's queere" at Thornhill Church. He left two sons and six daughters, the former of whom he had already "estimated and settled" before his decease, while the daughters were also provided for. The eldest son succeeded to Lees Hall, and became Rector of Thornhill, and very rich, having apparently not only inherited his father's wealth, but added to it considerably. By his will, dated 1668, he bequeathed much of his property to his wife, and the remainder to his seven daughters. By his death the Nettleton family became extinct, and along with it that of Radcliffe, a once famous family, which included the celebrated Sir George Radcliffe, allied with the Earl of Strafford during the Commonwealth, and his son Thomas, who became Privy Councillor of Ireland under Charles II. In Heywood's *Nonconformist Register* it is stated that "Mr. Richard Thorp, of Hoptin, died at Lees Hall in 1715, having shortly before purchased it for £1,800."—

The exterior of the ancient edifice having been photographed by Mr. George Hepworth, of Brighouse, a member of the society, the party moved forward to the church of St. Michael at Thornhill. Thornhill is an ancient rectory, in the patronage of the Thornhills for many generations, and from them of the Saviles. Dr. Whitaker says this was one of the portions of the old Saxon parish of Dewsbury, and probably the first which was severed from it. Canon Brooke, the Rector of Thornhill, was in readiness to welcome the party, and under his guidance an exhaustive inspection was made of the interesting edifice. The church occupies an elevated position on the crown of the hill overlooking the Calder Valley, and commands extensive views. The history of the church was narrated by Canon Brooke, who also described many of its architectural features. The church comprises tower, nave with side-aisles, and chancel with aisles, the north aisle having been added as a chantry by one of the Saviles about the middle of the fifteenth century, and ever since it has been the burial-place of the Savile family of Thornhill. Half of the south aisle belongs to the lord of the manor and the other half to the rector, hence the term "parson's queere" mentioned in the Nettleton will. Somewhat singularly, the original builders followed the natural inclination of the ground, which slopes gently towards the east. Hence the chancel is lower than the nave and the nave lower than the tower, which stands upon the highest level. Almost all the various styles of recognised architecture may be traced in Thornhill Church, beginning with the Runic, Saxon, Norman, Early English, the late Decorated period, and the Perpendicular. The old church appears to have undergone reconstruction in 1777, since which period, until it was handed over to Mr. Street, the nave was of debased style, or rather no style in particular. By careful arrangement the structure has been rendered harmonious, and in many respects very fine in appearance. The church is rich in old stained glass and in the collection of Savile monuments. These features were minutely described by the rector. The great chancel window was placed there in 1499 by Robert Frost, the then rector and Chancellor to Prince Arthur. In the east window of the Savile Chantry is an inscription showing it to have been enlarged in 1493 by William Savile. Throughout the colours are exquisite, and the conception is wonderfully instructive. The monuments are equally fine, especially those of the Thornhills and Saviles. Several are of alabaster or marble, but one is of oak, and, according to Canon Brooke, is almost unique, there being only three others of its type known to exist. It is said to have been erected in the time of Henry VIII., and is in wonderful preservation. It bears the effigies of Sir John Savile and his two wives, and the following curious inscription:

Bonys emonge stonys lys ful steyl
Qwylyst the sawle wanderis were that God wyl.

In the "Richardson Correspondence" a copy of this inscription is given, having been sent by Dr. Richardson, of Bierley Hall, to his correspondent Hearn, the antiquary, who printed it in his *Notæ et Specilegium*. In the chancel floor are several elaborately worked tombstones, one of them in memory of the Rev. Joshua Witton, who was "put out" of the

living by the Act of Uniformity. He was born at Sowerby, and during the Civil Wars was chaplain to Lord Ferdinando Fairfax. He was a man blessed with a bountiful estate, was an able preacher, a great friend to poor clergymen, and had much influence in the neighbourhood. Calamy stated that when he heard of the Act of Uniformity, Witton and two other ministers rode to York "with their bags full of distinctions," hoping to keep their places; but, having read the Act, they returned with a resolution to quit all rather than conform to it. Mr. Witton retired to York, where he died in 1674.—Several ancient runic crosses shown to the visitors by Canon Brooke were most interesting, inasmuch as they establish the fact that a church or chapel must have existed at Thornhill probably 1,000 years ago or more. Several of these precious relics were discovered during the restoration of the church, another was found by Canon Brooke some time afterwards in a curious manner. While arranging the relics in a safe place in the vestry, the sexton remarked to the rector that a similarly marked stone was built into the wall in the belfry, and which he had tried to decipher many a time, but could not. Proceeding at once to the tower, with lantern and taper, sure enough the stone was there, its basket-work ornamentation standing out clear and distinct in the flickering light. The massive stone had been built into the tower as a corner-stone some time between the years 1450 and 1600. After a day's labour it was displaced, and by far the finest fragment of a runic cross found at Thornhill was removed to its present locality in the vestry. The runes are so distinct that little difficulty was experienced in arriving at a literal rendering, as follows :

† Igilsuith reared
After Berhtsuith
Beacon at Barrow
Pray for the soul.

As explained by Canon Brooke, this inscription contains the earliest reference to the word "rear" at present known. The stone and inscription have since formed the subject of an interesting paper by Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, contributed to the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. The party also visited the site of the ancient abode of the Saviles, situate in the rectory grounds, where an interesting paper on the subject was read by Mr. Frank Peel, of Heckmondwike. Very little remains of the residence, which was situate on an enclosure of about half an acre of ground, surrounded by a moat, which still contains water. During the Civil Wars the building was besieged by Colonel Charles Fairfax, in charge of the Parliamentarian forces, the Royalist commander being Captain Paulden. The result of the combat was its almost complete destruction, but whether by the cannon of the besiegers, or fire from within, has never been clearly ascertained. Sir John Savile, just created a peer, is the Lord of the Manor of Thornhill.

British Archaeological Association.—August 27 to September 4.—Meeting at Glasgow.—President, the Marquis of Bute.—The proceedings opened with a reception by the Lord Provost, Sir James King, Bart., in the Council Chambers, where the leading archaeologists and representatives of the city assembled to hear the address of welcome, which was replied to

by Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., Treasurer of the Association. The party then proceeded to Langside, in the suburbs. Here, on May 13, 1568, was fought the celebrated, and in many respects memorable, battle which decided the fortunes of Mary Queen of Scots. Proceeding to the flagstaff mound now in the Queen's Park, the party assembled around Mr. A. M. Scott, who narrated the story of the battle from the time of the escape of the unfortunate Queen from Lochleven Castle on May 2 to the day of the defeat on the ground before them. The mound commands an extended panorama of Glasgow in the distance, and of many a mile of adjacent country. From this standpoint Mr. Scott pointed out the course of the Queen's route from Hamilton along the road to Paisley on the south side of the river, and where her army halted on finding the passage of the road disputed by the forces of the Regent Murray. Various other spots where incidents of the encounter took place were also in sight, including the position of the Queen and her immediate guard. The battle was decided in the short space of three-quarters of an hour. Queen's Park contains a goodly portion of the site of the battle within its ample area. It contains also a curious prehistoric earthwork on Camp Hill, which was also inspected by the party. It is of circular form, the enclosure being an earthen rampart of moderate height, the spot commanding a prospect of considerable extent and great beauty. Some burnt wheat was found here in an excavation made to a depth of 10 or 12 feet, but no other objects appear to have been found. Mr. Scott pointed out that the camp was one of several in the locality, and their use afterwards by the Romans was more than probable in relation to the termination of the Antonine Wall not far off on the opposite bank of the Clyde, close to Dumbarton.—The party then proceeded to the village of Langside, in the vicinity, to witness a ceremony which will always be remembered in relation to the present Congress. This was for its members to take part in the formal handing over to its custodians of the Memorial of the battle, which is now completed. The monument consists of a tall circular column, covered with the Scottish thistle arranged in spiral form as a diaper around the shaft. The capital is foliated, and above it is a boldly-carved Scottish lion. The base is a solid square, arranged in masonry blocks having well-designed eagles at the four extremities. The work, which is in the Grecian style, very freely treated, is artistic and good.—Returning to the city, the members assembled in the choir of the cathedral. Here Mr. J. Honeyman, president to the Glasgow Archaeological Society, read a paper on the history and architecture of the edifice. In the course of an elaborate essay he showed that although the spot where St. Kentigern (or Mungo, as he is also called) worshipped and was buried was still known and venerated, there is not a fragment of any building *in situ* of older date than about 1180; this—a small piece of carved work—is at the south-west corner of the present crypt; and of the twelfth-century church, of which this is the only relic, nothing more is known. The bases and other details of the architecture of the existing church indicate in the main a thirteenth-century work, the crypt and choir of which owe their origin to a period not before 1240, the nave being

finished about forty or fifty years later. In addition to this, another period of the church shows work of 1425-1435 in the chapter house and of 1480 in other parts. The later Scotch style shown in the work of the crypt, which was carried out by Bishop Blackadder in the sixteenth century, is as unlike English work of the same period as can be imagined; at first sight, indeed, it looks like that called Early English. The spire is the most modern portion. Mr. Honeyman classified the parts as follows: 1. Portion of a building, *circa* 1170-1190; 2. Part of a nave, 1200-1220; 3. Crypt and choir, 1240-1280; 4. Upper part of nave, 1270-1300; 5. Chapter-house, *circa* 1425; 6. Bishop Lauder's tower, 1425; 7. South crypt, 1500; 8. Spire, considerably later. The reader then described the details of the plans and mouldings; and the party passed through the crypt, chapter-house or sacristy, and triforium, and inspected the three monuments of early date which the cathedral possesses, two large stone coffins, one of which bears a very elegantly designed floreated cross on the lid, of the early part of the thirteenth century, and the sole remaining effigy of Bishop Wishart, of later date. Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., hon. secretary, followed Mr. Honeyman, and drew attention to the serious cracks visible in the spandrels of the tower arches, which he finds running up through the modern facing to the roof, indicating the dangerous condition of the spire. Mr. Brock rejected the application of the popular term Lady chapel by the previous speaker to what is really a retro-choir, and hardly capable of use as a Lady chapel on account of structural peculiarities. Mr. Honeyman accepted this distinction of terms.

August 28.—Excursions to Bothwell and Craignethan Castles.—The remains of Bothwell Castle stand in a fine position on high ground above the Clyde, which winds along at their base, the steep banks being covered with foliage and underwood. On assembling in the courtyard, Mr. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Scot., one of the hon. local secretaries, read a paper. The founder, he said, was probably one of the family of Oliphant, one of whom, who was Justiciar of Lothian, died in 1242, when the barony passed to the family of Moray by marriage, and it belonged to Sir W. Moray, who died in 1300 while a prisoner in England. It was held for a time for the English, and at the extreme end of the thirteenth century it submitted to the Scotch after being besieged for thirteen months, the surrender being only occasioned by want of provisions. Edward I. in 1301 invested the Castle with an overwhelming force, and it had to surrender, after which it was held for the English, alternately by Aylmer de Valence and by Walter de Fitz-Gilbert. After the total defeat of the English on the field of Bannockburn, the walls afforded a refuge to the Earl of Hereford and a small detachment, but the Castle surrendered soon afterwards to Sir Edward Bruce. Once again, after the Battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, the English became the possessors, and Edward III. stayed here for about four weeks in 1335. The Earl of Moray retook the Castle in 1337, when it was dismantled, since which time it has remained in Scottish hands. The Earl of Douglas (Sir Archibald the Grim) married Johanna of Moray in 1362, since which time the property has passed by

descent to the present owner. Mr. Loftus Brock described the architectural features of the castle, which he said was one of the oldest and one of the most important in Scotland. The masonry is remarkably well cut and evenly jointed, showing that, although there are but few earlier fabrics, yet at the period of its erection the craftsmen were well skilled, as if by practice elsewhere. All the towers project beyond the line of the curtain walls, thereby affording greater surface for attack, while the walls have the benefit of support, in a military sense, from the towers. The plan of the Castle, as it stood until a few weeks ago, consisted of a parallelogram, whose axis was east and west, the west end being occupied by an enormous tower, circular outside, octagonal within, the western portions having been long since demolished, and the breach built up across the portion of the circular face thus cut off. The north wall is obviously more modern than the older portions, which are of a date early in the thirteenth century, the donjon tower singularly resembling that of Pembroke Castle in outward appearance. There has been a beautiful chapel with a groined roof at the eastern extremity of the courtyard, and near to it a capacious banqueting hall, both being on the first-floor level, the later portions of the building being most probably the work of Douglas the Grim. Within the last few weeks considerable light has been thrown upon the early form of the Castle by extensive excavations made by order of the Earl of Home. The effect of these has been to show that the building formerly was of double its present extent, and that it was of pentagonal form, the sides being irregular in length. The position of the original entrance has been found, together with portions of a paved causeway leading up to it. This entrance was by a narrow passage flanked by two circular towers. Traces of a Sallyport have also been uncovered, and beside one of the walls the skeleton of a man of great height was found buried, the feet being to the east and the head to the west. The walls laid bare by the excavations are of beautiful masonry, regularly coursed and very truly cut, as perfect, as far as they remain, as when erected in the thirteenth century. Mr. W. J. Easton led the party around the excavations and described them. Many stone balls have been found, and the evidences of the destructive forces at work were but too apparent in the ruined condition of the massive walls laid bare, although their state shows that all the fallen upper part has been removed by hand.—The party next proceeded to the parish church, where Mr. Brock described the features of the remarkable stone-vaulted chancel, which, with its small vestry of similar workmanship, appears to have formed the whole of the Collegiate Church founded by the Grim Earl about 1398. The vault is pointed and continuous, with ribs of stone laid on, roofed outside with curved ridge and furrow, also of stone. There is much of what has been called French influence in the ornamentation, the arches of the doorways being either Burgundian in form, or semicircular. The existence of a sculptured slab within the church points to an earlier fabric on the spot.—After luncheon the party proceeded to the station called Tillietudlem, after the name invented by Sir Walter Scott, under which he has so graphically described the Castle of Craignethan, close at hand. Coal-pits and other signs of the altering features of the

landscape are visible from the station; but there is nothing whatever visible of the Castle, although it occupies a lofty position at the edge of a steep bank far above the level of the Water of Nethan. The Castle consists of a square donjon keep, of a form common in Scotland, although its internal arrangements have the peculiarity of a divisional wall. It is of late date. There are imitation corbellings around the summit, for ornament and not for defence, and there is a small corbelled bartizan at each angle. Attached to the keep is a still later erection, consisting of a walled courtyard with square towers at the angles, and an entrance, the walls being pierced with openings for musketry or small cannon at a low level. A still later house, partially inhabited, built on the walls, is dated 1665. The scene is one of remarkable beauty, the foliage being tangled and of most varied form, while the rocky banks of the streamlet help to impart a charm to the lovely spot.—The party returned to Glasgow, and in the evening the president delivered his inaugural address. Founding his classification of the whole cycle of Scottish antiquities for the most part upon those examples which the party had seen or were about to see, the president pointed out that just as tastes of archæologists, as of other persons, differ, so the somewhat fragmentary and heterogeneous nature of the excursions which had been proposed upon the occasion of the first visit of the Association to Scotland might, perhaps, after all leave a more truthful impression on the mind by giving some idea of the vastness and the variety of the remains than would have been the case had a more strictly scientific selection left the impression that there were no monuments save those characteristic of one district, one epoch, or one class. The archæology of Scotland appears to fall into three periods: the early, the mediæval, and the modern. The first, or early period, ends with the death of Macbeth, 1037; the second, or mediæval, lasted until the hapless defeat of Mary at Langside, 1568; and the modern from that time to the present day. In the course of this address the important antiquities of the kingdom were touched upon in order as they fall into the divisions of his lordship's classification. With regard to the great Dominican Church at Stirling, in which both James VI. and Mary had been crowned, the slow process of restoration was referred to, and a criticism upon the probable future manipulation of the interior added. He implored the authorities of Stirling to be careful how they tampered with the wall across their chancel. As for the vulgar delusion that all the ruined state of ecclesiastical buildings is to be ascribed to the Reformation, that was not so, but the sins of other people were often credited to the Reformers. The middle period is most fruitful in antiquities; in it stand forth the names of Wallace and Bruce. To this period belongs the development of the social systems, the burghs, the universities, and so forth. He hoped a brighter day was dawning for historical and artistic Scotland, and a new spirit of culture arising. As a help in this direction he hailed the meeting in Scotland of such bodies as the British Archæological Association, and he ventured to hope that this would not be the last visit, for Scotland possesses district after district not less interesting in themselves—except as regards parish churches—than the provincial districts of England.

August 29.—Visit to Torwoodhead Castle, a ruined Scottish mansion of late date. After a short inspection under the guidance of Mr. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A., Scot., the party proceeded through the adjacent woods to the elevated ground on which stands a monument of antiquity of the greatest possible interest to the visitors, since it is the only example of a class of monuments peculiar to Scotland included in the present year's programme. We refer to the prehistoric Broch at Tapock. It stands on the highest point of the hill, commanding a magnificent panorama of the adjacent country, over the field of Bannockburn, and far away to the left of Stirling. Here Mr. Dalrymple Duncan read a paper on the historical and architectural aspects of Scottish brochs, pointing out that they constitute a type of antiquities absolutely peculiar to Scotland. The broch is, in its generic character, a hollow circular tower of dry masonry from 40 feet to 70 feet diameter, having in the thickness of the walls a series of chambers and passages lighted by windows looking into the central area, the only outside aperture being a doorway with slightly inclined sides and square headed. The wall varies from 9 feet to 20 feet thick. They are found mostly to the north of the Caledonian Valley, and, according to Dr. Joseph Anderson's list, number about 370 examples (*viz.*, in Caithness, 79; Shetland, 75; Orkney, 70; Sutherland, 60; Ross-shire, 38; Inverness-shire, 47). The Celtic rearsers of these remarkable structures belong, it is believed, to the prehistoric iron age. Colonel Joseph Dundas excavated Tapock in 1864, and his account formed the basis of Mr. Duncan's notice.—Descending through the tangled bracken and fern of the forest, the carriages were resumed, and a visit was paid to the site of the Battle of Bannockburn, the party alighting at the Bore Stone, now carefully covered over with iron gratings to preserve it from injury. It was here that the standard of Robert Bruce was erected on the ever-memorable 24th of June, 1314. The grand view, extending to the Links of Forth, Stirling Castle, high on its craggy site, backed up by the hills beyond it, was seen to great advantage in the sunlight which had succeeded the storm. The boggy ground around the little stream, the Bannock, which proved to be so fatal to the English, is now drained and turned to agricultural uses; while the village of Bannockburn and the adjacent one of St. Ninians, occupied by Prince Charles Edward in 1746, have grown almost one to another, and the modern houses extend nearly on to Stirling. Newhouse, where the Earl of Lennox, Regent of Scotland, was killed in 1571, is another village which has also undergone great increase in recent years.—On arrival at Stirling, Mr. W. B. Cook read a paper on the town and the Castle. Under his guidance the principal of the many old edifices of the town were examined, the Church of the Greyfriars being the first at which a halt was made. This church is still divided into two compartments, known as the East and West Churches, used by different congregations, the intended renovation of the fabric and the removal of the modern divisions being (unfortunately), for the time, abandoned. Stirling Church offers many objects for study, and it is essentially Scottish in all its features. It has a semi-octagonal apse; the windows are tall, and filled in with tracings that would, so far as their design goes, be considered of fourteenth-century date were they met with across the Border; here

they are of fifteenth-century date. The apse is roofed externally with stone slabs, being first brought to a square above the parapets. The aisles are lofty, as is the whole of the choir, while the nave is of much less elevation. In the latter, solid Norman-like circular piers support pointed arches and a low clerestory, the aisles having traceried windows of large size. Their date corresponds with that of the circular piers, and is of the fifteenth century. The western tower is very characteristic of Scotland, and it is of late date, erected in stages, with some curious lines of continuous corbelling. Mar's Work, a ruin to the east of the church, erected out of fragments of Cambuskenneth Abbey, is a curious adaptation of some of the ornamental stonework of the church, worked into the walls in odd fashion. Argyle's Lodging is a very fine mansion of the seventeenth century, built by Sir Wm. Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, but now used as a barrack. The time at the disposal of the party was not at all sufficient to do justice to the many buildings of interest which form Stirling Castle, and nothing more was done than for their principal features to be pointed out. The fine old Hall, the Parliament House, is now sadly disfigured by modern barbarisms, as is also the Chapel Royal, a late building, erected by James VI. in 1594, instead of a much more ancient fabric. It deserves a better fate than to have been turned, first into an armoury, and now, in fact, into a receptacle for stores. The Palace itself is sadly neglected and uncared for; many vulgar insertions have been made, the carved cornices cut through for windows, and no signs of care are visible from one end to another of this remarkable fabric. The grand view from the battlements was seen to great advantage. Ever and anon a blaze of sunlight, followed by flickering shadow, would chase one another over the lofty crags far off beyond the town, or a bright rainbow would appear through the dark clouds in the distance. The Tower of Cambuskenneth Abbey was seen in the meadows at the foot of Stirling Hill, but it was impossible to visit it.—The evening meeting was divided, to the disappointment of some who had wished to hear all the lectures, into two sections to enable four important papers to be read. Archbishop Eyre read a paper "On the See of Glasgow" from the time of St. Ninian. He was followed by Mr. Allan Wyon, chief engraver of her Majesty's seals, "On the Great Seals of Scotland." Mr. Wyon, whose recent work on the *Great Seals of England* will be remembered, exhibited, in illustration of his paper, a collection of casts of Scottish royal seals, which he had gathered up with much assiduity from the British Museum, Oxford, Durham, and elsewhere. If Mr. Wyon can see his way to the production of a sister volume of Scottish seals in continuation of his last work he will confer a distinct gain on archaeology.—In the second room Professor Veitch gave a paper "On Merlin and the Merlinian Poems," in which he demonstrated the existence of three Merlins; the Merlin of Malory and Lord Tennyson being, it is almost needless to say, an inferior and entirely different personage from the Merlin with whose name the poems are associated. To him succeeded Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce "On the Wall of Antoninus." This differs from that of Hadrian in being a rampart of earth and not of stone. The meeting, which heartily appreciated these papers, broke up at a very advanced hour.

August 30.—A party of nearly two hundred members went on board the *Columba* at Broomielaw and Greenock for Rothesay, where they examined the castle, under the guidance of the Rev. J. K. Hewison, who pointed out that the interior is the oldest part, and detailed the history of the successive families by whom it was held.—Mr. Brock described the architectural features, and fixed the date of the masonry of the inner face of the wall of the court at about the middle of the twelfth century. A portion of one of the piles of oak of which the original drawbridge was constructed was exhibited to show the traces of the fire by which they had been burnt down to the edge of the water in the moat.—The church was then examined. This stands on the site of the original cathedral of the isle. A chapel here is thought to be a portion of the old church; and part of a sculptured cross in the churchyard, covered with animal figures and other emblems, belongs to the oldest period of its history.—After a hearty reception at Mount Stewart by the president, the drive was resumed to the ancient chapel of St. Blane, passing by the standing stones of Lubas *en route*. Mr. Hewison also described the features of interest at St. Blane's. Here tradition points to a tomb near the wall as being that of the saint, but the bones which still repose in the tomb have been declared to be those of a young woman. As early as the seventh century a complete monastic establishment existed here. Around the chapel there stand several finely-sculptured Celtic stones which have been figured in works on that class of archaeology. The adjacent vitrified fort of Dunagoil was set down on the programme for visitation, but only a very small number of the party reached the site, and the promised description on the spot was deferred to a future occasion and for a larger audience. Owing to the length of the excursion, there was no evening meeting, and the journey home was made by special steamer from Kilchattan Bay to Wemyss Bay and thence by train to Glasgow, which was not reached till a late hour.

August 31.—Visit to the ancient abbey of Paisley. Mr. Brock described the architectural features of this Cluniac establishment, which was founded by Walter Fitzalan in 1163, and much of the masonry is about that period; the latter additions were gradually carried out until the middle of the fifteenth century. Mr. Ewan Christian pointed out the marks of fire on the east end of the choir walls. St. Mirran's Chapel was also inspected and described; and several persons explored the subterranean passage, with walls made of worked stone, pointed roof, and ribs of stone at intervals of two feet, which leads from the abbey towards the river.—In the afternoon the party was received by the Local Reception Committee in the Royal Bungalow in the Exhibition grounds, and the antiquarian treasures in the Hunterian Museum were pointed out by Professor Young and Professor Ferguson.—Later in the day the Lord Provost received the party on the steps of the "Bishop's Castle," and the collection of antiquities, relics of Queen Mary, and other Scottish historical objects, proved a great source of attraction. The portraits of the Queen of Scots, original historical papers, weapons, and specimens of ancient Scottish art were particularly admired and discussed.—In the evening three papers were read. The first was by Mr. Morgan, entitled "Notes on

Scottish History." This was preceded by some remarks by the president on the crypt of the cathedral, and on the advisability of considering the present position of the pulpit, which his lordship suggested would be better in the nave than in the chancel of the edifice, whenever the projected rearrangement of the interior is carried out. The second paper, by Professor Hayter Lewis, discussed the "Masons' Marks of Scotland as compared with English and Foreign Examples." Professor Hayter Lewis said that Scotland possessed a larger number of such marks than could be shown down South. They were found cut on the stonework of nearly every mediæval building of importance, and on very many buildings of greater antiquity. Such marks were now used as much as they ever were, but they were hidden. Proceeding, he said that the first point was to ascertain whether they were hereditary, descending from father to son, with such slight alterations as might serve to distinguish them from each other. Certainly, in many cases it was not so. On the other hand, there were cases in which the same marks were used at the present day by members of distinctly the same family, there being some slight differences for the sake of identification. The next point was—was there any distinct mark which would serve to distinguish the members of any particular lodge or company? and he might say shortly that he could see no sign which would thus define a separate group of workmen—such a sign, for example, as that of the crown above the hammer, so well known on Scottish tombstones. Yet there were certain cases in which one would expect to find them if, as was generally supposed, the companies were under clerical guidance. The only method left by which one could trace the work and the progress of any particular lodge or fraternity from one building to another, or from one date to another, so as to ascertain the progress of an art by the consecutive history of two or more buildings, was by taking a group of separate but well-ascertained marks in one of them and tracing out the same marks, if possible, in another. All evidence seemed to point to there having been bands of skilled workmen attached to great monasteries, cathedrals, and, in later times, large cities, whose example and training influenced the districts around. When works of great magnitude were in hand, these bands were, no doubt, increased; and when the works ceased, they were lessened in number, the members dispersing here and there, and leaving their marks in various places, much as masons now did at the finish of some great work. But he found no distinct trace of the general employment of large migratory bands of masons going from place to place as a guild or brotherhood. As to whether they could find any distinct change between the marks of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the great change took place in the tooling and the style generally, he felt bound to say that he could not see any distinct or general sign of change. Generally it was found that the same forms which were used in early times were continued in the later, though they were then made more ornate. Putting together the information which they had, they found that certain definite methods of marking the general surface of the stones characterized the masonry of the style which was called Norman; that in the thir-

teenth century there was introduced with the Early Pointed style an entirely different method of finishing the surface, and that the source of this method was apparent from the East; that masons' marks did not appear to have been commonly used in Europe until late in the twelfth century, and that some of the most prominent of those marks appeared to have been used continuously from very early times in Eastern countries.—The proceedings of the evening were brought to a close by a paper from Dr. Phené, F.S.A., on "Further Discoveries of Mounds in the Forms of Animals." Taking up the subject from a former paper descriptive of such mounds in North America, the lecturer passed in review a large number of similar formations in the shape of a serpent, the head being conspicuously marked, and there being certain furrows on the back containing charcoal, burnt bones, and other marks of the presence of man.

September 1.—The first visit was to the extensive Roman camp at Ardoch. This is said to be one of the best preserved remains of the Roman occupation of Britain, and is conjectured to have been the site of an early native camp, afterwards taken possession of by the Romans, and adapted by them to their military requirements. Here Professor Young undertook the leadership of the visitors, and in the course of his remarks referred to the existence of many so-called Roman works throughout the district, which, upon strict investigation, proved to be nothing but natural formations of sand and gravel. He rejected the statement which had been often made that 25,000 men could be accommodated within the enclosures. There was a general desire on the part of the members that some excavations should be carried out in promising spots and the results communicated hereafter to the association.—The party were then conveyed to Doune Castle, on the Teith, and Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan read a concise paper in the courtyard. As is the case with other castles visited during the Congress, the exact period of its erection cannot be very accurately ascertained. Tradition, however, ascribes it to the eleventh century, and, without proof, assigns it as the principal seat of the old Earls of Menteith. Not much is known of the Menteith Stewarts, but the founder of the race was Walter, a younger brother of Alexander, fourth High Steward, who, marrying a daughter of Maurice, Earl of Menteith, succeeded to the earldom in right of his wife. After tracing the descent of the family and the fortunes of the holders of the castle, a description was given by Mr. Duncan of the buildings, which are now the subject of a very careful preservative treatment by the owner, the Earl of Moray.—The next halt was at Dunblane Cathedral, where the fine architectural details and the ecclesiastical history of the See formed the groundwork of a paper by the Rev. A. Ritchie. The cathedral stands, according to Professor Story, on the site of a Culdee settlement, and thus forms an interesting link between the earliest form of religion in Scotland and that which obtains in the present day. Professor Story alluded to a projected restoration about to be carried out by Dr. Anderson, but the details of this proceeding were not defined. Dr. Anderson admitted that the proposal to restore the cathedral has met with a great deal of opposition from various quarters, but it will be under the care of the "Board of Manufacturers," a body

having the care of all national works of art in Scotland. Dr. Anderson then took the party round the edifice, and pointed out the peculiarities of the construction and the evidences of the oldest works. The square tower of Norman style was especially admired. There was no intention of holding any evening meeting on this day on account of the lateness of the return and the length of the programme.

September 3.—The proceedings began with a walk from Bonnybridge Station, near Falkirk, to the Elf Hill, where a paper was read by Dr. Russell on the importance of the site in ancient days as a watch-tower or fort. Progress on foot through the wood of Achabuth was then made along, or beside, the Roman wall, which was formed about A.D. 140 by Lollius Urbicus, to Rough Castle, one of the most important forts on the line of this wall, which stretched across the island from sea to sea. As far as is known, no Roman antiquities have been found on Elf Hill or on the wall to Rough Castle, but an altar of freestone was discovered in a field to the south of the castle in 1843, bearing an inscription of its dedication to victory by the sixth cohort of the Nervian auxiliaries. An imperfect quern or millstone, made of a stone not found in the district, was here exhibited to the party, some of them also inspected a clearing showing the stone facings on either side of the wall, about fifteen feet thick, and a conduit or drain running throughout the width. Falkirk Church, the next halting-place, only detained the party a very short time. Haste was then made to Linlithgow Palace—a most interesting building with its numerous historical associations—and St. Michael's Church.—At the evening meeting the following papers were read, the chair being occupied by Mr. Thomas Blashill, Superintending Architect to the Metropolitan Board of Works: 1. "Notes on a Diary by one of the suite of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., under date of 1679, on the journey from London to Scotland," by Mr. Geo. R. Wright, F.S.A. This paper was interesting in showing that a journey which can now be accomplished in nine hours then took royalty, with all the facilities of the time at command, as many days. 2. "The Classification and Geographical Distribution of early Christian inscribed Stones in Scotland," by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Scot. In the author's absence his paper was read by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., one of the honorary secretaries. 3. "The Characteristics of Ancient Scottish Architecture," by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A.

September 4.—The last day of the congress was devoted to a visit to the Benedictine Abbey of Dunfermline, which was likened by some of the party to "a little Durham," and the programme included inspection of Malcolm Canmore's Tower, Queen Margaret's Cave, the palace, and the grave of Robert the Bruce in the parish church.—The closing meeting in the Corporation Galleries, which were kindly placed at the disposition of the congress, included papers by Professor Ferguson, LL.D., on the "Literature of Witchcraft in Scotland," and on a "Book of Medical and Magical Receipts of the Seventeenth Century," and by Mr. W. G. Black, on the "Derivation of the name 'Glasgow.'" Mr. W. de G. Birch contributed a paper on "The Materials for the Scoti-Monasticon," in which he sketched out the sources of the whole bibliography, both of printed

books and manuscripts, which must be taken into account by those who essay the task of preparing a general Scottish monastic history on the lines of the new "*Monasticon Anglicanum*." Mr. Birch exhibited a few photographs of early Scottish monastic charters from the British Museum collections, and pointed out the occurrence of the name "Glesgy," in one of the beginning of the twelfth century, as being probably the first appearance of this name of the city in original records. This closing meeting was appropriately presided over by Lord Bute.—In the evening, at a *conversazione* given by the Lord Provost and the magistrates, the members met the Library Association, and Mr. Wyon's unique collection of great seals of Scotland attracted considerable attention.



Correspondence.

DISCOVERY OF REMAINS OF AN ANCIENT CHURCH AT GARSTON.

The church at Garston, Lancashire, was a plain but very substantial structure of red sandstone, rebuilt in 1715 by Edward Norris, of Speke Hall, a very fine timber house standing about three miles to the south of Garston. This church, of 1715, which was a plain parallelogram, and of small size, has recently been taken down, and its materials used to construct a wall to the new churchyard. Below the foundations were found numerous stones belonging to an earlier and much larger building. These consisted of many pieces of octagonal columns and responds; capitals of pillars of two patterns, evidently from nave and chancel arcades; fragments of chancel archpiers, very richly and elaborately panelled, with late Perpendicular tracery, beautifully wrought in white freestone; many pieces of moulded copings, and of a crenulated parapet; window-mullions, and tracery, some being evidently belfry windows from a tower; gargoyles and voussoirs of arches, and other work. All these indicate a building of some importance, the details being all large and bold. The date of nearly all these fragments appears to be late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. From the number of capitals found, the church cannot have had less than three bays in the nave, and two in the chancel. Some of the richer work of fine stone may not improbably have formed part of a private chapel attached to the church, and judging from its style, it would correspond with the date of the Norris who fought at Flodden, and afterwards took part in the English invasion of Scotland, whence he brought from Holyrood House a magnificent piece of Renaissance panelling, which he set up in his hall at Speke, where it still exists.

It is much to be regretted that the greater part of these interesting remains were cut up to build the churchyard wall, in spite of many protests made against such vandalism. The indifference to antiquarian pursuits which is characteristic of Liverpool and its neighbourhood is more to blame for this than the contractor into whose hands these relics fell; he would willingly have carried out any plan put forward for their preservation. The few more interesting ones

that have been kept would, but for my own intervention, have been destroyed like the rest.

E. W. Cox.

* * We understand that almost sufficient evidence exists to restore the ancient church from the stones found. Our correspondent has made careful measurements and sections of all the stones found.—Ed.

THE LATIN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY PUBLISHED AT HEREFORD, 1517.

[*Ante*, p. 25.]

My attention has been directed to a paragraph in your "Notes on Early British Typography" concerning a book formerly belonging to me. It is a Latin-English Dictionary entitled "[H]ortus Vocabulorum," 1517, and your correspondent describes it as an "alleged Hereford impression." I beg that your correspondent will have the goodness to say by whom has it been so "alleged." He has never even seen the book, but concludes with his judicial verdict, "It seems to be the Rouen book with Hereford in the colophon." Perhaps he will tell us what book he means by "the Rouen book," his intimate acquaintance with which he appears to be not unwilling that we shall take for granted.

The book has always been "alleged" to be exactly what it actually is, and what is plain upon the face of it, printed by a printer at Rouen, at the cost of John Gachet, a dealer in books dwelling—"commorans"—at Hereford. So it is set forth on the title-page, so it was set forth by me when, 28 years ago, I first made the public acquainted with it. Most of your readers, no doubt, know that this course of that trade was not unusual in that age. Would your correspondent miscall a Salisbury or York or Hereford Missal or Breviary a "Rouen" or a "Paris book," because, as was in most cases, it had been in like manner printed in either of those foreign cities?

This book, no longer mine, is a Latin Dictionary with the explanations of all the words in *English*. Is this a "Rouen book"? No more so than the Hereford Missal, which was also printed at Rouen in 1502, should be so called. Your correspondent is again wrong in "alleging" "with Hereford in the colophon." The colophon has nothing about Hereford, but the final page at the back of the colophon is occupied by a large woodcut of St. George, similar to one sometimes used in the same page by English printers—Peter Treveris, of Southwark, for example. It is the title-page which reads "Johannis Gachet Herfordensis commoranti."

No doubt this and some other elementary books were intended to make the choir-boys of our cathedrals able to understand the services which they sung, and this may account for their coming through the same course of trade. When I first brought the book into notice, I had convinced myself that it was totally unknown and nondescript, and my long knowledge of it has confirmed my conviction that it is perfectly unique. But so are some other books. This, however, presents a special and notable riddle which has never been solved. Ames (p. 1,437) records the York Missal, as printed at the expense of John Gachet, "mercatoris librarii," on February 5, 1516, he then "commorans" near the Cathedral at York; also as still living there, and having a York Breviary printed

at Paris at his expense in 1526. How, then, is it to be accounted for that, at the intermediate date of 1517, when he published this Latin-English Dictionary, he was then "commorans" at so far distant a place as Hereford? It will be remembered, also, that both York and Hereford were centres of ritual usages. I believe that this and other books for understanding the service-books, which came to me with it, must have originally belonged to Kimmer Abbey, Merionethshire.

THOMAS KERSLAKE.

Wynfrid, Clevedon.

* * We have called Mr. Carew Hazlitt's attention to the above letter, and he informs us that Mr. Kerslake misapprehends the purport of the words "alleged Hereford impression." He did not for a moment impute any such allegation to Mr. Kerslake, but intended to signify the apparent desire of this contemporary Hereford bookseller to make the *Ortus*, not [H]ortus, vocabulorum (as Mr. Kerslake puts it), pass for a volume of local execution. Mr. Hazlitt adds: "There is a great deal to be said by us all, even at this time of day, about these foreign librarii, who settled in England, or established agencies not only in the provinces, but in London. I do not think that Gachet himself lived at Hereford at all. But my chief wish was to try and dismiss from your correspondent's mind the notion that the obnoxious word "alleged" referred to him, or that I had the slightest *animus* in the matter."—Ed.

THE EVIDENCES OF ROMAN WORK IN CHESTER WALLS.

[*Ante*, xvii. 41, 94, 126, 137, 242; xviii. 86, 182.]

Mr. Roach Smith, in his reply to my letter on the masonry of Chester walls, admits all that can be desired of my argument, which went to show that in the existing walls no construction unequivocally and distinctively Roman has been found. Much masonry that might by some possibility be Roman could equally belong to any other age. The foundations of the south wall found near St. Michael's Church are distinctly Roman, but no similar work exists in the present walls, which do not now run on this foundation. I cannot quarrel with Mr. Roach Smith, or Sir James Picton, or Mr. Loftus Brock, because they deem the presence of fragments of other Roman buildings and tombs built into the wall evidence enough to claim the structure of the walls to be also Roman. I have not formed my view of the insufficiency of the evidence upon the opinions of others, but upon very careful and minute examination of every part of the walls. In this, I think, I may claim some advantage. Sir James Picton's very able pamphlet contains numerous inaccuracies as to facts, as well as fallacious conclusions. He has, in a great measure, been obliged to take his data at second-hand, and not always from exact and unprejudiced sources. Some of the most instructive excavations were seen by very few, and were reclosed very soon. Mr. Roach Smith is mistaken in supposing that I adopt the late Mr. Thompson Watkins' views. As regards the figures, I will endeavour to have the object carried by one of them, and called an animal, photographed as nearly as possible the natural size, and circulate the photograph. I have in my possession a considerable

number of ancient objects found in the walls and excavations, which hereafter may throw some light on this subject; they were not purchased from itinerant vendors, but properly verified and their positions recorded. For the present, I think every candid thinker must admit that the question of origin of the existing walls has yet to be solved, and that opinion, to be sound, must be supported by material and visible evidence of a much greater certainty than has yet been put forward.

ED. W. COX.



Reviews.

A History of Walsall and its Neighbourhood. By F. W. WILLMORE. (Walsall and London: Simpkin and Marshall.)

All local histories are welcome to the antiquarian student, and when, as in this case, they are carefully compiled from original documents and from local knowledge, they are valuable. Mr. Willmore brings out many points in the history of this thriving town which throw some considerable light on the origin of municipal institutions, and we are struck with the contention in the reign of Henry VIII. by the lord of the manor that the Walsall burgesses were not free. The chartered rights are stated to date from time immemorial, though the earliest privileges do not seem to go farther back than the grant by the lord of the manor in 1197. The intimate connection between manorial and municipal history has not yet been properly stated, and it is probable that in Walsall we have an example which may throw some light on this interesting subject. Mr. Willmore, however, does not apply himself to this kind of research, his position being that of local historian; and we cannot quarrel with this, because it so often happens that the local historian, badly equipped for general historical studies, leaves important local information unrecorded while he is indulging in theories which do no good.

Mr. Willmore makes most careful use of his documents, and supplies very good references, which he puts as marginal instead of foot notes, a return to an old style of printing which we cannot commend. He is careful also to supply pedigrees of the powerful families, whose members are mentioned as famous in Walsall history, and he also gives one map of old Walsall; as he mentions other maps which are now preserved in Walsall Free Library, we must be pardoned for wishing that he had reproduced one or two of these illustrating the early ground-plans of the town at different decades in its history.

Leaving special features of this book relating to the history of the manor, of the church, the corporation, and the Grammar School, Mr. Willmore devotes about half his volume to the general history of the town, and very interesting this is. During the Civil War, Walsall was very closely connected with the stirring events of the times, siding on the whole with the King's cause, though at the same time producing such men as Captain Henry Stone, Colonel Fox, John Sylvester, and Captain Henry Jackson on the Parliament side. In July, 1643, Queen Henrietta

Maria visited the town after her landing from Holland and she dates one of her letters from thence. As evidence of the town's leaning towards the King, Mr. Willmore notes that the Royalist composition papers contain the names of several of the local gentry upon whom fines were levied, and he quotes some of the petitions sent up to the Parliament authorities. We curiously come across the name here of Symon Montfort. The Walsall Royalists, under Colonel John Lane, marched to join Charles II. at Worcester, but the battle was fought and lost before they reached the army. The King's famous visit to Bentley Hall afterwards is one of the incidents belonging to the history of the neighbourhood, which Mr. Willmore describes. For his information on some of these points of general history, Mr. Willmore relies upon contemporary pamphlets and MS. documents, and every reader will find the narrative fully warranted for by reference to these. Altogether we can confidently recommend this work as a very acceptable addition to our local histories.

The London County Council: Its Duties and Powers. By GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A. (London: David Nutt, 1888.)

By means of this manual the provisions of the new Act of Parliament, as applied to London, are placed at ready disposal. All that perspicuous arrangement can do to make the new Act easy is here accomplished. The provisions are placed under subject-titles in alphabetical order, and along with them are incorporated the duties transferred by the Act from the Metropolitan Board of Works and other governing bodies. In this way the duties and powers of the new Council are most clearly set forth. But although such a practical good has been thus achieved—although the manual is a useful guide for Londoners under the new régime—it is the work of a scholar, and bears the impress of its authorship. The utility of historical investigation is amply illustrated in the valuable introduction to this admirable analysis of the new Act of Parliament. The author begins by remarking that "the only way of adequately dealing with such a concentrated area of human life as London, was by appealing to the highest unit of local government in English institutions, viz., the shire or county." And as a sequel to this, we read near the conclusion a protest that the old English word *shire* was not introduced again into active use; it is pointed out that the verbal distinction between shire and county, if retained, would have marked the real difference "between those County Councils which represent the old shires, pure and simple, and those which represent the Metropolis and large towns which are the outcome of modern times." Again, the author deserves the gratitude of all lovers of London and its history, for the powerful plea which he makes for a more intelligent consideration of historical monuments of all kinds. He points out that the new Council will take over the duty of preserving the Cleopatra's Needle, a monument of great interest, but foreign; while its duties and powers in behalf of English monuments are among the desiderata of the new measure. It is to be hoped that these desiderata, or suggestions by the present author—such as the registration of land titles by the County bodies—will be adopted, to the enhanced completeness of an admirable piece of legislation.

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FOR SALE.

Walton (Izaak), *The Compleat Angler*, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation; facsimile, produced in photo-lithography by Mr. Griggs; yellow cloth. Published by Quaritch, 1882; 12s.—14s., care of Manager.

Ancient English Metrical Romances, selected and published by Joseph Ritson, and revised by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S.; 3 vols., in 14 parts, 4to., large paper, bound in vegetable parchment; price £5 5s.—18s., care of Manager.

Sepher Yetzorah, the Book of Formation, and the thirty-two Paths of Wisdom. Translated from the Hebrew and collated with Latin versions by Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 30 pp., paper covers (100 only printed), 5s. 6d. The Isiac Tablet Mensa, Isiaca Tabula Bembond of Cardinal Bembo, its History and Occult Signification, by W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 20 pp., plates, etc., cloth (100 copies only), 21s. net.—M., care of Manager.

The Book of Archery, by George Agar Hansard (Gwent Bowman), Bohn, 1841, numerous plates, 8s.—M., care of Manager.

Berjeau's Bookworm, a number of old parts for sale or exchange.—W. E. M., care of Manager.

Walford's Antiquarian Magazine, complete, 71 numbers; perfect condition; unbound; £3.—H. H., care of Manager.

Very beautiful Leaden Cistern; 200 years old: liberal offer expected.—N., care of Manager.

Caldecott's Graphic Pictures; édition de Luxe; £3 10s.—1C, care of Manager.

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Johnson's The Early Writings of Thackeray; large

paper edition (only 50 printed); price £4 4s.—4C, care of Manager.

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Sooner or Later; in original parts; 30s.—6C, care of Manager.

MS. Sonnet.—To my Lady Winchelsea, written and signed by Alexander Pope.—Offers to Mr. Hole, Angel Hotel, Ilford, Essex.

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